

ARCHAEOLOGIA:  
OR,  
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS  
RELATING TO  
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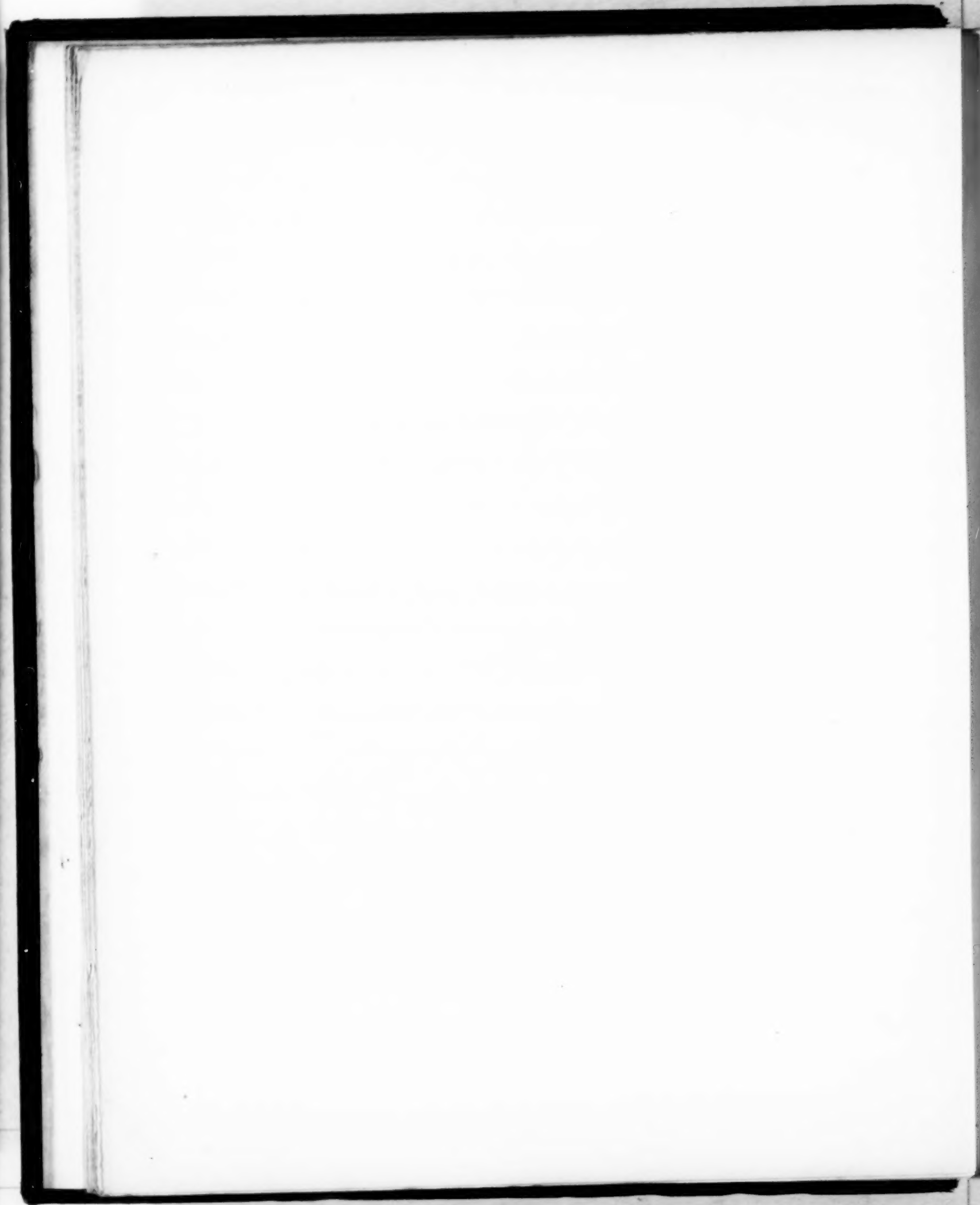
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ARCHAEOLOGIA:  
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&c.

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- I. *Medieval Architecture in Aquitaine ; in continuation of previous Papers. A Letter addressed to the VISCOUNT MAHON, President, by JOHN HENRY PARKER, Esq., F.S.A.*

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Read June 1st, 1854.

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MY LORD,

Oxford, June 1, 1854.

IN my last letter I carried the account of my architectural Tour in the English provinces of France as far as Bordeaux ; the following year I made this my starting point, and traversed the length of the ancient province of Guienne, which it is hardly necessary to observe is a long and rather narrow strip across the south of France, extending from Bordeaux in the west, nearly to Lyons in the east, leaving Gascony and Languedoc in the south, and other smaller provinces to the north. I have paid no attention to the modern division of the country into departments, it not being material to my purpose ; and my rapid passage from one department to another would have caused great confusion in describing my route.

As I could not learn that there are any buildings of importance for my purpose in the immediate neighbourhood of Bordeaux in this direction, I took advantage of the steamboat on the Garonne as far as LANGON, where the road to the Pyrenees branches off. The church here is modern, but in good imitation of Gothic work ; the tower is of the end of the twelfth century, with a belfry story added in the sixteenth. At a short distance, it bears some resemblance to our Anglo-Saxon towers, but on a closer inspection the resemblance is not borne out ; nor have I ever been able to find in France any tower of that character ; and, as my observations have extended over a large part of France, and I have also made frequent inquiries of the best informed French antiquaries on the subject, I think I may safely aver that there are no towers of that type in France, which is strong pre-

sumptive evidence that they are really Saxon. On the opposite side of the river, which is here passed by a suspension bridge, is the ruined town of ST. MACAIRE, in which is a fine Church of mixed styles, but chiefly of the twelfth century. It is said to have been founded in the year 1048, but no part of the present structure appears to be so early. The plan is a latin cross with the east end and the two transepts rounded, forming three apses, each with a semi-dome vault, and the central compartment is vaulted by a cupola; the first bay of the nave is of the same character, the other three bays are successively later, the first of the thirteenth, the second of the fourteenth, and the third of the fifteenth century; but the west end, with a fine doorway, is of the thirteenth, and the whole of the lower parts of the walls belong to the early work: attached to the first bay on the north side is a tower of the fourteenth century, hexagonal in plan. The walls have been raised throughout, but not all at the same period. The exterior of the east end with its three apses is a fine specimen of the Romanesque style with a semi-Byzantine character. The northern apse is different from the other two, and shews a change of plan during the progress of the work, this apse having the walls originally four feet higher than the other two, which have been raised to correspond with it: the work is also richer than in the earlier part. The corbel table and cornice are very good and effective, the latter enriched with a triple row of the billet ornament; the buttresses are rounded into half pillars, and in the upper part have shafts added on, with good bases and sculptured capitals. In the face, near the tower, a square-headed window of the fourteenth century has been inserted, with good mouldings in the head and jambs.

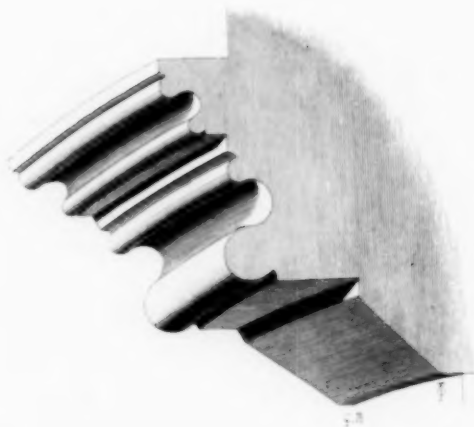
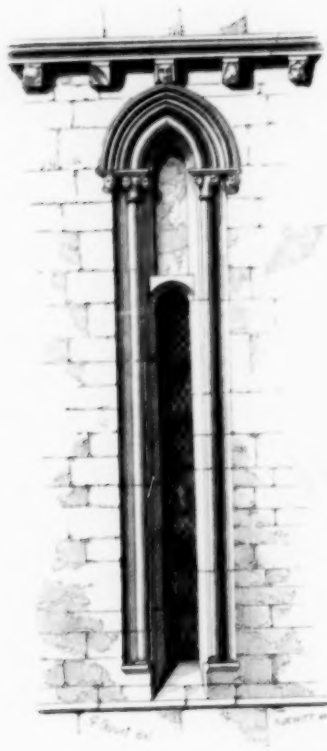
In the interior the walls are covered with arcades, and vaulting shafts, which have good capitals, and bases of a style resembling our Norman; these shafts, being arranged in groups of five, afford scope for a fine series of bases; the ribs of the vaults are enriched with a row of balls resembling our ball-flower, though here occurring in works of the transitional period. The vaults are covered with paintings of the fourteenth century, very curious; they have been restored, but carefully.

The western doorway is good Early French work, with a trefoil opening in the head; this and the arch are filled with sculptures, but much mutilated. The wooden door and its ironwork are original.

The town is in a very decayed state. The market-place is irregular in plan, almost oblong; the houses are for the most part in ruins, but the arcade or piazza on which they are built, is nearly entire; some of the arches are pointed, others are round, but they are nearly all of the Flamboyant or Renaissance styles. There are







WINDOW FROM THE CHURCH OF THE MERCADEL AT BAZAS  
WITH THE ARCH-MOULDINGS.



several old houses in other parts of the town, one of which appears to be of the fourteenth century, with a good window of that period.

A few miles from Langon is the town of BAZAS, the cathedral of which is deserving of more attention than it has received. It is of mixed styles, but chiefly of the thirteenth century. The plan is oblong, with aisles and an apse, no distinction between the nave and choir, but the apse is surrounded by an aisle and chapels, and there are low chapels between the buttresses of the nave. The work seems to have been carried on for a long period; part is late in the thirteenth, and another part early in the fourteenth century; but it has been a good deal modernized in the seventeenth, and the date of 1675 is painted on a base at the east end. The west front is very fine and rich, the arches and tympanums fitted with sculpture, among which are the signs of the zodiac, with the operations of each month corresponding.<sup>a</sup> But four large paneled buttresses have been introduced in the seventeenth century, and two of the months are destroyed.

The nave has the pillars chiefly rebuilt or refaced after the mutilation by the Huguenots, and the vault is also modern, but the side walls with the shafts attached, and the vaults of the aisles are original, with some of the windows. In the north aisle is a tomb of the end of the twelfth century, with a canopy, on which are some curious incipient crockets, the earliest that I remember to have met with. The rest of the work is chiefly of the Flamboyant style. The tower which stands on the north side of the west front is a fine specimen of that style, with a rich crocketed spire, and there is a good Flamboyant round window in the west front. The upper part of the front is, however, modernized.

At the opposite end of the market-place is the shell of a good small church in the early French style, with a series of very long lancet windows, having fine mouldings, and a corbel table. It is called the church of the Mercadel, or little market. The windows have very tall shafts, with good capitals of foliage and the square abacus. Nothing certain appears to be known about the history of the church, or of the structure of the cathedral, which was founded at a very early period, and was formerly much more important than it is at present, the bishopric being now united to that of Bordeaux. The market-place of Bazas is of an irregular form, arising from the nature of the ground on the top of a hill; the houses are built on an arcade or piazza, some of the arches of which appear to be early, but none of the houses are earlier than Flamboyant. One corner house is a good specimen of the French houses in towns of the fifteenth or sixteenth cen-

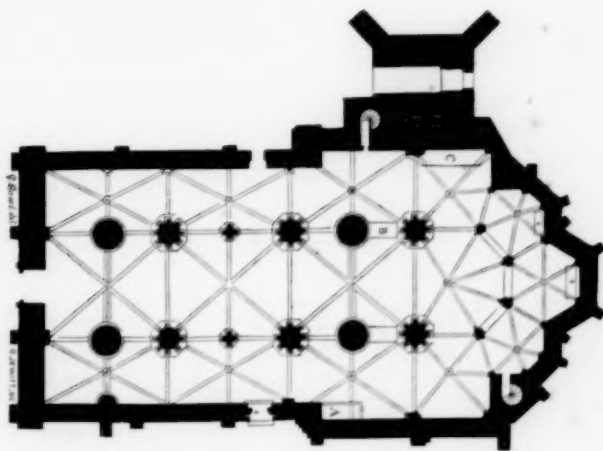
<sup>a</sup> This Calendar of the Seasons has attracted a good deal of attention among the French antiquaries, and engravings of it have been published.

tury in this part of France; the lower windows have canopies over them with crockets, finials, and pinnacles; the upper windows are enriched with paneling. Portions of the old walls of the town remain, but they are not very early nor remarkable.

A few miles from Langon, in another direction, is the pretty little church of UZESTE, chiefly remarkable as the burial place of Pope Clement the Fifth, whose tomb still stands in the south aisle; the effigy is of white marble, placed upon an altar tomb of black marble, with an inscription round the edge, in which he is called the Founder of the Church, although it is evident that he only partially rebuilt it. The choir with its apse and aisles is his work, and as he died in 1314, this gives us a valuable dated example of the early Decorated style. The style of the work is almost identical with that of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, although its date is fifty years later. It is evident, indeed, that the style of that chapel was considerably in advance of other buildings in France of the same period, and that style usually belongs to quite the end of the thirteenth, or the beginning of the fourteenth century, the highest period of Gothic architecture. The plan of Uzeste is rather peculiar, the choir being wider than the nave, but it is also considerably higher, and it is evident that the intention was to have rebuilt the nave also. The arms of the Pope are cut in the stone of parts of the work which he built. The style of the work, especially the windows, with foliated circles in the head, is similar to what was in use in England about 1260, as in the chapter-house at Salisbury. In the north-east chapel is a good sepulchral arch, with a tall pyramid over it, well moulded and crocketed, with a trefoil in the head, and capitals of Decorated foliage. This appears to have been the Easter sepulchre or Calvaire; near it is a small altar of solid stone, which appears to be original. The tower stands at the north side of the choir, and is good Flamboyant work, with a rich crocketed spire; the parapets and other parts are ornamented in the manner usual in that style. The choir has fine flying buttresses, resembling the Early French style, but the open parapet round the apse is quite Decorated. In the churchyard is a good Decorated headstone with a cross.



HEADSTONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, UZESTE.



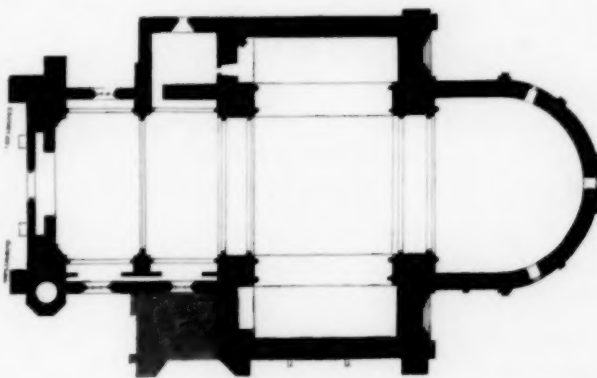
PART OF THE CHOIR AND PLAN OF THE CHURCH AT UZESTE, A.D. 1314.



Near Uzeste are the remains of the castle of VILLANDRAUT, the residence of Pope Clement the Fifth, who also built it. The walls are nearly perfect, and it is a fine military fortress and a dwelling house combined. The plan is very regular; a square with buildings on all sides of it, and a large round tower at each angle; also two other round towers to protect the entrance, which is on the south side. The buildings are all three stories high, with two external staircases, one in the south-east angle, the other in the north-east, both opening from the court-yard. The towers all have vaulted chambers in the lower part, and round staircases. On a boss of one of the vaults a small group of figures is carved, representing the consecration of the Pope; two bishops are putting the tiara on his head. But the work in general is extremely plain. There is scarcely a vestige of ornament of any kind; the roofs are all destroyed. The moat is perfect and deep, and there are the grooves of two portcullises, and marks of the drawbridge. It is remarkable that all the palaces of the Popes in France are very strongly fortified, as is the case at Avignon, even though it is within the walls of a strongly fortified town.

AGEN.—*Aginnum*.

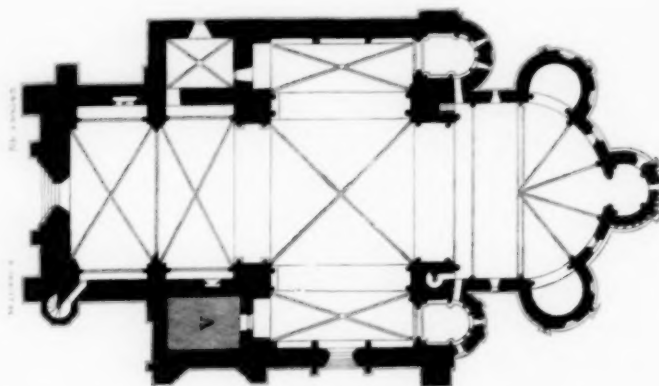
My next stopping place on the Garonne was at the curious and interesting old town of Agen. The cathedral here was destroyed in the great Revolution; its place is now supplied by the fine Romanesque church of St. Caprais, which has been carefully repaired, but the original plan, and a great deal of the old work, has been preserved. The character of the work partakes a good deal of the Byzantine style, as I have had occasion to observe in several instances in this district. The ground plan is remarkable: it is almost a Greek cross, with an apse and apsidal chapels; these are low, and are lost in the plan of the upper story. The four main arches are pointed but plain, and carried on very massive piers, which



PLAN OF UPPER STORY, S. CAPRAIS.



reminded me very much of St. Front at Perigueux, and might well have carried a similar cupola, but the central compartment is vaulted over with a domical vault at the same height as the rest of the church. The attached shafts have capitals and bases of transitional character.



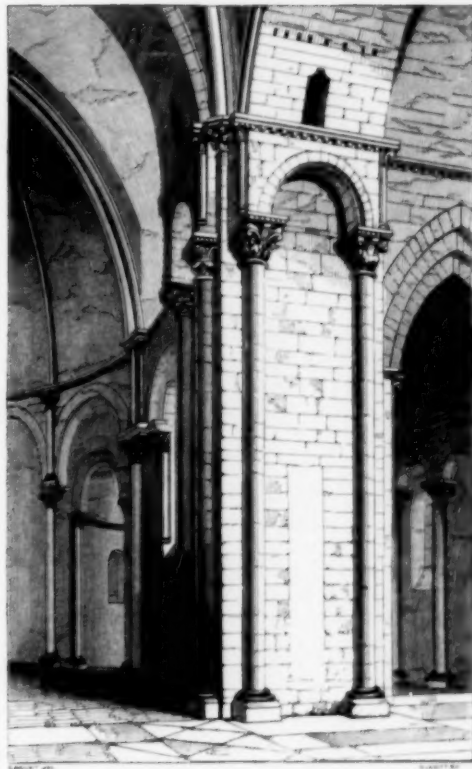
GROUND PLAN, S. CAPRAIS, AGEN. A, THE TOWER.

The arches of the triforium are enriched with early crockets, and the corbels of the vaulting-shafts are fine specimens of early French work. The mouldings shew the transitional character of the original parts of the work, the date of which must be near the end of the twelfth century.\* The windows are filled with modern painted glass, of glaring colours and in bad taste; there is also modern painting on the walls of the chapels.

The church of St. Foi is a plain, brick building, partly of the twelfth century, with additions of the sixteenth; it has a clerestory of small round-headed windows. The small church or chapel of Notre Dame la Bonne is also of brick, of the thirteenth century, with lancet-shaped windows; the original church was a simple oblong, with a square east end, and a plain early French vault, but a Flamboyant aisle has been added. At the west end is a brick bell-cot, or gable, pierced for five bells, a singular and picturesque structure. Under this is a good early French doorway, having shafts with capitals of foliage, and the arch well moulded. This doorway, and indeed the whole chapel, has rather an English look about it. There is, or was, a somewhat similar bell-gable at Radipole, near Weymouth; it is not a very common feature either in England or France.

The church of the Jacobins is a plain brick building of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, on the plan usual with that order of monks, consisting of a double

\* There is an inscription in the choir, surrounding the sacred monogram, recording the day of dedication but not the year, *II. NONAS DECEMBRIS DEDICATIO ECCLESIE EJUSDEM*, in characters of the twelfth century.



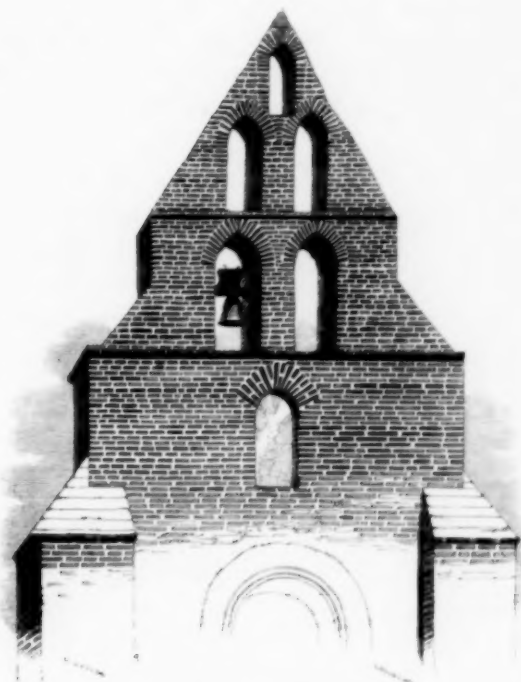
PART OF THE CHOIR AND TRANSEPT, S. CAPRAIS, AGEN.



INSCRIPTION IN THE CHOIR, S. CAPRAIS, AGEN.







BELL GABLE, NOTRE DAME LA BONNE, AGEN.

nave only, divided by a row of arches down the centre, and no chancel. We have a few churches on the same plan in England, which probably belonged to the same order, though this has escaped observation. The two divisions of the nave have each four bays with simply early French vaults; the east end is square, with two windows in it, corresponding with the west end; these windows are of two lights trefoiled, with a quatrefoil in the head, and appear to be rather later than the walls. The ends are very wide and flat, and give the building a heavy appearance and a bad outline; at the north-east angle is an octagonal bell turret.

There are several old timber houses, the lower stories vaulted with stone, in the town of Agen. In this town the Roman fashion of building walls with layers of tiles at regular intervals, and thick beds of mortar between the tiles, and pounded brick or tile mixed with the mortar, is still continued, and appears never to have been lost, as it may be seen in the walls of the churches of different periods. The building stone of the country is very bad and scarce, which may probably account

for the continuance of the fashion in a country which the Romans so long inhabited, and which is known to have retained many of their customs, until a much later period than most other parts of Europe. The continuance of the Roman fashion of building may however be observed in many other districts, where good building materials are scarce, as at Colchester, and other parts of the eastern counties of England.

Several Roman pavements have been found in Agen and the neighbourhood. The archives of the town have been preserved, and contain some curious and interesting documents; the earliest is a licence to build a bridge, granted by Richard the First, and dated from London in 1189. Another deed of 1308 relates also to the bridge, which was of wood. There are also several treaties of alliance for mutual defence between Agen and other neighbouring towns in the thirteenth century.

#### MOISSAC.

Between Agen and Montauban is Moissac, with its celebrated Benedictine abbey, founded in 630, destroyed by the Saracens in the eighth century, and rebuilt with great splendour in the eleventh by the abbé Durand de Bredon, and the church consecrated with great pomp in 1063, as recorded by a subsequent abbot, Aimery de Peyrac, in his chronicle, and confirmed by the Cartularies, of which five volumes are preserved in the National Library at Paris. The cloister is probably the richest and finest of its period in existence. It has no less than eighty pillars or shafts with sculptured capitals, chiefly small groups of figures, the subjects from the Old and New Testament, the Apocalypse, and some from the legends of saints, arranged in two distinct series, one a repetition of the other, each occupying two sides of the quadrangle. They include three of the events in the legend of St. Martin, and one of Gog and Magog. Each group of figures has the name in an inscription on the abacus, or on the capitals themselves; these inscriptions are in the character of the eleventh century, with small letters introduced within the larger ones.<sup>b</sup> At each angle and at regular intervals are square piers, ornamented

<sup>a</sup> I am indebted to my friend M. de Caumont for the information respecting these documents, which was supplied to him by M. Marellet, an inhabitant of the town. Full particulars will be found in the "*Histoire des Departements de Lot et Garonne*, par M. de St. Amans," 2 vols. 8vo. 1836.

<sup>b</sup> These capitals are now well known in England, from the plaster casts of them in the Architectural Museum at Westminster, and in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, copied from those in the Museum of Toulouse.

with a kind of scale-work, with figures of the Apostles, and one is the figure of



PIER IN THE CLOISTER AT MOISSAC.

St. Durand de Bredon, abbot of Moissac and bishop of Toulouse, called the second founder of the abbey, already mentioned. On one of these piers is an inscription recording the date of the cloister as built in the year 1100; yet the arches are pointed, and the whole character of the work is what with us would be transitional. If this had been an isolated case we might suppose that the arches had been rebuilt, or the inscription preserved from an earlier building, but the pointed arch occurs in many other buildings in this part of France at the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth, and it appears to be clearly established that the art had attained to this point at least half a century before it had done so in the North. But here it remained stationary for a century, and made no progress until the movement was communicated from the North.

Whether this can be accounted for by the history of the country, which became attached to the English crown early in the twelfth century, or whatever the cause may have been, the fact seems to be clearly established. The sculpture of these capitals is remarkably good, and, when taken in connection with other work at Toulouse and the neighbourhood, shows that a school of sculpture was established in this part of France in the eleventh century, very much in advance of any other part of Europe at the same period. The cloister, however, does not appear to have been finished at the date of the inscription, as the contemporary documents mention it as the work of the abbot Aquilin, from 1100<sup>a</sup> to 1108, and his immediate successor, Roger.

The church has been much altered, or almost rebuilt, in the fifteenth century, in a fine Flamboyant style, but parts of the walls are original, and an

<sup>a</sup> The engraving is carefully reduced from a rubbing of the inscription, and exhibits the peculiar form and arrangement of letters which was prevalent at the period, so that there is little doubt that it is almost contemporary with the date inscribed upon it. The greater part is most clear, and runs thus:—"ANNO AB INCARNATIONE ÆTERNI PRINCIPIS MILESIMO CENTESIMO, FACTUM EST CLAUSTRUM ISTUD TEMPORE ANSCUTILI ABBATIS, AMEN. V.V.V.—M.D.M.—R.R.R.—F.F.F." Of these last initial letters it is difficult to determine the meaning. They have probably nothing to do with the former part of the inscription. One gentleman has interpreted them as "Venerabiles—Monachi Domus Religiosi—Fratres." Another, "Venerabili Virgini Virginum—Maria Dei Matri—Reverendissimi—Fratres." I am inclined to consider the latter as the more probable interpretation, and I think still further, as most probable, that they are the alliterations of some lines with which the monks were familiar, such as—

Virgo Virginum Veneranda (*or*—rabilis)  
Mater Dei Miranda (*or*—rabilis)  
Regina Regia Reginarum,  
Femina Felix Feminarum (S. Luke i. 28.)



INSCRIPTION ON A PIER IN THE CLOISTER,  
MOISSAC.



CAPITALS FROM THE CLOISTER AT MOISSAC, A.D. 1100.





inscription <sup>a</sup> is built into the wall of the choir, recording the consecration in 1063.

IDBVSOC ONSDMVSISTADETANVEMBRISCVETPONTIFCSHS CONVENISSECEBRG  
AVXVSOSINDYLACORADDTAIMVNDV CONVENAWILMV DREXITAGINAWILMV  
IVSSITETERACIVNDEE BEORRA BENIGNVELLOREVSSTPHM CONESSEFADRAPETRV  
EDRAINESWNRMVETOLOSAPARONVRESPVITVRVLC SIMONISONSIVRAEDRO  
MYRIADSLVS' RIS APPONENS RESDODNS VIRGINEVPARTVDBATOFBNEVERAND  
HANCIBX PEDSREXNSTITITCLODOVEVSANXITMNFICSPOTHWEDNSVDVICVS

INSCRIPTION, ON THE WALL OF THE CHOIR, MOISSAC.

<sup>a</sup> This inscription, of which an engraving is given above, partakes of much the same character in the formation and arrangement of its letters, with that of the cloister. Whether put up at the same time or not, we have no means of ascertaining. They certainly must have been written before the middle of the twelfth century, as the fashion of inserting one letter within another then ceased. The words, so far as we can make them out, and there is little difficulty, are as follows:—

" Idibus octonis domus ista dicata Novembris

Gaudet Pontifices hos convenisse celebres:

- (1) Auxius Ostindum, (2) Lactora dedit Raimundum,
- (3) Convena Wilelmum, (4) direxit Aginna Wilelmum,
- (5) Jussit et Heraclium, non deesse Beorra benignum,
- (6) Elloreus Stephanum concessit, (7) et Adura Petrum,
- (8) Te Duranne suum nostrumque Tolosa patronum,
- (9) Respuitur Fulco Simōnis dans jura Cadurco,
- Myriades lustris apponens tres duodenis
- Virgineum partum dabat orbi tunc venerandum,
- Hanc tibi, Christe Deus, rex instituit Clodoveus,
- Auxit magnificus post hunc donis Ludovicus."

Having given the time of the year when the dedication took place, the inscription proceeds to give a list of those renowned elders of the church who assembled together on the occasion. I have placed them below, in a tabular form; at the same time, the years during which they held their respective sees:—

1.	From Auch,	came	S. Austende,	1050-1068.
2.	" Lectoure	"	Raymond	1060-1083.
3.	" Comminges	"	William	1053-1063.
4.	" Agen	"	William	1061-1068.
5.	" Bigorre	"	Heraclius	1056-1069.
6.	" Oleron	"	Stephen	1055-1069.
7.	" Ayre	"	Peter	1060-1095.
8.	" Toulouse	"	Durand	1060-1068 (and probably later).
9.	Of Cahors	absent	Foulques	1060-1065.

The expression used with this last person named is harsh, but curious;—the word "respuitur" shows

There is some tolerably good painting on the wall, modern, but in imitation of old patterns. By far the most perfect and most important part of the church is the tower at the west end, which is original, with the porch or narthex, which forms the lower part of it; the outer doorway is celebrated as one of the richest in France, being filled with symbolical sculptures, of a semi-Byzantine character: a great deal has been written on the subject of these sculptures, and the explanation of them, but, as my object is the architectural history, I have purposely avoided the tempting subject of symbolism.<sup>a</sup> The character of the sculpture of the outer doorway is late, or at least would be so in most parts of France, and it appeared to me later than that of the cloister. The doorway is slightly pointed, and the character is what with us would be transition Norman. The arch is doubly recessed, with shafts in the nooks, having capitals of stiff foliage, but these have no abacus, and the edges of the arch are not chamfered. The porch is vaulted with a peculiar kind of early vaulting, constructed of small cut stone, with massive square ribs, crossing in the centre, quite plain, but resting on capitals which are richly carved. Over the porch is another vaulted chamber, the vault of which is more domical. Altogether the original part of the tower is in a rather advanced style of art. The

evident tokens of disgust or hatred, but it is easily accounted for when we call to mind the continual feuds which existed between the two abbeys of Moissac and Cahors.

At first sight it would seem unnecessary to enter so minutely into the names of those who were present at the dedication, but it is a singular instance of how often these minor details, if they do not of themselves fix, will often confirm in a most satisfactory manner, the date of a building. A glance at the above list of years of office, shows that the dedication cannot have taken place earlier than (4) 1061, or later than (3) 1063. Although the Inscription gives us the date, "Since the birth of Christ, one thousand (Myriades for Mille) and sixty (tres duodenis—three twenty's)," this discrepancy I think must be accounted for, not by an error in the date of William's accession to the see of Agen, but by a blunder of the Monk's, either in the making of his verse, or else, as was more probably the case, from the inscription having been composed some years afterwards, the precise date had been forgotten. We are led to the conclusion that 1063 is the correct date, as it is given elsewhere. The two last lines refer to the supposed original foundation of the abbey by Clovis, and the addition afterwards by Louis (according to M. Dumege, Louis le Debonnaire, King of Aquitaine).

<sup>a</sup> I may, however, mention, that on each side of the porch are three rows of sculpture, covering the whole of the wall from the ground to the vault: the lower range consists of an arcade of round arches, with a single figure or statue under each arch, a little smaller than life, divided by shafts with capitals, inscribed with small groups of sculpture. The two upper ranges are in niches and bas-reliefs. On one side are the four Cardinal Virtues, with their reward, and opposite to them the four principal Sins, with their punishment. In the bas-reliefs are represented the chief events in the life of Christ, some of which are represented in a very curious manner, particularly the arrival of the Holy Family at the gates of a fortified town. Most of these sculptures, which are chiefly in marble, are sadly mutilated. Full details respecting them will be found in the *Bulletin Monumental*, tome 18, p. 473-483. The sculptures on the tympanum of the corner doorway are much more flat, and of earlier character than those of the porch.





J. B. B. del.

J. A. Le Bas sc.

CLOISTER OF THE ABBEY OF MOISSAC.

Engraved by the artist on copper plate April 18 1840.



exterior is also ornamented with shafts, but these are partly concealed by the parapet of a fortification, which has evidently been added *after* the tower was built. This fortification is of Anglo-Norman character, and of much more rude work than the earlier tower to which it is attached, and seems to afford strong evidence that architecture was in a considerably more advanced state in the South than in the North, and that its progress was suspended for a long period: in fact for nearly a century there appears to have been no change, whether the stagnation was caused by political events, such as civil wars and the union with England, or was merely the natural reaction after the violent stimulus which had been given to the art about the end of the eleventh century.\*

The upper part of the tower and the walls of the abbey are of brick, and surrounded by a kind of battlement; the bricks are flat, after the Roman fashion. At a short distance from the abbey is a brick house of the twelfth century, with some moulded brick, and some good windows, some of which have stone dressings and shafts. There is a good ring-knocker on the door.

MONTAUBAN is chiefly a modern town. The market-place is surrounded by a piazza of the sixteenth century, but in the style of an earlier period; there is also a fine brick tower of early work. The bridge is of the thirteenth century, and a remarkably fine specimen of brick work; unfortunately the parapet is modern, which gives a modern look to the whole. The arches are pointed, but wide; the piers very massive, with small arches, pierced to lighten them, and a passage in the thickness of the wall.

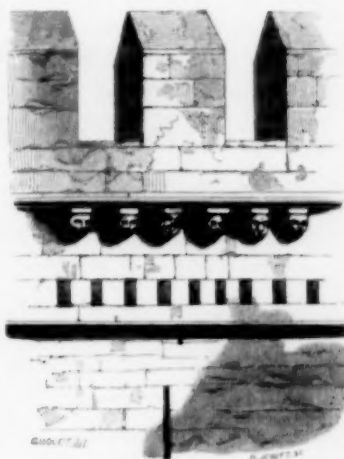
It was my intention to have completed this series of papers on the present occasion, but I find that the number of interesting buildings of which I have notes and drawings, is still so great, that I must again trespass on your patience at some future time.

I remain, my Lord, Your very obedient Servant,

J. H. PARKER.

The Right Hon. Lord Viscount MAHON, F.R.S. President.

\* Moissac was besieged by Richard the First, and taken from Raymond the Fifth, Count of Toulouse, who was then in possession of it. A few years afterwards it was given up to his son, Raymond the Sixth, and was again attacked and taken by Simon de Montfort in the beginning of the thirteenth century (1212).



ANGLO-NORMAN BATTLEMENT ON THE TOWER OF MOISSAC.

- II. *On a State-manuscript of the Reign of Henry VIII., the property of Sir Walter Calverley Trevelyan, Bart. In a Letter from J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq. F.P., to PETER CUNNINGHAM, Esq. F.S.A.*

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Read Dec. 7, 1854.

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River-side, Maidenhead, Dec. 5, 1854.

AMONG some additional MSS., belonging to the Trevelyan family, recently placed in my hands, I find many of especial interest and value in an historical point of view ; and, as I know nobody more capable of estimating them than yourself, I have addressed to you the following account of one of the most important. The particulars will be given in greater detail in a volume on the preparation of which I am at present engaged, but it seemed to me that a statement of a few of the most prominent features would be highly acceptable to our Society ; and Sir Walter Calverley Trevelyan, who enrolled himself among our Fellows during the last season, has promptly and liberally allowed me so far to anticipate what will appear more at large hereafter.

The Royal Society possesses in its library one or more of what are called the " Household-books " of Henry VIII. ; and the noble parchment-bound volume, to which I am now directing attention, looks, both externally and internally, as if it were a MS. of the same kind, relating to domestic expenses and payments. The fact, however, is that it is much more general, and I may say national, in its contents ; and this is the circumstance which renders it peculiarly worthy of observation. It includes entries of payments made by the Treasurer of the King's Chamber, whether for foreign embassies, or for rewards and gratuities to ambassadors and members of their suites arriving in this country ; for the construction and repair of royal palaces and their furniture ; for disbursements in the shape of loans or direct bribes to governments and individuals ; for the clothing and equipment of courtiers, servants, and soldiers ; for the building and outfit of ships of war ; for the maintenance of the royal family, including the King as well as his offspring ; for annuities allowed to men of learning and science, including poets, painters, historians, physicians, lawyers, priests, players, singers, and musical performers ; in short, for every department, whether the purpose to which the money was to be applied were national, as regards the king-

dom at large, or merely personal, as regards those who were publicly or secretly employed. It will be obvious, therefore, that this volume is a most important record, and how it came into the hands of the ancient family, to which it now belongs, we have no means of ascertaining: all we know is, that a junior member of that family was one of the chaplains to Henry VIII., and that through him it may have found its way to the venerable seat of Nettlecombe, in the county of Somerset, where for some centuries it has been deposited. At the period to which the MS. refers Bryan Tuke, afterwards Sir Bryan Tuke, was Treasurer of the King's Chamber, and it was perhaps originally his property; but it does not appear that he or his family at any time intermarried with the Trevelyans, so as to lead to a transference of the ownership of the volume. Without farther inquiry into this point, we may be well content to have the opportunity of making use of it, because it remains in private and intelligent hands, instead of being buried in some vast, overgrown central receptacle, where it might be lost in a labyrinth, almost inextricable from its confusion, and nearly useless from its immensity. It will be found to illustrate, not less curiously than authentically, various points of history, and biography.

It is stated that it was the duplicate or counterpart of a volume, as far as I am informed, not now in existence, and it is written, in a large fair hand, by a person of the name of William Phillips, who inserts an item for his own salary, and a separate charge for the paper he employed. On the side of the parchment cover it is thus entitled:—

“The counterpain of the King's Boke of Paymentes, made by Bryan Tuke, esquier, Treasurer of his Chamber, begynnyng the first day of October, Anno xx Regis Henrici Octavi.”

Thus we see that it commences in 1528, the earliest entry being of a payment for the royal offering at Hampton Court on Sunday 1st October. It continues through the whole of the two next years, 1529 and 1530, and the latest disbursements it embraces were made in May 1531, not long after Henry VIII. had entered upon the twenty-third year of his reign.

The importance of these dates will be evident, when we remember that it was in 1528 that the great question of the legality of the marriage of the King with his brother's widow, Katherine of Arragon, was so generally and hotly discussed, not only in England, but throughout Europe: it was also the period of the fall of Cardinal Wolsey; and many entries refer to these two events, and fix the precise dates of most of the circumstances attending them. Thus, with respect to the arrival and reception of Cardinal Campeius, who was joined in commission



with Wolsey for the trial of the divorce, we learn from all the ordinary sources, that Campeius was lodged, early in October, at St. Mary Overies in Southwark; but we are not told that the King of England paid all the expenses of the journey, and that the money was issued, not on the warrant of Henry VIII., but upon that of Wolsey, who took upon himself the whole responsibility. In the same way, when Campeius, who was a severe sufferer from the gout, was to be conveyed to the King's presence at Bridewell, Hall the Chronicler, and Stow the Annalist after him, state that "he was carried in a chair between four persons, for he was not able to stand:" in the MS. before me it appears, that a magnificent chair was actually made for the purpose, that it was provided by order of Wolsey, and that it cost a sum equal to more than 80*l.* of our present money. The original memorandum is in these terms:—

"Item, to Richard Gibson, sergiaunte at armes, by my Lord Cardinall's commaundement, for a riche chayre, provided by the said Richard Gibson, the xxj day of Octobre, anno xx°, for the Lëgate Campegius to be borne in, as apperith by a bill of the said Richard Gibson, reeyting the charges of the making of the same chayre particularly,—xiiij<sup>li</sup>. v<sup>s</sup>. vj<sup>d</sup>."

Those who, like you, happen to be acquainted with my book on the History of our Drama and Stage, may remember that the Richard Gibson above mentioned was most importantly concerned in getting up the court-plays and pageants in this part of the reign of Henry VIII. In the entry I have just quoted we have also the very day stated when this "rich chair" was used for conveying the gouty Campeius, for the first time during this visit to England, to the presence of the King.

On the 8th November, following this 21st October, the King made his famous speech in his palace of Bridewell regarding his scruples of conscience; and, according to Cavendish, Hall, and Stow, nothing was done in the special court, which met in the Black-friars to inquire into and to decide upon the royal divorce, until April, May, June, and July, 1529. However, the volume of payments, in my hands, shews that in the interval rewards were liberally distributed to persons in the suite of Cardinal Campeius: even his Luter, Albert de Ripa, on the 12th February received a present equal to about 200*l.* of our money; and under date of 8th March we meet with a larger payment to a person never before mentioned—the son of Cardinal Campeius, no doubt the offspring of his wife who died before he entered the church in 1507 or 1508: it is in these words:—

"Item, to maister Randulphe, the Cardynall Campegius sonne, the viii<sup>th</sup> day of Marche, in rewarde at his goinge home,—xlv<sup>li</sup>."

It is supposed that 45*l.* then would have gone at least as far as 250*l.* at present : the young man was on his way back to Rome, and this money was presented to him to bear his travelling charges. It is a new fact, though perhaps not a very material one, that Campeius was accompanied to England by his son. In the same month, but the precise day is left blank, the Cardinal, by warrant from the King, was paid 233*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* which would represent about 1400*l.* of our present money.

The dilatory proceedings at the trial of Queen Katherine are matters of history, and upon these the book of accounts, to which I have hitherto been indebted, throws no very new light. Campeius, refusing to decide without a fresh reference to the Pope, was allowed to depart from England, the King being at the same time extremely wrath with Wolsey, that all this unforeseen delay had occurred. Cavendish in his life tells us, without fixing any date, that Campeius "took his journey towards Rome with the King's reward : what it was I am uncertain ;" and Stow uses the same words. Now, from the MS. before me I am able to state that Campeius quitted London in the end of August, as well as to give the precise amount of the King's reward, not only to the Cardinal, but to Florian, his Secretary. It appears that Thomas Risley, York Herald, was appointed to attend upon Campeius, when he went from London to Grafton to take leave of Henry VIII. ; and that from thence they proceeded to Dover and from Dover to Calais, the whole duty occupying nineteen days. The reward Campeius received was plate to the value of 707*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* (nearly 5,000*l.*), while his Secretary, besides some portion of plate, not specified, was presented with the sum of 112*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* (nearly 700*l.*) As may be supposed, this is the last notice that occurs regarding Campeius and his mission to England.

During the whole period of the residence of Campeius in or near the Court, and for some time previous, the intercourse between London and Rome, by means of ambassadors, special envoys, couriers and messengers had been incessant. Sir Francis Bryan, the poet, was dispatched to the Pope on the 20th of November : he was followed on the 26th by Peter Vannes, and on the 4th December Dr. Bennett (called the King's Orator in Rome) took his leave on the same destination, while Dr. Knight, the King's principal Secretary, hastened after them in a few days. The most remarkable person employed on this business was, however, Stephen Gardener, who is said in some of our printed accounts to have received his instructions in February and to have returned "late in the summer." Here, in contradiction to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, we find that Gardener, instead of having received his instructions in February, had actually started on his journey in the middle of the preceding month : that he was allowed 26*s.* 8*d.* for his daily ex-

penses, and that 300*l.* were advanced to him on account. The rectification of matters of date of this kind, though apparently of small moment, is often of importance in relation to events which are consequent upon each other.

I shall now touch upon a few points of novelty and interest as regards Wolsey: they are all derived from the same valuable volume.

We may pass over the manner in which he appears, without check or control, to have issued his written warrants or verbal commandments for payments of money for nearly all purposes and upon all occasions, even for the dispatch of his own letters to Rome: an entry of this kind is made in the first month to which the MS. applies. Neither is it necessary to dwell upon the items which relate to the known part he took in the trial of Queen Katherine, since upon this portion of the subject nearly all the authorities, from Hall down to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, concur. It is to be observed, in reference to the transactions in which Wolsey was concerned, that no warrant was issued by him for the payment of any sum of money after the 19th June, 1529, when Sir Thomas Fitzgerald, the Irish Knight, had a present made to him of 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, the order for which was given by Wolsey. After this date the warrants were those of the King or of particular officers, and it does not seem that Wolsey was allowed to interfere; for his disgrace had then commenced, in consequence of vexatious postponements in the trial of the divorce. Neither does his name again occur in this volume, until we come upon it, as it were, by surprise, in an entry, where he is spoken of by his double title of Cardinal of York and Bishop of Winchester, in connexion with a payment to him of a thousand marks out of the revenues of Winchester. The terms are remarkable:—

“Item, paide to the Lorde Cardynall of Yorke and Bushope of Wincestre, xvij. die Martii, by the Kynges warraunte, datede at Windesour, xvj. die Martii, in thadvancement of his hole yeres pension, of M. mrs by the yere, out of the bushopricke of Winchester, which yere shall ful y ende and ronue at Michilmas next cumming,—pclxvj<sup>ii</sup> xiiij<sup>iiij</sup>.”

This quotation is valuable, both biographically and historically, since it settles the question whether the sum granted to Wolsey were one thousand marks, as Stow in his “Annals” asserts, or four thousand marks, as it stands in some MSS. of Cavendish’s Life of the Cardinal. Such is the case with Dr. Wordsworth’s edition; but in that of Mr. Singer it is here stated, in general terms, that the King was “moved to give Wolsey a pension out of Winchester.” By the above entry, confirmed by a subsequent passage in Cavendish, it is clear that the pension was a thousand marks; and that, in consideration of the necessities of the Cardinal,



it was to be allowed him beforehand. After all his pomp and prosperity, after all his vast accumulations of wealth, after all his piles of plate and heaps of cloth of gold, and costly apparel, Wolsey, in March, 1530 (judging only from this entry), was reduced to the necessity of obtaining a loan of a thousand marks. This, too, to carry him to his exile at York, whither his enemies had by this date induced the fickle, selfish, and luxurious king to banish his great favourite.

Of Wolsey's subsequent residence at Cawood we find an interesting notice in the MS. under consideration; but, excepting that it belongs to the entries of March and is found among them, it has no particular date: it is as follows.

"Item to David Vincent, by the King's warrant, for his charges, being sent to Cawoode in the north contrie at suche time as the Cardenall was sicke."

As the sum charged was considerable, viz. 35*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* (more than 200*l.*), we may infer perhaps that the messenger (whom Cavendish styles his "fellow, Vincent") made some stay there, watching the progress of Wolsey's illness, and sending intelligence to the King, who was more anxious for the death than for the life of his victim, in order that he might seize upon the remainder of his moveables. It is quite evident that the Cardinal was not at this period so destitute as many have supposed, (see Cavendish's *Life*, edit. Singer, i. 262), and that he had carried with him a very large quantity of plate of which the King possessed himself the moment the breath was out of the body of its owner. Among the payments for January, 22 Henry VIII., we read in the Trevelyan MS., that two persons of the names of Robert Draper and John Alalye were employed for three entire days in London "weighing the plate that came from Cawood, late the Cardinalles." Such are the unceremonious terms used in the original memorandum, communicating a striking fact, of which we now hear for the first time.

From Cawood, as is well known, Wolsey was brought to the Earl of Shrewsbury's seat at Sheffield Park, and we now approach the last scene in the life of a man who, had he added goodness to his greatness, and probity to his talents, would have met with more sympathy from his contemporaries, and more approbation from posterity. It was to Sheffield Park that messengers were unexpectedly sent to convey Wolsey to the Tower; but Cavendish, and Stow, who usually adopts his authority, are both in error when they represent that Sir William Kingston (whom they call Master Kingston), dispatched on this errand with twenty-five of the royal guard, was Constable of the Tower: they also make Wolsey speak of him as in that office, and from thence augur most unfavourably as to the King's intention in fetching him to London. At this date the Lord Curzon was Constable of the Tower, as I find from the volume in my

hands, and Sir William Kingston Captain of the Guard; it was in this last capacity that he was employed to arrest the Cardinal. Forty pounds were paid to Kingston in November, 1530, for the expenses of his journey, as appears by an entry in the volume from which I have derived the foregoing information: here, too, he is only styled Knight, and Captain of the Guard:—

“Item to Sir William Kingston, Knight, capitain of the Kinges garde, sent to Therle of Shrewsbury with divers of the Kinges garde, for the conveyance of the Cardinall of Yorke to the Tower of London, in prest for their charges,—xl<sup>li</sup>.”

Wolsey died at Leicester on the 29th of the month to the accounts of which we are now adverting, having been able to get no further on his road to the Tower. It is a curious and novel circumstance, that exactly two months before this event the Dean and Canons of Cardinall's (now Christchurch) College, Oxford, had so completely separated themselves from Wolsey, and from all the interest he had taken in their establishment, that, instead of resorting to him for the comparatively small sum of 184*l.*, for the purpose of carrying on their works, they applied to the King for the loan of the money: I meet with the entry of it in the subsequent form:—

“Item to the Deane and Chanoynes of the Cardinalles College in Oxford, by the Kinges warrant dated the xxix<sup>th</sup> day of Septembre, anno xxij<sup>do</sup>, for the lone of Ciiij<sup>xx</sup>iiij<sup>li</sup> viij<sup>s</sup>. 8<sup>d</sup>., uppon an obligation to be repaid agayne by the said Deane and Chanons to the Treasurer of the Kinges Chamber, for the Kinges use, on this side of Cristinmas next cumming,—Ciiij<sup>xx</sup>iiij<sup>li</sup> viij<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>.”

So that even this trifling advance could not be made out of the royal purse, filled to repletion by the sacrifice of Wolsey, without an express stipulation that the money was to be returned before Christmas.

Having thus far occupied your time, on the great topics of the royal divorce, and the fall of Wolsey, I must put other matters, not I think unworthy attention, and of a historical or personal kind, into a narrow compass. One very noticeable particular is the large sums frequently placed at the mere and uncontrolled disposal of Henry VIII. during the proceeding in which he and Queen Katherine were so deeply interested. Thousands, stated to have been given to the King, were, no doubt, expended in secret bribes at home and abroad; and some of them, under the name of loans and other advances, found a place in the MS.: the most remarkable of these is 1400*l.*, equal to at least 8000*l.* of our present money, to the French Ambassador on his return to Paris. With regard to the Queen's means of communication with her relatives in Spain, there is only a single memorandum of a messenger sent thither by her, and he was obliged to return to London before he could deliver his letters, owing to the fracture of his leg: this at least is the cause assigned in the MS.

Cardinal Pole is twice mentioned in it: in November, 1528, there is a note of the payment to him of an "exhibition," but the sum is not given: in all probability it was 25*l.* per quarter. In the next year he had gone to Paris, and while residing there he was allowed 100*l.* per annum; but the entry of this sum, or of any other, is not repeated in 1530. In 1529 Cranmer was employed, as doctor in the law, to accompany the Earl of Wiltshire on an embassy to the Emperor; and in the following year he was sent abroad with the King's Ambassador "in the parts of Italy," not naming Rome. It is not an unimportant incident, at this period of the career of Hugh Latimer, that on the second Sunday in Lent, 1530, he was called upon to preach before the King, and received the usual reward of 20*s.* for his sermon. At the date of which we are now speaking, Thomas Wriothesley, who afterwards so unexpectedly became Lord Chancellor of England, was only Clerk to the Cofferer of the Household—a fact not hitherto mentioned. Henry VIII. had a propensity for elevating his servants from the lower grades of society; but unfortunately he had also a propensity for cutting off their heads. Wriothesley, however, was lucky enough to escape this distinction.

Richard Cecill, the father of William Cecill, afterwards the famous Lord Burghley, is frequently mentioned: the biographers of the Lord Treasurer have been anxious to dignify his father by representing that he filled the high office of Master of the Robes to Henry VIII. This post was given to Lord Windsor in 1529, and Richard Cecill, as we learn from this MS., was then only "yeoman" in the department.

Another word or two regarding our old printers, and I have done. Pinson, Berthelet, and Barker are all commemorated. It is stated by Herbert, that Thomas Berthelet became King's Printer in 1529, but, on the authority of the Trevelyan MS., in May of that year Richard Pinson was paid 7*l.* 10*s.* "for printing papers against heresies, and for reformation of engrossing of farms." In October, 1531, Berthelet received 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* "for printing 600 papers and books of proclamation for ordering and punishing of certain beggars and vagabonds, and damning books containing certain errors, after the rate of one penny for every leaf." Whether these proclamations exist in the admirable collection in our library I am not able to state; but the price paid for the operation of printing at that date is curious, and I am not aware that we have any other authority on the point. With regard to Christopher Barker, all that is worthy noting is, that in 1529 and 1530 he filled the situation of Richmond Herald, and that in this capacity, long before he obtained a patent for printing, he accompanied Sir Thomas More and the Bishop of London to Cambray, when they were dispatched by Henry VIII. to negotiate a treaty there. This fact is new in Barker's biography.

I have omitted a fact of much antiquarian and literary interest, viz., that while John Leland was pursuing his studies and investigations abroad, and before he obtained the title of the King's Antiquary, he was allowed a pension, which, although small in actual amount, was not inconsiderable in those days: it was 25s. per quarter. I may mention, at the same time, that the learned Ludovicus Vives, who had been invited to reside in this country, and who was the instructor of the Princess Mary, received an annuity of 20*l.*; and, although it has been said that he was imprisoned for the part he took in favour of Queen Katherine, it does not appear in this MS. that the half-yearly payments to him were ever discontinued. That Leland was in confinement we know from the petition from him which I printed many years ago in our *Archæologia*. The original is in my hands.

I am, yours, &c.,

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

III. *On the Origin of the Title and Office of Cursitor-Baron of the Exchequer.*  
*In a Letter addressed to LORD VISCOUNT STRANGFORD, F.R.S., V.P., from*  
*EDWARD FOSS, Esq., F.S.A.*

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Read November 16, 1854.

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MY LORD,

I am induced to address your Lordship, not so much on account of the general interest you have always taken in antiquarian researches, as presuming that, from your descent from a Chief Justice of the reign of Henry VII.,<sup>a</sup> and your possession of his Sergeant's Ring, with the first known<sup>b</sup> instance of a posy inscribed, you will have a special regard to those inquiries which relate to legal history. Your connection also with a Chief Baron of the Exchequer of the last century warrants me more particularly in calling your Lordship's attention to the following observations with reference to the title of an officer of the latter court, which I trust may be worthy of the consideration of our Society.

Although the history of our most ancient titles and offices may generally be traced with tolerable certainty, we occasionally meet with some of more recent date, of which, though we might reasonably expect greater facility in the inquiry, no account can be discovered of the introduction or origin. The possessor of such an office is too commonly satisfied with performing its duties and receiving the stipulated salary, without troubling himself about its antecedent history; or, perhaps, while he prides himself on its extreme antiquity, pleads that as a proof of the inutility of investigation.

The office of Cursitor-Baron of the Exchequer, for instance, is, according to the general acceptance, as old as the Exchequer itself, whether we date the introduction of that department of the State at the time of the Conquest, or in the reign of Henry I. And for this there is some semblance of probability, for the same duties which are now, or till recently were,<sup>c</sup> entrusted to the Cursitor-Baron

<sup>a</sup> Sir John Fineux, Chief Justice of the King's Bench from 11 Henry VII. 1495, to 17 Henry VIII. 1526.

<sup>b</sup> "Suz quisque fortunæ faber." Lloyd's State Worthies, 82. Notes and Queries, vii. 188.

<sup>c</sup> By Stat. 3 and 4 William IV. c. 99, some of these duties are transferred to the Commissioners for auditing Public Accounts.



have been performed by some officer of the Exchequer from the most distant period. It has therefore not unnaturally been presumed that the executor of those duties in ancient times bore the same title as the officer of the present day. But if it were so, how is it that we never meet with the name of *Cursitor-Baron* for more than five centuries after the introduction of the Exchequer? Is it not rather extraordinary that it never occurs in any ancient Record?—that it is not mentioned in the elaborate history of the court by *Madox*?—and that it is not noticed in any subsequent work, with which I am acquainted, from the end of the reign of *Edward II.*, at which *Madox* terminates his history, till the early part of that of *James I*?

This universal silence—especially on the part of that careful historian *Madox*, who gives the name, and describes the duty, of every officer of the court, from the Chief Justiciary, who presided, down to the *Pesour* and the *Fusour* of the metal—cannot fail to create in the mind of any intelligent inquirer a strong doubt whether an officer so called then existed; and to induce him to seek for some further evidence, in the hope of finding the time when, and the reason for which, he was actually created.

The principal duty devolving upon the *Cursitor-Baron*, until the recent Act of Parliament, was the examination and passing of the accounts of the sheriffs of all the counties in England. There can be no doubt that this duty was originally performed by one of the regular Barons, and that at one time they used to travel for some of the purposes connected with it. By a statute of *Edward I.* it is enacted, “that at one time certain every year, one Baron and one clerk of our said Exchequer shall be sent through every shire of England, to inroll the names of all such as have paid that year’s debts exacted on them by green wax. And the same Baron and clerk shall view all such tallies and inroll them. And shall hear and determine complaints made against sheriffs and their clerks and bailiffs, that have done contrary to the premisses.”\* The examination of the sheriffs’ accounts was generally performed in London, and when completed the Baron and the clerk assisting him signed their names at the head. It does not distinctly appear in what order the Barons acted, but probably they at first took the duty in turn; and, as after the appointment of a Chief Baron the others were called the second, third, and fourth Baron, it then perhaps became the peculiar province of the junior of these three.

It is therefore evident that at some period this duty was transferred from the

\* Stat. de Finibus Levatis, 27 Edw. I. Statutes of the Realm, i. 129.



regular Barons to a distinct officer; and in order to discover when, and under what circumstances, this probably took place, we must direct our attention to the changes that have occurred in the ancient constitution of the court.

In the original institution of the Exchequer, all the judges were Lords of the land and actual Barons; and until the reign of Henry III. they were indiscriminately styled "*Justiciarii et Barones*." <sup>a</sup> On the division of the courts in that reign, the real Barons having in the mean time gradually seceded from the employment, special persons were assigned to sit in the Exchequer, "*tanquam Baro*;" thus retaining the name of Baron: and in order to distinguish their business from that of the two other courts, from which they were now separated, their duty was expressly limited "*pro negotiis nostris quæ ad idem Scaccarium pertinent*." <sup>b</sup> One of these persons, Alexander de Swereford, had previously been a clerk in the Exchequer, and thus was fully cognizant of all the details of the Court.

All these Barons held equal rank until the reign of Edward II., when for the first time one of them was distinguished by the title of Chief Baron.<sup>c</sup> He was sometimes selected from the legal profession, but the other Barons were generally men who had acquired practical knowledge of the revenue in the minor offices of the court. They manifestly held an inferior rank to the judges of the other courts, and were not reckoned among them in judicial proceedings. In the Statute of *Nisi Prius*, 14 Edward III. it is enacted, "that if it happen that none of the justices of the one bench nor of the other come into the county, then the *Nisi Prius* shall be granted before the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, *if he be a man of the law*:" <sup>d</sup> thus excluding the other Barons, and even the Chief Baron, unless he were a regular lawyer. The same distinction occurs in the reign of Henry IV.:<sup>e</sup> and even the rank of the Chief Baron does not seem to have been higher than that of the puisne judges of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, if so high; since no less than seven of the Chief Barons, from the reign of Henry IV. to the middle of that of Henry VIII.<sup>f</sup> held, in addition, the judgeship of one of those Courts; which two of them subsequently retained in preference to the office of Chief Baron.

By the poll tax of 2 Richard II. though the Chief Baron is placed in the same

<sup>a</sup> Madox's Exchequer, i. 199, 200.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. i. 54.

<sup>c</sup> Rot. Pat. 5 Edw. II. p. 2, m. 17.

<sup>d</sup> Statutes of the Realm, i. 287.

<sup>e</sup> Rot. Parliamentorum, iii. 498.

<sup>f</sup> John Cockayne; William Babington; John Juyn; Peter Arderne; Humphrey Starkey; John Fitz-James; and Richard Broke.

class with the other judges, the puisne Barons are not even named: <sup>a</sup> and in a commission in the fifth year of that reign, to inquire into the abuses of the different courts, the Barons and great officers of the Exchequer are named *after* the sergeants-at-law.<sup>b</sup>

Some of the Barons in the reign of Henry VI., as Nicholas Dixon, William Derby, and Thomas Levesham, were in holy orders; others were members of parliament, and two of them, Roger Hunt and Thomas Thorpe, were Speakers of the House of Commons; all during the time they were Barons. Fortescue also, who wrote in this reign, does not include them among the judges; and in reference to the rings given by the sergeants on taking their degree, says that those for "every justice" must be of the value of "one mark," while "to each Baron of the Exchequer, &c." they are to be "of a less value in proportion to their rank and quality."<sup>c</sup>

Under Henry VII. and Henry VIII. the same marked difference still existed; none of them being summoned as attendants on the House of Lords as the judges of the two other benches were; nor being privileged like them to have chaplains.<sup>d</sup> But they were already advancing in legal education and entering into the inns of court. Several instances occur of their being members, and even readers there, after they had become Barons. But they still were selected principally from the officers of the Exchequer, and one even was raised from the inferior position of Clerk of the Pipe.<sup>e</sup>

No change took place in the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary. One of the Barons had been Engrosser of the Great Roll;<sup>f</sup> and at the sergeants' feasts their servants were not allowed liveries, though those of the judges were provided with them. The rings of the judges were of the value of 16s., while those given to the Barons were only 14s.;<sup>g</sup> which was still further reduced under Elizabeth to 10s.<sup>h</sup>

There is no doubt therefore that, from the reign of Henry III. to that of Elizabeth, the Barons of the Exchequer were inferior in degree to the judges of the two other courts; and that in fact they were little more than superior officers of the revenue, raised to the bench on account either of their long service, or of their known aptness in the details of that department. But by degrees the business of the Exchequer had materially increased; the causes that were tried there ceased to be confined to cases of revenue, and by means of the writ of *Quo Minus*

<sup>a</sup> Rot. Parl. iii. 58.

<sup>c</sup> Fortescue, *De Laudibus* (Ed. 1741,) 115.

<sup>e</sup> Nicholas Lathell. Rot. Parl. vi. 97.

<sup>g</sup> Dugdale's *Orig. Jurid.* 129, 130.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. iii. 102.

<sup>d</sup> Statutes of the Realm, iii. 457.

<sup>f</sup> John Darnall. Dugdale's *Chronica Series*, 86.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. 125.

all sorts of civil actions were by a legal fiction introduced. No wonder then that the Chief Baron, who was the only lawyer among them, required some assistance to cope with this accumulation of business, and that it was found necessary to graft a little more legal learning on the bench, in order to give weight to decisions on intricate points that were daily arising.

Accordingly in the month of June, 1579, 21 Elizabeth, two vacancies in the court, occasioned by death or resignation, afforded the opportunity of trying the experiment. One of them was filled up in the accustomed manner by John Sotherton, who had held the office of Foreign Apposer for twenty years ;<sup>a</sup> but the other was supplied by Robert Shute, as second Baron, who for the first time was selected from the sergeants-at-law ; and in the patent he received was contained a special clause, ordering that "he should be reputed and be of the same order, rank, estimation, dignity, and pre-eminence, to all intents and purposes, as any puisne judge of either of the two other courts."<sup>b</sup> He was the first who was thus put on an equality with the other judges, and was consequently privileged to go the circuits, and to hold assizes as they did. John Birch, the Baron who remained in the court at their nomination, is represented by Dugdale to have been also a sergeant ; but from various circumstances, unnecessary to particularise here, I think that author has mistaken the man. The vacancy on his death, and all future vacancies in Elizabeth's reign, were supplied by sergeants ; so that at the accession of James I. the whole court consisted of men of the law, except the above John Sotherton, the fourth Baron, who was the only one left on the bench accustomed to the routine duties of the Exchequer.

On Sotherton's retirement eighteen months after James came to the Crown, George Snigg, a sergeant-at-law, was appointed ; so that then the legal phalanx was complete. After fifteen months, however, viz., in July, 1606, although no other vacancy occurred, another Baron, Nowell Sotherton, was added to the rest. He was not a sergeant, and, although of Gray's Inn, he is not mentioned by any of the reporters as an advocate, nor, although the names of all the other Barons occur in the books, is he ever mentioned as sitting in court.

In May, 1610, Thomas Cæsar, the brother of Sir Julius Cæsar, Master of the Rolls, was, according to Dugdale, appointed a Baron ; and in the same author we for the first time find the designation of Baron-Cursitor used with regard to him. This entry occurs in the books of the Inner Temple on his election : "That the said Thomas Cæsar, then being the puisne Baron of the Exchequer (commonly called the Baron-Cursitor), should not be attended to Westminster by any but the

<sup>a</sup> Stowe's London, 332.

<sup>b</sup> Dugdale's Chron. Series, 94.

officers of the Exchequer; for as much as none but such as are of the coif ought to be attended by the officers of the House." And in the following month another order was made in these terms: "That Thomas Cæsar, then one of the Benchers of this House, notwithstanding an Act made 7 June, 5 Jac. viz.—that none who should thenceforth be called to the Bench, that had not read, should take place of any reader, or have a voice in Parliament—having not read, but fined for not reading, and then called to be puisne Baron of the Exchequer, should have place at the Bench Table, the said order notwithstanding."<sup>a</sup> These entries shew, first—that he was not a sergeant; next—that he had not attained the dignity of reader to the society; and thirdly—that his appointment of puisne Baron, or Baron-Cursor, was a new occurrence requiring a special order of the bench; and the omission of his name by the reporters proves that he had no judicial function to perform.

He seems to have been soon tired of his duties, and to have resigned them five months afterwards, for in October of the same year another John Sotherton of the same inn of court was nominated a Baron; and here is the entry in the Inner Temple books with reference to him: "That John Sotherton, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, being called to the Bench, should have his place at the Bench Table above all the readers, in such sort as Sir Thomas Cæsar, *late* puisne Baron of the Exchequer, had."<sup>b</sup> Thus it is clear that he was not even a bencher at the time of his appointment; and, though the reporters of the period frequently mention all the Barons who sat in court, they never introduce his name. From these facts it may be inferred that he held the office of Cursor-Baron only; and that it was of greatly inferior grade to that of the regular Barons is proved by his name being placed in a special commission to inquire into defective titles, issued in 1622, after the Attorney-General, though two other Barons, Denham and Bromley, are inserted previous to that officer. This order of precedence again occurs in a similar commission in the next year; and in another relative to nuisances in London, in 1624, several knights and the Recorder of London intervene between the regular Barons and him.<sup>c</sup>

While, therefore, it is apparent that the office of Cursor-Baron was not *eo nomine* an ancient office, the probability afforded by the circumstances above detailed that it had its origin in the reign of James I. is greatly strengthened by considering the state of the court at that time. John Sotherton (the elder) on his retirement in 1604 was the last of the regular Barons according to the *ancien régime* and the only one who was practically acquainted with the mode of accounting and other formal business of the Exchequer. George Snigg succeeded him; but, being

<sup>a</sup> Dugdale's Orig. Jurid. 149.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Rymer's Fœdera, xvii. 388, 512, 540.



bred a lawyer, like the Barons he found on the Bench, could not, any more than they, have the requisite knowledge of the technical matters of account, indispensable for the due investigation of the sheriffs' returns, and other minute matters which up to that time had been customarily performed by one of the regular Barons. George Snigg made an attempt to master this duty; for we find his name attached to the current accounts of the year of his appointment.<sup>a</sup> This audit no doubt was sufficient to prove that the duty could not be satisfactorily performed by men whose habits and previous education led them in a very different direction. The exercise also of this laborious but necessary employment must have been so onerous an interference with their judicial functions, that it is most probable the legal Barons represented their own incompetency, and suggested the appointment of some person to aid them, in addition to their number, who was conversant with the duties and competent to perform them.

Accordingly, in the following year, Nowell Sotherton, who no doubt was bred up in the Exchequer, and was the relative probably of John Sotherton, the last Baron, was appointed; and, as in no list of the Barons, which the reporters give as forming the judicial bench of the Exchequer, do we find his name, the natural inference seems to be, that his appointment was for the sole purpose I have intimated, viz. to audit the sheriffs' accounts, and to transact all the customary business with regard to them, and the other *matters of course* which were merely ministerial.

It is observable also that, although King James I. in the first year of his reign added a fifth judge to each of the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, his order did not extend to the Exchequer, which then had only four; yet when the judges of the two other courts were, after a few years, again reduced to four, the Exchequer, besides the four legal Barons, still retained the Cursitor-Baron.

The title, Baron-Cursitor, was evidently adopted in imitation of the ancient Cursitors in Chancery, who, holding the second place under the Chief Clerks or Masters of that Court, were called in Latin *Clerici de Cursu*, and prepared all original writs and other writs *of course*. So also the Barons-Cursitor held a secondary rank, and were solely employed, like their prototypes, in doing the formal business, the settled rule, of the Exchequer.

Dr. Cowell, in his "Interpreter," published in November, 1607, by stating, under the word "Baron," that there were only *four* Barons of the Exchequer, manifestly shews that he describes the state of the Court at an earlier period than

<sup>a</sup> 2 and 3 Jac. I. in the Record Office, Carlton Gardens.



the date of his book; no less than sixteen months having then elapsed since the appointment of Nowell Sotherton as a fifth Baron. The author was a civilian resident at Cambridge, and, being professionally ignorant of the practice of the Court, was evidently not aware of the change. His account turns out to be a mere abridgment of the narration of the duties of the Barons and other Officers written by Sir Thomas Fanshawe, the Queen's Remembrancer, for the instruction of Lord Buckhurst, when he was appointed Lord High Treasurer in 1599;<sup>a</sup> and that narration of course applied to the state of the Court as it existed at that time, and for the twenty previous years, viz.—ever since the introduction of legal Barons.

Both say that the Lord Chief Baron "answereth the barre in matter of lawe;" that the second Baron, "in the absence of the Lord Chief Baron," doth the like;—that the third Baron, "in the absence of the other two," has the same duty;—and that the fourth Baron "is always a coursetour of the Court, and hath bene chosen of some one of the clerks of the Remembrancers' offices, or of the clerke of the Pipe's office . . . . He informeth the rest of the Barons of the course of the Court in any mater that concerneth the King's prerogative." This was precisely the position of John Sotherton (the elder) when all the others had become legal Barons. The words "always a *Coursetour of the Court*,"<sup>b</sup> are evidently used merely as descriptive of the duties of the fourth Baron, not as denoting his title; for neither he nor his predecessors are ever designated by any other title than that of fourth Baron. When, however, on his resignation, all the four regular Barons became legal Barons, and none of them were competent to perform the duties which hitherto had devolved on the fourth Baron, then an extra and an inferior officer was added to the Court to exercise those formal functions; and, as by the constitution of the Court these duties could not be performed but by a Baron, he received the designation of Cursitor-Baron; but he was not invested with any judicial power.

In the next work on the Exchequer which I have met with, published by Christopher Vernon, in 1642, the proper distinction is made. The author there says—"The chiefe Baron and *three* other learned Barons, and the puny or Cursitor-Baron, are all in the King's gift. The said Cursitor-Baron

<sup>a</sup> These instructions seem to have remained in manuscript till 1658, when they were published under the title of "The Practice of the Exchequer Court, with its several Offices and Officers. Written at the request of the Lord Buckhurst, some time Lord Treasurer of England. By Sir T. F." pp. 23-34.

<sup>b</sup> I find that these words are also used in a manuscript, exhibited to the Society on its next meeting after this Paper was read, which is stated to be written in 1572. It seems more probably to have been written in 1600; and with regard to the fourth Baron, it adopts precisely the same description as that given by Sir Thomas Fanshawe.—Proceedings, III. 121.

being so called because he is chosen most usually out of some of the best experienced Clerkes of the two Remembrancers' or Clerke of the Pipe's office, and is to informe the Bench and the King's learned Counsel from time to time, both in Court and out of Court, what the course of the Exchequer is." <sup>a</sup>

It may then, I think, be concluded that Nowell Sotherton was the first person who was added to the four regular Barons, as an appendage to the Court, with the special denomination of Cursitor-Baron; that Thomas Cæsar was the second, which will account for the expression in the Inner Temple order, "commonly called"; and that John Sotherton (the younger) was the third. The latter continued in office in the reign of Charles I.; and when Michaelmas Term was adjourned on account of the plague that raged in the sixth year, we find that the Essoigns were kept by Baron Sotherton, that duty being merely a matter of course.

One of the most showy functions of this officer was then, as it is now, to make the public announcement of the Crown's approval of the election of the sheriffs of London and Middlesex: a duty perhaps imposed upon him because the time of their inauguration occurs in the middle of the vacation, when the other Barons are absent. I am in possession of a quaint speech made, or pretended to be made, on one of these occasions by Cursitor-Baron Tomlinson, in the time of the Protectorate, which is so curious in itself, and so illustrative of the view I have taken of the position which the Cursitor-Baron held, that I shall be excused for giving a few extracts. <sup>b</sup>

Francis Warner and William Love were elected sheriffs in 1659, and on their presentation at the Exchequer the Baron commenced his address thus:—"How do you do, Mr. Warner? God save you, Mr. Love!" He then observes in them three things:—that they are well clad—that they feed well—and that consequently they do well. With regard to the first he remarks:—"Truly, I wish I were a sheriff, so it were not chargeable, for certainly a sheriff never can be a'cold—his gown is so warm; and o'my word yours seem to be of excellent good scarlet. Some men may ask why you wear red gowns, and not blew or green." And then, after shewing why they should not be blue or green, he proceeds:—"But red is the most convenient colour; for indeed most handsome and delectable things are red, as roses, pomegranates, the lips, the tongue, &c., so that indeed our ancestors did wisely to clothe magistrates with this decent and becoming colour. 'Tis true I have a gown too, but they make me wear *the worst* of any

<sup>a</sup> Considerations for regulating the Exchequer. Per C. Vernon, de Scaccario Dom. Regis, 1642, p. 33.

<sup>b</sup> "Baron Tomlinson's learned speech to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, when they came to be sworn at the Chequer." London: printed in the year 1659.

Baron of the Exchequer; 'tis plain cloth, as yee see, without any lining; yet my comfort is, I am still a Baron, and I hope I shall be so as long as I live; when I am dead I care not who's Baron, or whether there be a Baron or no." "But," he says a little further on, "do you know wherefore you come hither? I don't question but you do; however, you must give me leave to tell yee, for in this place I am a better man than either of you both, or indeed both of you put together. Why then I will tell yee: you come hither to take your oaths before me. Gentlemen, I am the Puisne Baron of the Chequer, that is to say, the meanest Baron; for though I am not guilty of interpreting many hard words, yet this hath been so continually beaten into my head that I do very well understand it. However, I could brook my means well enough (for some men tell me that I deserve no better,) were it not the cause of my life's greatest misery, for here I am constrained, or else I must lose my employment, to make speeches in my old age, and when I have one foot in the grave, to stand here talking in publick."

He tells the sheriffs, among other things, that they are "the chief executioners," and adds, "and now we talk of hanging, Mr. Sheriff, I shall entreat a favour of you; I have a kinsman at your end of the town, a ropemaker; I know you will have many occasions before this time twelve months, and I hope I have spoken in time; pray make use of him, you'll do the poor man a favour, and yourself no prejudice. Pray, gentlemen, what have you to dinner? for I profess I forgot to go to market yesterday, that I might get my speech by heart. Truly, gentlemen, I count it no dishonour to go to market myself. . . . Since I went, I find that my servants cheated me of, I warrant, five pounds in the year. They would reckon me two shillings for a leg of mutton, which I can buy as good a one now for five groats and two pence . . . Now, Mr. Sheriffs, get yee home, kiss your wives, and by that time the cloth's layed, I'll be with you, and so God by till I see you again."

The rest of the worthy Baron's address is quite as humorous and odd; but, though it might entertain your Lordship in private, it would be derogating from the gravity of this meeting to inflict upon it any further specimens. Whether it be the real speech or only a burlesque on his usual style of address, it is equally curious and interesting.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's very faithful Servant,

EDWARD FOSS.

Lord Viscount Strangford,  
F.R.S., V.P.

IV. *An Account of the Presents received and Expenses incurred at the Wedding of Richard Polsted, of Albury, Esquire, and Elizabeth, eldest daughter of William More, of Loseley, Esquire: in a Letter from JOHN EVANS, Esq. F.S.A. to J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq. Secretary.*

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Read March 23, 1854.

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Nash Mills, Hemel Hempsted, February 3, 1854.

MY DEAR SIR,

By the kindness of James More Molyneux, Esquire, of Loseley, I am enabled to lay before the Society of Antiquaries a transcript of another of the Loseley MSS. some of which have already appeared in the eighteenth volume of the *Archæologia*, and a collection from which was published in 1835 by Mr. A. J. Kempe, a Fellow of this Society. It is an account of the presents received and the expenses incurred at the wedding of the daughter of Mr. (afterwards Sir William) More, of Loseley, in 1567, and will, I think, be found of considerable interest as throwing light on the wedding customs among the landed gentry of that period, the more especially as I am not aware of any similar account having hitherto been published.

The wedding took place on the 3d of November, 1567, between Richard Polsted, of Albury, Esquire, and Elizabeth, eldest daughter of William More, of Loseley, Esquire, but there is no record of the minister who performed the ceremony, much less of those who "assisted" him in the performance of his duty. The bridegroom was a member of a good Surrey family, and was evidently a man of some consideration, having been sheriff of that county at the time of his death in 1576.

Of the bride there is more to be said, as hers appears to have been a rather eventful life. She was born on the 28th of April, 1552, and was consequently not sixteen at the time of her wedding with Mr. Polsted, of which we have here the account. From this marriage there was no issue, and in the same year as that in which she was left a widow of five-and-twenty by the death of Mr. Polsted, we find \* Tobie Mathew, afterwards Archbishop of York, paying her his addresses. Yet, though "he was careful not to discontent her in any waie," so much so that

\* Kempe's Loseley Manuscripts, p. 261.



34 *Account of the Presents received and Expenses incurred at the Wedding of*

he found his "suite in some sort a servitude," she preferred to him Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Wolley, of Pirton, Latin Secretary to Queen Elizabeth. By him she had one son, Sir Francis Wolley, Knight, born in 1583. Sir John was probably nearly twenty years her senior, as he was elected Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, the year after that in which his wife was born. Though a layman, he was in 1569 made Prebendary of Compton Dundon, and in 1578 *Dean of Carlisle*. He was knighted in 1592, and died at Pirford in February or March 1595-6. During the latter part of his life Lady Wolley was one of the ladies of the Privy Chamber to Queen Elizabeth, and in Mr. Kempe's interesting collection of the Loseley MSS. several of her own and her husband's letters will be found written from the Court to her father Sir William More at Loseley.

Shortly after the death of her second husband, Lady Wolley, being fair and forty, if nothing more, married for a third time, but was not destined again to survive her husband. She now became the wife of Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and afterwards Lord High Chancellor of England, who also was thrice married. The time of her death is uncertain, but it appears to have taken place about the year 1600. There is a monument to her memory in the Loseley Chapel of St. Nicholas' Church, Guildford. There was also an inscription in Latin hexameters sounding her praises with those of her husband and son, Sir John and Francis Wolley, erected in St. Paul's Cathedral, but destroyed by the great fire in 1666.

It will be observed that the wedding took place at the Black Friars, and not at Loseley, possibly owing to the preparations for building the present house, which was commenced in 1562. The church and precinct of the Black Friars had been granted at the suppression of monasteries to Sir Thomas Cawarden, at whose death in 1559, the widow and Mr. William More became his executors, and possibly Lady Cawarden lent her house for the wedding. The feasting was carried on for a fortnight, and, to judge from the vast amount of edibles which were presented by the friends, in addition to the large quantity bought or brought from Loseley, there could have been no lack of good fare. A bride of the present day would certainly be astonished at receiving such an array of notably fat does, capons of grease, fat cygnets, herons, cranes, and partridges alive, to say nothing of beefs, veals, muttens, and porkers, to the utter exclusion of more durable tokens of friendship.

The account of the expenses furnishes a few entries that illustrate the wedding customs of those days, in addition to the information that may be gained relative to the price of provisions and the rate of wages in London at that time. The wedding ring would appear to have been made specially for the occasion (probably



with some posy inscribed) and from some piece of gold selected for the purpose, though ninepence in gold had to be added to it. We also may gather that the bridegroom had to pay a certain part of the expenses, and that the rewards paid by the father of the bride to the bearers of the different presents were on a very liberal scale. It will too be remarked that a fast or fish diet was observed to a certain extent on the Saturday as well as the Friday. I will, however, leave the account to speak for itself, and merely observe, in conclusion, that some interesting statistics may be gathered by the naturalist, from a comparison of the numbers of the different species of birds, taken in conjunction with the places from which they were sent, with what might readily be obtained from the same localities at the present day.

Believe me,

My dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

JOHN EVANS.

J. Y. Akerman, Esq.

iiij<sup>d</sup> die Novembr, 1567, for  
the maryage of Mr. Pol-  
sted and Mrs. Eliz.  
More.

The Order of doings at the Black Fryers, under and for Mr. Will<sup>m</sup> More of  
Loseley, in the county of Surrey, Esquyre, begonne the thirde day of  
Novembr, Anno Dñi 1567, and there contynued unto the xviith day of  
the same moneth: viz.—

L. Clynton.

Presents geven, and first by the right hoñble Lorde the Lorde Clynton,  
L. Admyrall of England and my Lady Clynton: viz.—

Swannes	iiij.
Torkes fatt	iiij.
Capons	vj.
Partriges	vij.
Wodecockes	vj.
Hares	j.
Muttons flatt	x.
Sugar loves grete	ij.
Two grete boxes of mermelade	ij.
Barrells of sukkett <sup>a</sup>	ij.
Hogsheds of wyne	j.

L. Mountague.

Presents geven by the right hoñable L. Viscount Mountague—

Doose flatt	j.
-------------	----

Wyndchester.

Presents geven by the L. Bishopp of Winchester <sup>b</sup>—

Hyndes	j.
--------	----

Mr. Secretary.

From Mr. Secretary Sycell—

Doose flatt	j.
-------------	----

Mr. Balam, esquyre.

From Mr. Balam, esquyre, out of Mershlands, in Norfolk—

Cranes	ix.
Hernshawes	v.
Curlewes	j.
Duck and Mallards	xliij.
Teeles	xxvj.
Plovers	ix dozen
Swannes	ix.
Larks	xxxviij dozen
Bytters <sup>c</sup>	xvj.
Knotts <sup>d</sup>	iiij dozen iiij <sup>or</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Sweetmeats.

<sup>b</sup> Sir William More was Keeper of Farnham Park, a demesne of the Bishop of Winchester.

<sup>c</sup> Bitterns—*Botaurus Stellaria*.

<sup>d</sup> A species of Sandpiper—*Tringa Canutus*.

	Styntes <sup>a</sup>	.	.	.	.	vij dozen di.
	Godwyttts	.	.	.	.	xxij
Sr Henr. Nevell, knight.	From Sr Henry Nevell, knyght—					
	Doose flatt	.	.	.	.	j.
	Synatts flatt <sup>b</sup>	.	.	.	.	ij.
Sr Henr. Weston, knight	From Sr Henry Weston, knight—					
	Doose notable flatt	.	.	.	.	j.
Sr Edward Bray, knight.	From Sr Edward Bray, knight—					
	P'tryges	.	.	.	.	vj.
	Duck and mallards	.	.	.	.	iiij.
	Teeles	.	.	.	.	iiij.
Mr. Lyfelde, esquire.	From Mr. Lyfelde, esquyre—					
	Larkes	.	.	.	.	xij dozen.
	Fesaunts	.	.	.	.	iiij.
	P'triges	.	.	.	.	xviiij.
	Wodecocks	.	.	.	.	vj.
	Capons of grese	.	.	.	.	ij.
	Geese flatt	.	.	.	.	j.
	Puddings ffyne	.	.	.	.	viiij.
	Cheses	.	.	.	.	ij.
Mr. Bedingfelde, of Norfolk, esqr.	From Mr. Bedingfelde—					
	Larkes	.	.	.	.	ij dozen.
	Conyes very flatt	.	.	.	.	xviiij.
	Duck and mallards	.	.	.	.	xiiij.
	Teeles	.	.	.	.	vj.
	Plovers	.	.	.	.	x.
	Fyrkyns of butt <sup>r</sup>	.	.	.	.	iiij.
Mr. Thomas Stoughton, esquyre.	From Mr. Tho. Stoughton, esquyre—					
	Doose flatt	.	.	.	.	ij.
	Capons flatt	.	.	.	.	x.
	Conyes flatt	.	.	.	.	x.
Mr. Tho. Browne, esquyre.	From Mr. Thomas Browne, esquyre—					
	Fesaunts	.	.	.	.	iiij.
Mr. Fanshawe, esquyr.	From Mr. Fanshawe, esquyre—					
	Hogsheds of wyne	.	.	.	.	ij.
	Doose flatt	.	.	.	.	j.
Mr. Samborne, esquyre.	From Mr. Samborne, esquire—					
	Porkers fatt	.	.	.	.	j.
	Larks	.	.	.	.	vj dozen.

<sup>a</sup> This name was applied to several of the varieties of the Sandpiper tribe.

<sup>b</sup> Cygnets.

Mr. Hemwey, esquyre.	From Mr. Hemwey, esquyre—				j.
	Muske comfettis boxes	.	.	.	j.
Mr. Covert, esquyr.	From Mr. Ric. Covert, esquyr—				
	Doose	.	.	.	j.
	Turkes flatt	.	.	.	ij.
	Capons flatt	.	.	.	ij.
	Pyggs	.	.	.	ij.
	Chyckyns grete	.	.	.	xj.
	P'triges	.	.	.	iiij.
	Wodecocks	.	.	.	v.
John Elyott.	From John Elyott of Goddallmynge—				
	P'tryges alyve	.	.	.	xiiij.
	Snyghts <sup>a</sup>	.	.	.	iiij dozen.
	Wodecocks	.	.	.	iiij.
Mr. Edmund Hyll.	From Mr. Hill of Shere—				
	Capons flatt	.	.	.	iiij.
	Wodecocks	.	.	.	v.
	P'triges	.	.	.	j.
Tho. Westdene.	From Tho. Westdene—				
	Conyes flatt	.	.	.	x.
Mr. Jones.	From Mr. Jones, gent.				
	Doose	.	.	.	ij.
	Muscaden	.	.	one runlett of vj gallons and a pottell.	
Mr. George Elyott, gent.	From Mr. George Elyott, gent.—				
	P'tryges	.	.	.	xij.
Mr. Weston of Ockham.	Mr. John Weston, gent.—				
	Capons	.	.	.	iiij.
	Wodecocks	.	.	.	vj.
	P'triges	.	.	.	vij.
	Hares	.	.	.	j.
Mr. Walter Creswell, gent.	From Mr. Walt <sup>r</sup> Creswell—				
	Fesants	.	.	.	x.
	Wodecockes	.	.	.	vj.
	P'tryges	.	.	.	xij.
	Doose	.	.	.	j.
	Capons of grese	.	.	.	j.
Mr. Wynston.	From Tho. Winston—				
	Veles grete and flatt	.	.	.	j.
Mr. Skarlett, gent.	From Mr. Skarlett, gent.—				
	Capons	.	.	.	iiij.
	Doose	.	.	.	ij.

<sup>a</sup> Snipes.

Mr. Ric. Dyngley, gent.	From Mr. Ric. Dyngley, gent.—		
	P'tryges alyve . . . . .		vj.
John Peryer.	From John Peryer—		
	P'tryges . . . . .		ij.
	Wodecockes . . . . .		j.
John Brodfelde.	From John Brodfelde—		
	Sugar loves one weing . . . . .		iiij <sup>u</sup> fyne.
Mr. Ro. Banks.	From Mr. Ro. Banks, gent.—		
	Capons ffatt . . . . .		iiij.
Ric. Dalton.	From Ric. Dalton—		
	Wodecocks . . . . .		vj.
Mr. Elmes, gent.	From Mr. Elmes, gent.—		
	Ipocras, gallons . . . . .		j.
Underwode, of Katheryn Hill.	From Underwode of Katheryn Hill—		
	Grete bryde cakes . . . . .		j.
Mr. Weston, gent.	From Henry Weston, gent.—		
	One runlett of sack, gallons . . . . .		v.
Provicon from Loseley.	Provicon from Loseley—		
	P'tryges . . . . .		xxj.
	Chyckyns . . . . .		xxx.
	Conyes . . . . .		xliij.
	Swannes . . . . .		j.
	Capons . . . . .		xxxvj.
	Duck and mallards . . . . .		ij.
	Veles ffatt . . . . .		ij.
	Doose . . . . .		j.
	Mele, bushells . . . . .		xx.
	Eggs . . . . .		c.iiij <sup>ss</sup> ij.
	Hethcocks . . . . .		ij.
	Fesaunts . . . . .		ij.
	Wodecocks . . . . .		ij.
	Brawners . . . . .		ij.
Mr. Knowles, esquyr.	From Mr. Henry Knowles, esquyr—		
	Peper . . . . .	vj li.	Sugar meane . . . . . xxiiij li.
	Ginger . . . . .	ij li.	Turne soll . . . . . j li.
	Sinamond . . . . .	j li. di.	Liqueris . . . . . j li.
	Cloves and mase . . . . .	j li. di.	Agnes sede* . . . . . j li.
	Large mase . . . . .	i qrt.	Isinnglasse . . . . . ij li.
	Nutmeggs . . . . .	di. li.	Jorden almonds . . . . . xij li.
	Sugar fyne . . . . .	xvj li.	Damask prunes . . . . . xij li.

\* Anise seed.



*Account of the Expenses incurred at the Wedding of*

	Currans . . .	xiili.	Sallad oyle . . .	j gallon.
	Dates . . .	vili.	longe comfyttes . . .	ijli.
	Gum dragagant . . .	di.li.	Byskett white . . .	jli.
	Olyves . . .	iiijli.	Bysketts redd . . .	jli.
	Fyne capers . . .	ijli.	Summa vjli. xiij s. viij d. ut patet	
	Sampere . . .	jli.	per bill' percellor.	
Mr. Wilson.	From Wilson, my Lord Admyralls mann—			
	One runlett of Muscaden, gallons . . .			iiij.
	Robt. Elyott, gent.—			
	Turkeyes . . .			ij.
Mr. Robt. Creswell.	From Mr. Robt. Creswell—			
	Hogsheds of wyne . . .			ij.
	From Mr. Oneslow—			
	Hogsheds of wyne . . .			j.
M <sup>rs</sup> Polsted.	From Mystres Polsted—			
	Beafs fatte . . .			j.
Mr. Amersham.	From Mr. Amersham—			
	Turkeyes . . .			ij.
Mr. Anthonye Stowghton.	From my cosen Anthonye Stowghton—			
	Swans . . .			j.
	Capons . . .			ij.
	Buttere . . .			viiijli.
	Quarries of waxe . . .			vij.
M <sup>rs</sup> Pottere.	From M <sup>rs</sup> Pottere—			
	Capons . . .			ij.
	Buttere . . .			xvli.
CHARGES SUSTEYNED AT AND CONSERNINGE THE SAIDE MARIAGE.				
iiij. die Novemb <sup>r</sup> , 1567.	Paide by Sparks for a q <sup>r</sup> of mutton . . .			xvj d.
Mondaye. Sparks and Austen.	Paide for a q <sup>r</sup> of porke . . .			xx d.
	Paide for a quart of wyne . . .			iiij d.
	Paide for a quart of sack . . .			vj d.
Tuesdaye. Turner and Austen.	Paide for vj grete flasketts for y <sup>e</sup> kychyn . . .			iiij s. iiij d.
	Paide, vj grete treyse . . .			iiij s. iiij d.
	Paide for viij stone potts, vj stone pannes, and other for the cokes . . .			iiij s. iiij d.
	Paide for a baskett to carye coles . . .			iiij d.
	Paide for a choppyng knyfe for y <sup>e</sup> pantrye . . .			iiij d.
	Ex <sup>r</sup> summa, xv s. vj d.			

Wenesdaye.	Paide for vj stone of beffe at xd. a stone . . . . .	iiij s. ix d.
	Paide for a q <sup>r</sup> of mutton . . . . .	xvj d.
	Paide for a q <sup>r</sup> of porke . . . . .	xx d.
	Paide for butter . . . . .	v d.
Sparks of Austen xi s.	Paide for sawsags . . . . .	ij d.
	Paide for wyne . . . . .	iiij d.
	Paide more for wyne to make the gallantyne for the redd dere . . . . .	iiij d.
	Summa ix s.	
Thursday.	Paide for iij yerdes of course strayner clothe . . . . .	viiij d.
	Paide more for one yerde of fyne streyner . . . . .	vj d.
	Paide for vj quere of paper for y <sup>e</sup> cokes . . . . .	xviiij d.
	Paide for ij wooden pestells for stone morters, and a rolling pynn . . . . .	xij d.
	Paide for ij hand peles . . . . .	xij d.
Ro. Grene, of Tatnall xx s.	Paide more for erthen paynches and potts for the cokes . . . . .	ij s.
	Paide for ij payr of calves fete . . . . .	viiij d.
	Paide for netes fete . . . . .	xiiij d.
Of Austen xx s.	Paide for ij woden ladells . . . . .	ij d.
	Paide for a boke of golde for y <sup>e</sup> cokes . . . . .	ij s.
	Paide for a pottell of white wyne and a quart of clarett for y <sup>e</sup> cokes . . . . .	xij d.
	Paide for a quart of muscaden . . . . .	viiij d.
	Paide for a pynt of rosewater . . . . .	xd.
	Paide for safferen . . . . .	iiij d.
	Paide for rice flower . . . . .	xij d.
	Paide for xij li. grete resons . . . . .	ij s. vj d.
	Paide for merche pane brede ij C . . . . .	ij s.
Ad hue Ro. Grene.	Paide for iiij dozen trenchers . . . . .	xiiij d.
	Paide for di. dozen of plates for lights . . . . .	xij d.
	Paide for di. dozen of square plates to sett uppon skrynes . . . . .	vj d.
	Paide for a grete crewse and iiij lesser, to serve in the hall and kychyn . . . . .	xij d.
	Paide for iij C. j d of chestnotts . . . . .	xiiij d.
Fryday, not <sup>m</sup> for y <sup>e</sup> ac- compt.	Paide to Henry Sparks for ffreshe acates the begynning of this wyk . . . . .	x s.
	Paide for a pounce of peper to bake the venyson, swann, and turkye . . . . .	ij s. viij d.
	Paide for iiij li. of butter for y <sup>t</sup> matter . . . . .	xvj d.
Dynner.	Paide for one lynge . . . . .	xiiij d.
	Paide for one salt fyshe . . . . .	x d.
	Paide for vj whityngs . . . . .	vj d.
Ro. Grene.	Paide for oysters di. bozell . . . . .	vj d.
	Paide for butter . . . . .	xij d.

*Account of the Expenses incurred at the Wedding of*

	Paide for one lynge . . . . .	xiiij d.
	Paide for a salt fishe . . . . .	x d.
	Paide for butter . . . . .	xij d.
Supper.	Paide for xij whityngs . . . . .	xij d.
	Paide for di. bushell of oysters . . . . .	vj d.
	Paide for a haddock . . . . .	vj d.
	Paide for erbes, roses, and musterde . . . . .	ij d.
	Paide for applesand wardens <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	iiij d.
	Summa, xlvij s. iij d.	
Debt.	Unde recepit xl s. et sic debet sibi vij s. iij d. sol.	
Austen.	Paide to my mestris, to geve of rewards to Mrs. Jarvis ij men y <sup>t</sup> brought y <sup>e</sup> plate and naprye, and for ther bote hire . . . . .	ij s. vj d.
	Ex <sup>r</sup> summa pag. ij s. vj d.	
	Henry Sparks.	
Wenesdaye y <sup>e</sup> v. of November, of Tatnall x s.	Paide for a pece of rostinge befe . . . . .	xvj d.
	Paide for a qu <sup>r</sup> of porke . . . . .	xx d.
	Paide for a qu <sup>r</sup> of mutton . . . . .	xvj d.
	Paide for sawsagis and salletts . . . . .	iiij d.
Thursday, of Ro. Grene x s.	Paide for rostinge befe . . . . .	xviij d.
	Paide for a loyne of porke . . . . .	x d.
	Paide for a qu <sup>r</sup> of mutton . . . . .	xvj d.
	Paide for a sholder of mutton . . . . .	viiij d.
	Paide for sawsages and salletts . . . . .	iiij d.
Fryday, dynner.	Paide for one lynge and a salt fyshe . . . . .	ij s. ij d.
	Paide for a dozen of whityngs . . . . .	xij d.
	Paide for white herings . . . . .	vj d.
Of Jo. Austen, v s.	Paide for milke and whete <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	iiij d.
	Paide for butter . . . . .	xij d.
	Paide for salletts . . . . .	j d.
Supper.	Paide for a dozen of whitengs . . . . .	xj d.
	Paide for a haddock . . . . .	x d.
	Paide for a pyke . . . . .	xx d.
	Paide for a bote hyre . . . . .	ij d.

<sup>a</sup> Warden pears<sup>b</sup> For furnety.

Saterday.

Paide for butter	.	.	.	.	xij d.
Paide for mylke and whete	.	.	.	.	iiij d.
Paide for lynge and salt fyshe	.	.	.	.	ij s. ij d.
Paide for ij dozen of whittings	.	.	.	.	xx d.
Paide for a pyke	.	.	.	.	xx d.
Paide for bote hyre	.	.	.	.	ij d.

Summa per Sparks, xxiiij s. xj d.

So in arrerage to my m<sup>r</sup>, xij d.

Sparks.

xiiij. die Novembr. of Mr. Whidden x s.	Paid for di. bushell of fflower	.	.	.	ij s.
	Paid for radishe and rotes and endif	.	.	.	iiij d.
	Paid for eggs	.	.	.	xij d.
xiiij. die Novembr.	Paid for a bushell of mele	.	.	.	ij s. iiij d.
	For butt <sup>r</sup> and eggs	.	.	.	vj d.

Su. vjs. ij d.

So in arrerage uppon this page, iij s. xd.

Summa of all receipts by hym receyved, xlvs.

Summa of all paym<sup>ts</sup> by hym leide oute, xls. id.

Debt by Henry Sparke.

So due of arrerage to my m<sup>r</sup>, iij s. xjd.

Saterday, 8<sup>o</sup> die Novembr.

John Austen.

Paid for a q <sup>r</sup> of befe, a breste, and a surlyne, weing xxvij stone di.	
at viij d. a stone	xviijs. xd.
Paid to two porters for carying of y <sup>t</sup> befe from Leden Hall to the Fryers	vij d.
Paid for a stock lock for the vawte dore	xd.
Paid for di. C. of iiij d. nayles	jd. ob.
Paid for di. C. of vj d. nayles	ij d. ob.
Paid for an iron bolte for the windo betwene the garden and the cole house	iiij d.
Paid for two plates for y <sup>t</sup> bolte	ij d.

Ex<sup>t</sup> su. xxjs. iiij d.

Paid to a carr <sup>r</sup> for carying of two lodes of kychen stoffe	vij d.
Paid to Henry Walt <sup>r</sup> , for the chaundeler for xijlb. of candells at ij d. ob. y <sup>e</sup> li.	ij s. vjd.
Paid to two laborers for one dayes work in elensyng the garden	xx d.
Paide to Mr. Whidden for so moche by hym paide to Harry Sparkes for ffreshe acates	xv s.

Sparks.

*Account of the Expenses incurred at the Wedding of*

	Paide to hym for so moche by hym paide to two laborers for one after none . . . . .	x d.
	Paide to hym for so moche by hym laid out for bromes . . . . .	ij d.
Grene.	Paide to Robt Grene the ix <sup>th</sup> of Novemb <sup>r</sup> uppon a reconyng . . . . .	x s.
	Paide to Wynston's man of reward, for bringing of one vele . . . . .	ijs. vjd.
ij. remayning.	Paide for vj lynks . . . . .	xxd.
ij. remayning.	Paide for vj staffe torches . . . . .	v s. x d.
	Paide to the watermen for ij botes to bringe your servants and stuffe from Lambeth to the Fryers . . . . .	vij d.
	Paid to y <sup>e</sup> skaveng <sup>r</sup> , for caryng away the soyle lying at your conduct hedd gate, caryed out of yo <sup>r</sup> garden . . . . .	ijs.
Remayning.	Paide for a rape for the pantrye . . . . .	vij d.
Monday 10 die Novemb <sup>r</sup> .	Paide to Thomas Tatnall, towards the payment for one lode of coles . . . . .	x s.
Ex <sup>r</sup> su. pag. xlix s. ij d.		
Mr. Polsted.	Payde for the wedding ringe makinge, and for ix d. in golde added to the ringe . . . . .	iiij s.
	Paide to Mr. Secretary Sicell's man y <sup>t</sup> brought y <sup>e</sup> doo, for reward . . . . .	v s.
	Paide to Mr. Covert's man for the lyke . . . . .	iijs iiij d.
Johan Horley.	Paide to Mother Horley, for C. of eggs, &c. . . . .	ivs.
	Paide for turnypps, white endyff, and other . . . . .	iiij d.
	Paide to Golde the caryer, of reward for caryng of fflowle sent by Mr. Balam, ov <sup>r</sup> and above ijs. by you geven unto hym . . . . .	ijs.
	Paide for a dozen of cotten candell iiij d. and a dozen of wyke candell ij d. qu. by Thom <sup>s</sup> Tatnall . . . . .	vs. ij d.
	Paide for two gallons of mylke xij d. and a gallon of creme xvjd . . . . .	ijs. iiij d.
	Paide to Grace Trevelthen, wido, one of the wemen washers of pewter, for two dayes & more . . . . .	vij d.
	Paide for an other grete stone cruse for y <sup>e</sup> kychyn, because the first was broken at the conduct in ffilling of John Turner's tankerde . . . . .	vjd.
	Paide to a porter, for caryng of two firkyns of butt <sup>r</sup> sent by Mr. Bedingfelde . . . . .	iiij d.
Ex <sup>r</sup> su. pag. xxviij s. ix d.		
Austen.	Paide to Mr. Benyngfelde's man y <sup>t</sup> brought y <sup>e</sup> foule, ov <sup>r</sup> and above iiij s. iiij d. w <sup>ch</sup> you sent unto hym, not knowing that he came alone aft <sup>r</sup> his master . . . . .	xx d.
Ro. Grene.	Paide to Ro. Grene for freshe acates . . . . .	x s.
Ex <sup>r</sup> su. xj s. viij d.		



Qd. postea.	{ Paid to Mr. Betham, goodmā of the St. Jone's Hedd w <sup>in</sup> y <sup>e</sup> Ludgate, for vj gallons and a pottell of Muscaden, at ij s. and vj d. a gallon . . . . . xvj s. iij d.
	x d. for the rundlett . . . . . x d.
Debt paide.	{ Paide to hym for so moche French wyne, at xvj d. a gallon . . . vij s. viij d.
	Paide to hym for a rundlett . . . . . x d.
Paide ut pt. postea.	{ Paide to Mr. Morgayne, for fflyve poundes of suger ov <sup>r</sup> and above y <sup>e</sup> bill of parcells . . . . . v s.
	Paide to hym for ij gallons of Ipocras, after v s. viij d. a gallon, fett by Twyforde . . . . . xj s. iij d.
Qd. postea.	{ Paide of reward to y <sup>e</sup> cokes for delyveryng and taking in of the broches, potts, awndyrons, and other stuff borowed for y <sup>e</sup> kychyn . . . . . vjs.
Austen.	{ Paide to Rob <sup>t</sup> Grene, for so moche due unto hym uppon the fote of his accompt . . . . . vijs. iij d.
	Paide for two boxe of rounde wafers, at iis. a boxe . . . . . iijs.
	Paide to Rob <sup>t</sup> Grene xxs. for the w <sup>ch</sup> he hath made his accompt before . . . . . xxs.
Not <sup>m</sup> for his arrerage.	{ Paide to Henry Sparks, for y <sup>e</sup> w <sup>ch</sup> he hath made his accompt before . . . . . xvs.
	Ex <sup>r</sup> su. xlvjs. iij d.
	Summa pag. lvijs. xjd.
Austen.	{ Paide to John Colde, for iiij sacks of coles at vij d. a sack . . . ijs. iij d.
	Paide for vj sacks of coles taken in by Mr. Wytton, at vij d. a sacke ijs. vjd.
	Paide to the pewterer for mending thre pewt <sup>r</sup> candelstycks, whose noses was burned of at the scowrynge . . . . . xij d.
	Paid to Richard Barowe, mason, for one dayse work and more in mending the synk and leing the pavement, and in whitlymyng and mending the p <sup>l</sup> or selings and my Lady Saunder's wall, and for ii hodds of lyme . . . . . xvij d.
	Item. For mending Sir Henry Nevell's oven, and for clensyng the waye towards the house and thorowe the churcheyerde . . . . . vid. and mete and drink.
	Ex <sup>r</sup> sum. viijs. xd.
vj s. debt paide.	{ Due unto the ale bruer, Mr. Anthony Hykmote, for one kylkerkyn of stronge ale iijs. one kylderkyn of small ale, cont. xviii gallons and a pottell, iis.; sum . . . . . vjs.
Thomas Coke, Austen.	{ Delyverd to Thomas Coke for the dispatch of his caryage by water to Kyngston, by way of lone . . . . . x s.
	Ex <sup>r</sup> su. pag. xs.

*Account of the Expenses incurred at the Wedding of*

Paide	Due unto the bruer, Mr. Platt, herebruer, for two barrells of stronge bere, after the rate of viijs. the barrell . . .	xvjs.
	Item, due to hym for viij barrells of doble bere, after the rate of iijs the barrell . . .	xxxij s.
liij s. ix d.	Due unto the baker, Mr. Grene, for liij doz <sup>a</sup> of brede and ix <sup>d</sup> , del <sup>d</sup> in syns the iij day of this Novemb. 1567 . . .	liij s. ix d.
Launde the bocher.	An accompt made the xv day of Novemb. 1567, betwene Mr. More and Mr. Lawnde, bocher, in St. Nycholas Shambells—	
	First, delyvered unto hym x wether shepe . . .	x.
	Item, to his man for killing of them . . .	xx d.
	Item, for l li. of swete sewett, at ij d. ob. a li. . .	xs. v d.
Lawnde y <sup>e</sup> bocher.	Summa, xijs. jd.	
	Whereof receyved of Mr. Lawnde for the x fells of those shepe, after the rate of xvjd. every fell . . .	xiij s. iij d.
	So due to Mr. More xv d. paide to Austen.	

## Thacompt of Mr. Whitton, gent. viz.—

Mr. Wytton, paide yor selfe, not accounted for by Sparks.	Fyrst, deld to me, John Austen . . .	xxs.
	Item, to Henry Sparks . . .	vjs.
	Item, for cordes and lynce used in the larder . . .	xiiij d.
	Item, for ij erthen pannes . . .	iiij d.
Paide by yor selfe ut pt. p <sup>r</sup> billam.	For karying of ij ferkyns of butter . . .	iiij d.
	Paide to iij laborers in y <sup>e</sup> kychyn for iij dayes, at viij d. per diem . . .	iiij s. <sup>a</sup>
	More to one scaldre of fowle for vi dayes, at viij d. per diem . . .	iiij s.
	Item, other laborers for vj dayes, at vjd. per diem . . .	ij s.
	More to one other laborer for ij dayes . . .	xij d.
	Sum' xxxixs. ix d.	

Saterday, xv. die Novemb <sup>r</sup> , for dynner.	Di. lynge . . .	xij d.
	A salt fyshe . . .	xij d.
	xij whittings . . .	xx d.
	xxiiij white herings . . .	xx d.
	For oysters . . .	ij d.
Paide by yor selfe ut pat. per billam.	For butter . . .	xij d.
	For este <sup>b</sup> and eggs . . .	vjd.
	Sum' vijs. . .	46s. ijd.

<sup>a</sup> Sic.<sup>b</sup> Yeast.

Mother Horley. \* Johan Horley prayth to have allowans for dyvers things by her bought  
as by ij severall bills exhibited the xiiij of Novemb. 1567.

xv. die Novembris 1567. { Uppon which two bills exhibited the xiiij of Novemb. there is due  
unto her over and above iiij s. paide unto her by John Austen,  
and xs. by Tatnall, as apereth in the fote of one of the saide  
bills . . . . . xxiiij s. vjd.

Debt. { Item, due to her for her wages for one q<sup>r</sup> of a yere fully ended at  
Mychelmas last, 1567 . . . . . xs.  
Summa totalis, xxxiiij s. vjd.

Olde debt, as aperith in y<sup>e</sup> accompt of Johan Horley, exhibited the xvj. of July, 1567. { Item, due to the bere bruer for bere, dld. xls. w<sup>b</sup> xl s. was paide in  
golde, and because the golde was so light it was repayde . . . . . xls.

Dett. { Item, due to the same bruer for two barrells of bere in Ester terme,  
1567 . . . . . viij s.

Austen and Grene, Sunday the xvj. of Novemb. 1567. Sondag dynner.

Paide by Robt. Grene pnt for a surloyne of befe to roste . . . . . ij s. iiij d.

Paid by hym for a fore quarter of vele . . . . . iijs.

Ro. Grene. Sondag supper.

Paide for a dozen of larkes . . . . . xij d.

For ij lb. of butter . . . . . viij d.

For eggs . . . . . iiij d.

For frute . . . . . iiij d.

For salletts and rotes . . . . . ij d.

For sawsags . . . . . ij d.

For a cople of rabatts . . . . . viij d.

Ex<sup>r</sup> su. viijs. viij d.

Paide of rewarde for the havinge of dyvers things belonging to the  
kychyn in the p<sup>ns</sup>\* of H. Walter . . . . . vjs.

Paide to a carma<sup>r</sup> for ij lodes caryage to the house . . . . . viij d.

Ex<sup>r</sup> sum. vj s. viij d.

Debt. Wode and cole.

Mr. Wynston, taken out of his barge. { Due to Thomas Wynston, for one thousand of byllett.

{ Item, for one C. of chamb<sup>r</sup> faggatt.

{ Item, iiij lode of tall wode.

{ Item, two C. of chamb<sup>r</sup> fagatts.

{ Item, di. thousand of byllett.

{ Item, one C. of chamb<sup>r</sup> faggatt.

\* Presence.

*Account of the Expenses incurred at the Wedding of*

From Theamse wharffe,  
fett here because there  
wolde not delyver any  
more than as aforesaid.

Paide.

Item, due to Mr. Ferner, for one thousand and thre-quarters of a  
thousand billett at xs. viij d. the thousand, as apereth uppon the  
store . . . . . xvij s. viij d.  
Item, due to hym for two hundred and di. of chamb<sup>r</sup> fagotts, at  
iijs. the hondred ; somme . . . . . xs.

Robt. Grene.

Paide.

Paide to Rob<sup>t</sup> Grene, for one legg of pork . . . . . xd.  
Paide for a cople of rabbetts . . . . . xd.  
Paide for aples and medlers . . . . . ij d.

Ex<sup>r</sup> summa totalis of the receipts receyved by me John Austen, vli. vijs. vjd.

Ex<sup>r</sup> summa totalis of money by me disbursed and leide out, xli. ix s. ij d.

Ex<sup>r</sup> so due unto me uppon this accompt, vl. xxjd.

Item, leide out by you for one hoggshed of Gascon wyne spent at  
y<sup>e</sup> maryage.

Item, dyvers rewards paide by you and by my mesteris not men-  
tioned in this boke.

Due to dyvers p'sons, as doth before apere, besydes Mr. Wynston,  
and besyde xlvjs ix d. p<sup>d</sup> to Mr. Whitton as before . . . . . xij li. xjs. jd.

Robt. Grene.

lvj. li.

xx. li.

xiiij. li.

xj. li. qr.

di. li.

di. li.

Things bought by Grene for your provicon against Cristmas.

Grete resons of the sonn lvj li. after ij d. ob. . . . . xjs.  
Prunes, the best, xx li. after ij d. . . . . vs.  
Currans, the best, xiiij li. after ij d. qr. & amplius . . . . . iijs.  
Sugar, fyne, xj li. qr. at ix d. ob. . . . . viijs. xd.  
Synamone, di. li. . . . . iijs.  
Cloves, di. li. . . . . iijs. iiij d.  
One dozen of gloves . . . . . xs.  
One other dozen of gloves . . . . . vs.  
iiij dozen of gloves at iijs. a dozen . . . . . ix s.  
iiij dozen knyves at iii s. a dozen . . . . . xijs.  
One dozen knyves . . . . . iijs.

Ex<sup>r</sup> sum<sup>a</sup> iij li. xvs. ij d.

Wherof receyved of you at the Black Fryers . . . . . xxxiijs. iiij d.

Debt paide by my selfe.

Ex<sup>r</sup> so due to Rob<sup>t</sup> Grene, uppon this accompt, xlijs. xd.

Debt paid by my self.

Saterday.

Tewsday

Leide out more by the saide Rob<sup>t</sup> Grene as foloweth:—

First for whete and mylke . . . . . vjd.  
For a legge and a loyne of porcke . . . . . xxij d.  
For one conye . . . . . vd.  
For aples . . . . . ij d.

*the daughter of Mr. More, of Loseley, in 1567.*

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	For butter . . . . .	ij d.
	For eggs . . . . .	iiij d.
	For rape sede di. peck . . . . .	x d.
Wenesday.	For butt <sup>r</sup> and eggs . . . . .	vi d.
	For C. orings sent to Loseley . . . . .	x d.
	Sum <sup>a</sup> , vs. viij d.	

Mr. Morgan, potticary.

xvij die Novembr<sup>r</sup>, 1567.

Mem. all things reconed, allowed, and clerely paide betwene Mr. More and Mr. Polsted, esqyer, and Mr. Morgan, grocer, due by Mr. More ov<sup>r</sup> and above v li. paide by Mr. Polsted for a clere reconing touching the dyett of Mr. Polsted and of Mrs. Eliz. More, nowe his wyfe, there doth rest and remayne due to Mr. Morgayne, for grossery wares delyvered to Mr. More, and by Mr. More to be paide . . . . . ix li. vs. iiij d.

Mr. Morgayne.<sup>a</sup>

Mem. due to Mr. Morgan, grocer, to be payed of Mr. More, esquire, the some of ix li. vs. iiij d. of an olde reckoninge.

iiij<sup>d</sup> die Novembr<sup>r</sup>, 1567.

Converted into Muscaden.

Rewarde.

Money receyved by me, John Austen, at the Black Fryers in London, viz.—  
Of Mr. Jones, for tenn gallons of Renyshe wyne, at xx d. a gallon xvjs. viij d.  
Of hym for a runlett for the same . . . . . x d.  
R<sup>d</sup> of my m<sup>r</sup> to paye the caryers of Norf. y<sup>t</sup> brought the swan'es, cranes, and other grete foule from Mr. Balam . . . . . xiijs. iiij d. not paide  
R<sup>d</sup> also of my m<sup>r</sup> to pay to John Crefelde, Mr. Balam's man, for brynging of the smaller fowle . . . . . xiijs. iiij d. paide  
R<sup>d</sup> also of my m<sup>r</sup> to pay to Ric. Tayler, Mr. Beddingfelde's man, for the brynging of wildfoule, &c. . . . . iijs. iiij d. paide  
R<sup>d</sup> by the hands of Thomas Morris, of Petworth, in parte of payment of his arerage rent due at Michelmas last for one half yere then fully ended . . . . . xl s.  
R<sup>d</sup> of Mr. Whyddon . . . . . xx s.  
Summa, v li. vij s. vj d. accompted for before.

xv. die Novembr<sup>r</sup>, 1567.

R<sup>d</sup> of Mr. Lawnde bocher, in St. Nycholas Shambells, for the debet uppon his accompt for y<sup>e</sup> x wether shepe y<sup>t</sup> were delyvered unto hym . . . . . xv d.

xvij die Novembr<sup>r</sup>, 1567.

R<sup>d</sup> more of you the xvij daye of Novembr<sup>r</sup> . . . . . vj li.  
Receyved of Mr. Morgayne, in abatement of his bill, viz. for olyves . . . . .  
iiij li. xvd. for sampere i li. vjd. for sallad oile j gallon iiij s. viij d. . . . . vjs. vd.

<sup>a</sup> A memorandum pinned on.



*Account of the Expenses incurred at the Wedding of*

	R <sup>d</sup> of you also to pay to Thomas Coke, for his reward ov <sup>r</sup> and above	
	xs. before p <sup>d</sup>	xls.
18 Novemb.	Rec <sup>d</sup> of you more	iiii.
	Su. xjli. vijs. viij d.	
	Sum. pag. xvjli. xvs. ij d.	

P <sup>ce</sup> ll of viij. li. receyved this xvij. of November. Item, of ij. li. vijs. viij. d. more.	Paide to Mr. Morgayne, groser, for vli. of suger	vs.
	For perfumes	vjd.
	For ij gallons of Ipocras at vs. viij d.	xjs. iiij d. fett by Twiford.
	For a q <sup>r</sup> of cap's	iiij d.
	For olyves	vd.
	For a pynt of sallett oyle	xd.
	Summa, xviijs. iiij d.	

	Paid to Mr. Jakson, of Bredstret, pewterer, for thre garnyshe of pewter vessell rough as apereth uppon his bill, after the rate of xd. for the hire of every garnishe	ijs. vjd. Mrs. Packington.
	Paide to hym for the hyre of thre dozen ffrute dishes, weing xlvjli. after the rate of a peny the li.	iijs. xd. Mrs. Pagington.
	Paide to Mrs. Pagyngton for one newe table napkyn for one of Mr. Jarvis, w <sup>ch</sup> was lost	ijs. iiij d.
	Paide to Ann Vaughan, wydowe, one of the washers and scowrers, for viii dayes, aft <sup>r</sup> iiij d. by the daye	ijs. viij d.
	Paide to Elizabeth Chaundeler, for tenn days, after iiij d. per die	iijs. iiij d.
	Paide to Mother Gryffen for v dayes after iiij d. p <sup>r</sup> die	xxd.
	Paide for ijli. of weke candells of ij d. q <sup>r</sup> . the li.	iiij d. ob.
	Paide for jlb. of cotten candell	iiij d.
	Paide unto Thom <sup>s</sup> Cordry of reward, ov <sup>r</sup> and above xs. before resited	xls.
	Paid to Mrs. Elizabethe Norse, for one daye scowring	iiij d.
	Paide to Mr. Grene the baker	liiij s.
	Ex <sup>r</sup> sum <sup>a</sup> pag. vili. ix s. vijd. ob.	

6 li. 9s. 7d.

9 li. 3s. 7d.

	Paide to Mr. Hykmote, ale bruer, ffor a barrell of ale	vjs.
	Paide to Mr. Platt, the bere bruer	xlviijs.
	Paide to Rob <sup>t</sup> Grene xxij d. before resyted, and viij d. for his bote hyre to and from Lambeth to call agayne, Serche and Aunsell, w <sup>h</sup> were sent home	ijs. vjd.
	Item, for mylke and whete, uppon Saterdag last, the xv of Novemb <sup>r</sup>	vjd.
	Item, for eggs for collopps & eggs	iiij d.
	Item, for aples	j d.
	Item, for mustord and otemele	j d.
At the Saynt John's Hedd.	Item, paide to Mr. Betham, taverner, for ij rundletts aforesaid, ov <sup>r</sup> and above xxd. before resyted	iiij d.

Tewsday supp.

Paide more to hym for vj gallons and a pottell of Muscaden, at ijs.  
 & vjd. the gallon . . . . . xvjs. iiijd.  
 Paide to hym for vj gallons and a pottell of French wyne . viijs. viij d.  
 Item, for the two runletts . . . . . xx d.  
 Paide to L. Stoughton, for iiijlb. of candells . . . . . vij d. ob.  
 Paid to L. Stoughton, for bote hyre to & from Mr. Jarvis . . . xvjd.  
 For two sawsags . . . . . ijd.  
 Paide to Mr. Fermer, wodemonger, for a M and iii qrs. of billettts, at  
 xs. viij d. the thousand . . . . . xviijs. viij d.  
 Paide to hym for ij C. di. of chamb<sup>r</sup> faggotts, at iijs. the C.; su. . xs.  
 Paide to hym more for one q<sup>r</sup> of billettts, fett this xviiij day of No-  
 vemb<sup>r</sup>, 1567 . . . . . ijs. viij d.  
 Ex<sup>r</sup>. summa, vli. xvjs. xjd. ob.

xvij. die Novemb<sup>r</sup>, 1567.

Ex<sup>r</sup> summa totalis of my last receipts syns the first accompt . xj li. vijs. viij d.  
 Ex<sup>r</sup> summa of payments made uppon y<sup>t</sup> receipt . . . . . xij li. vijs. vij d.  
 Ex<sup>r</sup> so due to me uppon this accompt . . . . . xixs. xjd.  
 Item, due unto me uppon my form<sup>r</sup> accompt . . . . . vli. xxjd.  
 Ex<sup>r</sup> summa totalis, vj li. xx d.

Item, due unto me for so moche payde to Creffelde, Mr. Balam's  
 man, f<sup>r</sup> carying of foule, whereof I have charged my self in my  
 receipts, and have not asked allowans for yt . . . . . xiijs. iiij d.  
 Item, due unto me for the lyke paide to Richard Tayler, Mr. Bed-  
 dingfelde's man . . . . . iij s. iiij d.  
 So due unto me, John Austen, uppon this accompt . . . . . vj li. xviijs. iiij d.  
 The payments . . . . . xxij li. xvjs. x d.  
 The receipts . . . . . xvj li. xvs. ijd.  
 So dewe . . . . . vj li. xx d.  
 Item, dewe more . . . . . xvjs. viij d.  
 So dewe to John Austen . . . . . vij li. xviijs. iiij d.  
 Mem. the freshe acates, wyne, and other thyngs that were geven me  
 as aforesayd, were well worth . . . . . C. marks.  
 Item, all the provycon I browght from home was well worth . . . . . xx marks.

Fatte swans . . . . . xvj.  
 Turkye coks . . . . . viij.  
 Cranes . . . . . ix.  
 Hernshows . . . . . v.  
 Curlews . . . . . j.  
 Bytters . . . . . xvj.  
 Knots . . . . . iiij dozen iiij.

*Expenses at the Wedding of the daughter of Mr. More, of Loseley.*

Stynts	.	.	.	.	.	vij dosen di.
Godwyts	.	.	.	.	.	xxij.
Partryges	.	.	.	.	.	cvij.
Plovers basted	.	.	.	.	.	ix dosen x.
Teales	.	.	.	.	.	xxxvj.
Woodcocks	.	.	.	.	.	xl.
Fesauntes	.	.	.	.	.	xix.
Hayres	.	.	.	.	.	ij.
Larkes	.	.	.	.	.	lvijj dosen.
Snytes	.	.	.	.	.	iiij dosen.
Hethecoks	.	.	.	.	.	ij.
Hyndes	.	.	.	.	.	j.
Dose	.	.	.	.	.	xiiij.
Muttons	.	.	.	.	.	x.
Beafs	.	.	.	.	.	j.
Porkers	.	.	.	.	.	j.
Venales	.	.	.	.	.	iiij.
Brawns	.	.	.	.	.	ij.
Capons	.	.	.	.	.	iiij <sup>xx</sup> xiiij.

(Endorsed)--For the mariag of Elyzabeth More, my dowght<sup>r</sup>, 1567.

Mr. More, the 15 of Merche, vij gall. of C. fett by Thomas Tatnall ix s. iiij d.  
A lytle ringe left in gage.

(2nd Endorsement)

Roben Ansell is a knave.

V. *On a Vase representing an Adventure of Perseus.*  
 By SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq. F.S.A.

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Read 25 May, 1854.

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THE Vase, of which a tracing is laid before the Society, has been described in the Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Museum, although its subject could not at the time be made out, and the present memoir must be considered as an attempt to interpret its meaning, a task rendered the more difficult as there is not any distinct mention of the subject by the classical writers, and it is one transmitted only by the artists of Greece. It occurs on one of the hundred select vases presented by the late Prince of Canino to Cardinal Fesch, and subsequently ceded by the possessors to the British Museum. The Vase is of the shape called hydria or calpis, ornamented with red figures upon a black background, and its style is that usually known as the commencement of the decadence of the fictile art. It has no inscription, unfortunately, to aid in its decipherment. It was found in the sepulchres of the ancient Vulci.<sup>a</sup>

Before entering on the discussion of the motive of the painting, it is necessary to consider succinctly the Perseid, or the series of the adventures of the hero Perseus in regard to art, in which, whether plastic or graphic, it has been perpetually reproduced from the earliest dawn of Greek sculpture, painting, or inlaying.

This Argive tradition had attracted the earliest attention of artists, from its highly poetic and artistic nature, from the connection which the myth had with the earliest families and genealogies of the royal lines, and from the mysterious links by which it connected the Hellenic, the Asiatic, and Libyan races. In the course of time it had become so blended with the legends of all the principal races, and renowned for having exercised the skill of distinguished artists, that a host of reproductions are found on coins, gems, and objects of inferior size and nature, and it had assumed the character of a normal subject. Hesiod had described in poetic imagery the flight of Perseus through the air to surprise the Gorgons, as seen on the shield of a still greater demigod, the all-renowned

<sup>a</sup> Cat. Vas. Brit. Mus. 801.

Hercules; and the celebrated chest of Cypselus, and the throne of Bathycles at Amyclæ, numbered this story among their subjects. It is seen amidst the metopes of the oldest of the Selinuntine temples, and it only disappears with the fall of art itself, on the coins of Argos, struck in the reign of Valerian.

It is not necessary to recite once more the story in its details, for with these all are sufficiently familiar; but merely to point out the chief points seen in ancient art, such as the confinement of Danaë in her brazen,<sup>a</sup> iron,<sup>b</sup> or marble<sup>c</sup> chamber, and the descent of the golden shower of the metamorphosed Zeus through the roof<sup>d</sup> or window,<sup>e</sup> a subject not found at an early period, but only on the Pompeian mural paintings and certain Roman gems,<sup>f</sup> in which, however, the artists have departed from the traditions which have reached us, as Danaë is surprised by the fall of the shower in her garden,<sup>g</sup> Zeus sending down the auriferous shower from his hands, or Cupid from an amphora.<sup>h</sup> Yet this part of the myth appears to have been part of the tragedies of Sophocles,<sup>i</sup> if it did not form that of the Danaë of the trilogy of Æschylus.<sup>k</sup> Acrisius measuring the chest,<sup>l</sup> and the arrival of Danaë

<sup>a</sup> Horat. Carm. iii. 16, makes her guarded by dogs. Eudocia (Villoison, Anecd. Græc.), 4to. Venet. 1781, p. 334, places her in a brazen chamber under the hall. Zenob. Cent. i. 41. Homer Il. xiv. 317, 318, Schol. This may be compared to the brazen vessel in which Mars was imprisoned, Iliad v. 387, and the Schol. Pseudo-Didym. ad eund. According to the Cypria it meant a prison.

<sup>b</sup> Tzetzes ad Lyc. 838.

<sup>c</sup> Hygin. fab. lxiii. muro lapideo. Eudocia, Violar. 4to. Venez. 1781, p. 334.

<sup>d</sup> διὰ τῶν ὀπῶν. Tzetzes ad Lyc. 838. Terent. Eunuch. iii. 36, 37. Sophocles. ii. 200. Eratosth. Cat. 16, Schol. ad Ajac. init. The subject occurs on a Vase, Arch. Zeit. 1845, s. 285, engraved by M. Gerhard, Danaë, 4to. Berl. 1854.

<sup>e</sup> Lucian, Mar. dial. ix. 12, εἰς χαλαρῶν τινα θάλαμον; and Zeus, χρυσὸν γένόμενον ῥῆναι διὰ τοῦ ὀρόφου ἐκ' αὐτῆς.

<sup>f</sup> Gori, M. pl. i. lvi. 4.

<sup>g</sup> Mus. Borb. ii. xxxvi. Coinciding with the turris *septa* (Claudian in Eutrop. i. 82); *aerata* (Propert. ii. xvi. 12); and *ahenea* (Horat. l. c.) The other picture in Mus. Borb. xi. li. is also Danaë (R. Rochette, l. c. p. 191).

<sup>h</sup> Mus. Borb. xi. xxi.

<sup>i</sup> Sophocles, 8vo. Lond. 1824, a Brunck, ii. p. 193, fragments of the Akrisios or Larissæans. Cf. Schol. ad Sophocles. Ajac. init. et Antigone, 944.

ἔτλα καὶ Δανάας οὐράνιον φῶς  
ἀλλάζαι δέμας ἐν χαλκοδέτοις  
αὐλαῖς κρυπτομένα δ' ἐν  
τυμβῇρει θαλάμῳ κατεζεύχθη.

<sup>k</sup> Welcker supposes that the Danaë, Phorcydes, and Polydectes formed a trilogy. Apollod. ii. 4, 1. Æschylus in Didot's Classics, 4to. Paris, 1846, p. 244.

<sup>l</sup> Either the λάραξ, or κιβωτός, or κιβώσιον, of wood, according to all versions except Schol. ad Antig.



and her son at Seriphos,<sup>a</sup> which had been immortalized by the threne or dirge of Simonides,<sup>b</sup> occur on two vases with red figures,<sup>c</sup> of about the same epoch and style, on which Danaë is represented either nailed in the chest by the servants<sup>d</sup> of Acrisius, or else opening it to issue forth after landing at Seriphos,<sup>d</sup> which is alone found on a mural painting<sup>e</sup> of Pompeii, where Danaë having issued from the chest suckles Perseus in presence of Dictys and Polydectes; probably a copy of the picture of Artemon,<sup>f</sup> the subject of the Danaë, or the Dictys of Euripides.<sup>g</sup> The analogy of this adventure to that of Semele, Auge, Hemithea, Deucalion, and Rhoio, has not escaped observation;<sup>h</sup> but such portions of the story as the hero brought up in the temple of Athene, or the fatal entertainment at which Polydectes extorts from him the promise of the Gorgon's head, have probably not exerted the artists' skill, as they could not easily be distinguished from similar subjects. Nor can the meeting of Perseus and Hermes at Seriphos be found, and the real cycle of his adventures commences with the departure to find the Gorgons.

It is according to the arguments of the plays of the earliest dramatists that the Argive hero proceeds, by the advice of Athene, and under the guidance of Hermes, to seek the Graiæ,<sup>i</sup> or as they are sometimes called the old women of Phorcys, whose marine nature is shown by their descent from that primæval god and Ceto, and who are placed at the lake Tritonis, near the garden of the Hesperides. Such at least was the subject of the tragedy of the Phorecydes<sup>j</sup>

948. In Lucian, *Marin. dial.* ix. 14, Doris and Thetis send the box into the nets of the fisherman. The Italian tradition (*Serv. Virg. Æn.* vii. 372) makes them arrive in Italy (*cf. ibid.* viii. 345), connecting them with Ardea and Argiletum. See the vase, *Annali*, 1847, pl. M. supposed by Panofka, *ib.* p. 226, to be Theas.

<sup>a</sup> *Mus. Borb.* ii. xxx. 4. M. Panofka, in *Arch. Zeit.* 1846, s. 206, p. l.—the *bull* Perseus holds in his hands is supposed to be the diskos, but it rather indicates his being three or four years of age. *Pherecyd. Fragm.* Sturz, p. 72; R. Rochette, p. 191, however, has overlooked that Perseus was detected by the noise he made at *play*. Eudocia, l. c.

<sup>b</sup> Simonidis *cei. Fragm.* a Schneidewin, p. 67. Welcker, *Æschyl. Tril.* p. 380.

<sup>c</sup> *Mus. Borb.* l. R. Rochette, *Choix de Peint.* p. 181. M. Campana, in *Bull.* 1845, p. 214-18.

<sup>d</sup> Eudocia, l. c.

<sup>e</sup> Raoul Rochette, *Choix de Peintures*, pl. 15, p. 179.

<sup>f</sup> *Plin. Nat. Hist.* xxxv. xi. 40.

<sup>g</sup> Welcker, *die Griech. Trag.* t. ii. p. 668, 674. *Cf. Id. die Æschyl. Trilog.* 378, for the version of Apollodorus being taken from Pherecydes. *Anthol. Palat. a Jacobs*, xiii. p. 632. Euripid. *Fragm.* ix. pp. 139, 140.

<sup>h</sup> Rochette, *Choix*, p. 178, has remarked them all except Rhoio, who, seduced by Apollo, was thrown by her father Staphylus, in a box, into the sea. Eudocia in Villoison, l. c. pp. 371, 372.

<sup>i</sup> Eudocia *Violarium*, l. c. 334. *Paræmiographi Veteres a Gaisford*, p. 240. In Tzetzes *ad Lyc.* 838, they lead him to the nymphs.

<sup>j</sup> *Æschylus*, 8vo. Paris, 1846, p. 244. Faehse, *Sylloge*, 8vo. Lips. 1813, p. 53, 792 (790). Hygin *Poet. Astr.* ii. xii. They guarded the golden apples of the Hesperides, Heraclit. *de Incred.* 13.

of Æschylus. These goddesses, either two or three in number, are described with dogs' heads, and eyes placed in their breasts, according to one tradition, but as "swan-like" or "swan-shaped" in the Prometheus Bound of the Tragedian. One vase of the earliest style<sup>a</sup> seems to represent them as birds with human heads (like the Sirens or the Harpies), and the arrival of Perseus at their habitations; and it is possible that certain earlier vases, in which a female is seen holding two swans,<sup>b</sup> or on which a swan appears in connection with a god like a giant of anguiform appearance,<sup>c</sup> may intend to convey the idea of these weird sisters. From the Graie the literary myths make him go to the Nymphs, the artistic ones to the Naiads or nymphs of the lake Tritonis, from whom he receives the helmet of Hades, the kibisis or wallet, and the talaria or winged sandals.<sup>d</sup> Such at least is the form in which this action appears on a vase<sup>d</sup> in the British Museum found at Cære, and of the earliest style. This subject was represented in the metopes or frieze of the Chalcoikos or brazen shrine of Athene Poliouchos at Sparta, the work of Gitiadas, who flourished B. C. 514.<sup>e</sup> Other versions made him receive the helmet and talaria from Hermes.<sup>f</sup> On the early monuments the helmet of Hades is like the petasus of Hermes, and the sandals are winged, but in many other works of art, such as mirrors and gems, the talaria are represented as wings, which he attaches to his feet.<sup>g</sup> According to some versions he receives his equipment from Hermes himself; which however is not as yet found represented, and the Naiads or nymphs of the pools appear the most suitable providers of the sandals, although their connection with Hades and Hermes is difficult to interpret. He had yet to receive the harpé or harpoon, an incident only found on works of the later period of art. According to the argument of the Phoreydes<sup>h</sup> this weapon, made of adamant, he obtained from Hephaistos, but on the monuments hitherto known it appears as the gift of Athene.<sup>i</sup> This probably refers to the tradition in which he

<sup>a</sup> Panofka, Perseus und die Gräa. 4to. Berl. 1847. Micali, Mon. Ined. tav. xxxvi.

<sup>b</sup> Micali, Ant. Mon. 17; No. 5, 78; No. 1, 46; No. 17. Müller, Denkm. 282 b. Cf. these figures with the Medusa holding two lions, and the swans in the scene of the death of the Medusa. Micali, Ant. Mon. tav. 22. Müller, l. c. 280.

<sup>c</sup> Apollod. ii. 4, 2. Tzetzes ad Lyc. 838.

<sup>d</sup> Cat. Vas. Brit. Mus., No. 584, p. 138. Arch. Zeit. 1847, 24\*.

<sup>e</sup> Pausanias, III. c. xvii. s. 3. Winckelman, Opp. vi. i. 2, 23, sq.

<sup>f</sup> Eratosthenes, Catast. c. 22. Hygin. Poet. Astron. ii. 12.

<sup>g</sup> Scarabeus with his name ΦΕΔΣΕ (P'herse). Lanzi, Saggio II. iv. n. 5. Millin, Gal. Myth. xcv. 38, ii. p. 5.

<sup>h</sup> Hygin. Poet. Astr. ii. xii. Eratosth. Catast. c. 22.

<sup>i</sup> Gargiulo, Raccolta dei Monumenti più interessanti del R. Museo Borbonico di Napoli. tav. 122. Inghirami, Vas. Fitt. cclxvi. De Witte, Cat. Dur. 242, Brit. Mus. 1303. O. Jahn, Ann. 1851. Tav. agg. O.

is exhorted to the enterprise by Athene and not by the orders of Polydectes. In some authors, such as Apollodorus, he receives the harpé from Hermes, and the mirror from Athene,<sup>a</sup> alluding to this goddess drawing the form of the monster in the Deictæon at Samos, and shewing it to the youthful hero.<sup>b</sup> On one mirror Athene traces the head of a Gorgon on the ground.<sup>c</sup> His departure to destroy the Gorgon is seen on these monuments, on which he flies thus equipped.<sup>d</sup> Great difference prevails both in literature and art as to the place where the Gorgons are located, whether close to the gardens of the Hesperides near the Lake Tritonis,<sup>e</sup> or else on the banks of Ocean near the Iberian Tartessus,<sup>f</sup> dwelling in gloomy caverns.<sup>g</sup> The sleep of the Gorgons is found on a bronze in the Museum at Naples, where they occur in company with their marine cognates the Tritons.<sup>h</sup>

The actual destruction of the mortal Medusa has been the subject of so many works of art that it will require some time to enumerate them in detail. The first of these, the shield of Hercules, so elaborately described by Hesiod,<sup>i</sup> and the Cypria, rather designed to convey an idea of the capabilities of the Toreutic art than to describe an existing monument, had on it the figure of Perseus chased in gold, in very high relief. The hero, wearing the winged sandals, had the sword, in an iron scabbard (not the renowned harpé), made of brass, and suspended from his belt. He flew through the air carrying the head of the Medusa in the kibisis or wallet, which was made of silver, and he held the kibisis by golden thongs or strings. On his head was the helmet of Hades. The Gorgons pursued him, girdled with serpents, and, although not described, it is possible to restore them as having golden wings, brazen hands, and ivory teeth.<sup>k</sup>

The selection of this emblem appears to have been suggested on account of the

<sup>a</sup> Schol. ad Lyc. 17. Cf. Lucian, *Marin. Dialog.* ix. 14, ἄθλον τινα τοῦτον τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπιτελῶν as an act of gratitude to Polydectes.

<sup>b</sup> Apollod. *Biblioth.* i. c. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 838. Cf. the vase, *Ann.* 1851; T. N. 1850, A.

<sup>c</sup> Dempster, *Etr. Reg.* ii. 4. Guigniaut, clxi. 610.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Koehler, *Gesammelt. Schrift.* Th. i. s. 151. Winckelman, *Mon. Ant. In.* s. 151, tav. 84, c. 3, p. 112. D'Hancarville, iv. p. 23, Pl. XIII. f. 1. Lanzi, *Saggio* ii. pp. 3, 45, 46, tav. viii. f. 6. Stosch, *Abdr.* 41, 406. Tolkien, *Verzeichniss*, s. 38, No. 47.

<sup>e</sup> Eudocia *Violarium*, l. c.

<sup>f</sup> Tzetzes ad Lyc. 838.

<sup>g</sup> Æschylus, 8vo. Paris, 1846, p. 244. Eustath. p. 1872-3. Athen. xi. 402. Bekker, *Anecd.* p. 457, 21.

<sup>h</sup> Neapels *Ant. Bildw.* B. i. s. 235.

<sup>i</sup> Scut. Herc. 216. It appears that the word *κίβισις* was derived from the Cypria. Hesychius, voce. Herod. vi. 23. Meursius, *Cypr.* p. 17.

<sup>k</sup> Tzetzes ad Lyc. 838.

relationship between Hercules and Perseus, in the same sense as Phrixus on the ram was engraved on the tunic of Jason,<sup>a</sup> Io on the calathus of Europa,<sup>b</sup> and Argus, Io, and Inachus on the shield of Turnus.<sup>c</sup> The emblem on the shield of Achilles, described in the *Electra* of Euripides, was Perseus in company with Hermes flying over the sea to the Gorgons.<sup>d</sup> On the quiver of Philoctetes the hero was seen killing the Medusa in the west, on the shores of Ocean.<sup>e</sup> On the celebrated chest of Cypselus Perseus was represented flying through the air to escape the pursuit of the awakened Gorgons, Stheno and Euryale;<sup>f</sup> and the incident of the death of the Gorgon occurred on the throne of Apollo at Amyclæ, made by Bathycles.<sup>g</sup> On the ancient works of art the Gorgons are always represented terrible, clad in short tunics, sometimes with the skins of animals, wearing winged boots, and with wings attached to their form. One monument alone of these represents the Medusa as a centaur holding a lion;<sup>h</sup> all the others make her human. One of the oldest appearances of the mythos is that on the metope on the old temple, in the middle of the ancient Selinus, treated in the Doric style of art, and proto-Æginetic in its details. Perseus here wears a pilos without wings, but his boots or sandals are provided with the recurved wings in front. With his left hand he holds a lock of the Gorgon's hair, while with his right he plunges the harpé into her throat. She has fallen on her left knee, and holds a horse of small size with her arms. Athene, draped as a female without emblems, aids him. All the figures face the spectator, the intention of the artist being to represent them approaching the

<sup>a</sup> Apollod. i. 763.<sup>b</sup> Moschus, *Idyll.* ii. 44.<sup>c</sup> Virgil, vii. 789, 792.<sup>d</sup> V. 459. Ἰλιόθεν δ' ἔκλυον τινὸς ἐν λιμέσιν

Ναυπλίοισι βεβῶτος

τᾶς σᾶς ὦ Θέτιδος παῖ

κλεινὰς ἀσπίδος ἐν κύκλῳ

τοιαῖδε σήματα, δείματα

Φρύγῃα τετύχθαι

περιδρόμῳ μὲν ἵντος ἔδρα

Περσέα λαιμοτόμον ὑπὲρ

ἄλῳς ποτανοῖσι πεδίλοισι φῶαν

Γοργόνος ἔσχειν Διὸς ἀγγέλω

σὺν Ἑρμῇ

τῷ Μαίᾳ ἀγροσῆμι κοῦρῳ.

<sup>e</sup> Q. Smyrnæus, *Posthomerica*, x. l. 125.<sup>f</sup> Pausanias, v. xviii. 1.<sup>g</sup> Paus. iii. 13, p. 40.<sup>h</sup> Müller, *Denkm.* 324.



Gorgon from behind.<sup>a</sup> The small horse represents Pegasus, or else the steed of Perseus himself. Probably next to this, in point of age, is to be placed an œnochoe of solid black ware, on which the hero, wearing the helmet of Hades, followed by Pallas Athene veiled, advances with reverted head to destroy the Gorgon, aided by Ares armed, and a winged Hermes. Pegasus alone issues from the neck of the winged and decapitated Medusa,<sup>b</sup> or Chrysaor and Pegasus at the same moment.<sup>c</sup> Another jug, the work of the potter Amasis, which is also of the oldest treatment, that called "affected Tyrrhenian," has the same incident. The Medusa stands terrible, bristling with snakes, in the centre of the composition. Perseus, wearing the petasus, chlamys, and talaria, stands on one side decapitating her, aided by Hermes on the other side.<sup>d</sup> According to Pindar, and some of the older Vases, the Medusa pursues Perseus himself to Bœotia.<sup>e</sup>

The bas-relief of Melos represents Perseus, who has leapt on the back of Pegasus, without any helmet or other signs, except the harpé. The Gorgon is draped; Chrysaor leaps out of her neck; her decapitated head remains in the hero's hand. Perseus averts his head.<sup>f</sup> This is a local treatment. In another version of the mythos the Medusa flies through the air at the approach of Perseus, who pursues her with his winged boots and helmet.<sup>g</sup> He is winged also, and flies to her from above;<sup>h</sup> while on a cup, in the possession of the Marquess of Northampton, he approaches her while asleep on a rock. But the usual type of ancient art was the flight of Perseus through the air after having decapitated the Gorgon,<sup>i</sup> which only subsequently became superseded by the death of Medusa, from whose neck issue torrents of blood,<sup>k</sup> in the style in which Benvenuto Cellini has represented them, gushing from the decapitated head in the statue at Florence; or the winged Pegasus;<sup>l</sup> or Pegasus and Chrysaor,<sup>m</sup> the twins, of whom she was pregnant; a

<sup>a</sup> Müller, Denkmäler, taf. iv. 25. Thiersch, Ueber die epochen, Zw. Aufl. s. 404, No. 21. Serra di Falco, Sicilia, ii. xxvi.

<sup>b</sup> Micali, Ant. Mon. tav. 22. Müller, l. c. 280. Gerhard, Trinksch. ii. iii. pp. 3, 4.

<sup>c</sup> Gerhard, Vasenbilder, lxxxix. 3, 4.

<sup>d</sup> Now in the British Museum. Cat. of Vases, No. 641\*, p. 172. Cf. the vase, Annali, 1851, p. 167, r. p.

<sup>e</sup> Scholiast ad Pind. Pyth. xii. 32.

<sup>f</sup> Millingen, Anc. Un. Mon. sect. ii. pt. 2. Müller, Denkm. taf. xiv. No. 15.

<sup>g</sup> Amph. r. f. at Munich. Micali, Mon. Ined. xlv. 3, p. 274. Amph. r. f. ibid. li. 8, p. 320. Ib. 10, 211.

<sup>h</sup> Gerhard, Metallsiegel, taf. cxxi.

<sup>i</sup> Vase Brit. Mus. No. 528. Cat. of Vases, p. 105. Dur. 243. Gerhard, Vasenbilder, lxxxviii.

<sup>k</sup> Mus. Blacas, pl. xi.

<sup>l</sup> Gerhard, Aus. Vasenbilder, lxxix. 1. Heraclitus, de Medusa, i. mentions only the winged horse.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid. lxxix. 2. Pegason et fratrem matris de sanguine natos. Ovid. Met. v. 782—785. Chrysaor was also an epithet of Apollo. Arsenius, Viol. p. 260. Cf. Anth. Græc. iii. p. 161.



type certainly known to Lycophron,<sup>a</sup> as he calls the Medusa the "weasel," because that animal was supposed to give birth to its young through the mouth. In these scenes Hermes and Athene aid Perseus in the same manner as they subsequently proffer their assistance to Hercules: and the hero has the head of the Medusa in the kibisis slung at his side.<sup>b</sup> On the oldest works of art the terror inspired by the Medusa was conveyed by hair bristling with snakes, and a mouth with tusks; in a more refined age the same idea was impressed by a lovely horror-stricken face and locks in elegant disorder. There was a work of Myro on the Necropolis of Athens, representing this subject.<sup>c</sup>

In one of the mural paintings of Herculaneum,<sup>d</sup> certainly not a copy of the more ancient efforts of the Greek pencil, the scene takes place in the country, outside the walls of a city, probably intended for Cyrene. Pallas Athene advances forward as promachos about to pierce her beautiful rival.<sup>e</sup> On her left hand she holds her polished argolic buckler, into which the hero looks to see the reflection of the Gorgon's face, while he decapitates her with the harpé. In the distance repose a goatherd and two goats. This mode of destroying her is also seen on certain terracottas from Cuma<sup>f</sup> and Puzzuoli,<sup>g</sup> and on the coins of the Galatian Sebaste,<sup>h</sup> struck in the reign of Caracalla, and is mentioned by Apollodorus,<sup>i</sup> but it does not seem clear from what source he has compiled it. The mirror in which she shewed him the reflection of the head is supposed by Müller<sup>k</sup> to be seen in some of these monuments, but he has apparently confused it, although Tzetzes mentions this abnormal mode of treatment;<sup>l</sup> if it is not a repetition of the Naxian<sup>m</sup> legend of Perseus having been previously prepared for the undertaking by Athene shewing

<sup>a</sup> Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 838.

<sup>b</sup> Stackelberg, *Die Graebe*, taf. 39. The treatment of this vase much resembles the shield of Hesiod; on it are also the Chimæra and Hydra, or two-headed serpent, Ladon of the Hesperides.

<sup>c</sup> Paus. i. 21, 8.

<sup>d</sup> Mus. Borb. xii. xlviii.

<sup>e</sup> Serv. ad Virg. *Æneid*, i. p. 289. Pindar, *Pyth.* xii. 28, calls her *εὐραπρος*.

<sup>f</sup> Bull. Arch. Nap. Nuov. Ser. 4to. Napol. 1853, p. 188. Perseus on this bas-relief has only a fillet round his head, and the winged sandals on his feet. The head of the Gorgon is of a large size, and surmounted by a floral ornament, as if copied from a pediment.

<sup>g</sup> Ancient Terra-cottas, Brit. Mus. pl. xiii. Guattani, *Mon. Arch. Ined.* 1788, No. 1. Guigniaut, clxxiv. 609 b.

<sup>h</sup> Mionnet, *Supp.* vii. pl. xiii. 2, p. 616, No. 275. Sestini, *Class. General. edit.* 2, p. 126. Guigniaut, clxx. 609 a. Inghirami, *Mon. Etr. S. T. L.* 4, 7.

<sup>i</sup> *Bibl.* ii. 4, 2. Probably from Euhemerus. Cf. Hyginus, *Poet. Astron.* ii. xii.

<sup>k</sup> Arch. s. 414, 3. Cf. the gem, Millin, *Voy. au Midi*, Atl. lxxiii. Guigniaut, clxx. 609. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 838.

<sup>l</sup> Schol. ad Lycoph. l. 838.

<sup>m</sup> *Etym. Magn.* voce *Δευκρίσιον*.

him the image of the Gorgon in the Deictæon at Samos. The more authentic treatment of the shield was the favourite representation in the time of Lucian,<sup>a</sup> and at this time the enraged sisters were not so wide awake as to pursue. On one vase Athene herself, as Euhemerus describes, attacks the Gorgon.<sup>b</sup>

There is a portion of the mythos subsequent to the death which has been treated chiefly by artists, that of Athene shewing Perseus the image of the Gorgonion in the water. Some have connected this with the Naxian legend, but it with far greater probability alludes to the goddess regarding it in the Lake Tritonis, surrounded with plants emanating from the Gorgon's blood. This form appears on vases of the decadence of art, and apparently deriving their inspiration from the Satyric drama,<sup>c</sup> perhaps in connection with the plunging of the tooth of the Graia into the lake:<sup>d</sup> it is seen also on certain mirrors of late style.<sup>e</sup> The number of monuments in which Perseus is seen flying through the air escaping the pursuit of the Gorgons immediately after the decapitation is most numerous, but principally on objects of small size.<sup>f</sup> The next adventure is the liberation of Andromeda, a subject in the highest degree suited to the artists of the later school, and constant repetition of which shows that it had been the subject of some distinguished painter, such as Apelles or Zeuxis.<sup>g</sup> This is the more probable, because one portion of the adventure, that in which the Argive hero leads down the beautiful maiden from the rock, is only represented, the actual contest with the whale never being seen. The monster lies dead; the hero still retains the Gorgon's head, but averts it from his mistress, and gracefully leads her from the rock to which she had been chained. This myth, evidently another form of the liberation of Hesione by Heracles, connects Perseus a second time with Poseidon, for the Gorgons were the daughters of Phorcys and Ceto, Medusa the beloved of the monarch of the deep. Sometimes the scene is placed in Æthiopia, at other times near Mount Atlas and the Hesperides, whom the serpent Ladon, another of the offspring of Phorcys and

<sup>a</sup> Dial. Marin. ix. 13. ἡ Ἀθῆνα δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος διασπιδύσσης ὥσπερ ἐπὶ κατόπτρου πάρεσχεν αὐτῇ ἰδεῖν τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς Μεδοῦσης· εἶτα λαβόμενος τῇ λαίᾳ τῆς κόμης, ἐνορῶν δὲ εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα, τῇ δεξιᾷ τὴν ἄρπην ἔχων, ἀπέτεμε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς καὶ πρὶν ἀνεγέρεσθαι τὰς ἀδελφὰς ἀνέπτειτο.

<sup>b</sup> M. De Witte, *Descr. des Vases Peints*, 8vo. Paris, 1837, p. 44, No. 87.

<sup>c</sup> Schultz, *Ant. Int.* 1837, p. 53. *Cat. Dur.* 245.

<sup>d</sup> M. O. Jahn, *Berichte der K. Sachsische. Gesellsch. der Wissensch.* 8vo. 1847, s. 28, taf. *Eudocia Violarium*, p. 334.

<sup>e</sup> Montfaucon, *Ant.* ii. 62. Dempster, *Etr. Reg.* i. 5. Caussei, *Mus. Rom.* ii. 25. Lanzi, *Saggio* ii. 7, 4, p. 212. Millin, *Gal.* xevi. 386. Inghirami, *Mon. Etr.* ii. 38. Gerhard, *Metallspiegel*, Taf. cxxiii. cxxiv.

<sup>f</sup> See Campana, *Ant. Vas. Dip.* 8vo. Rom. 1837, pp. 166, 167, No. 95. *Bull.* 1834, pp. 117, 120.

<sup>g</sup> There was probably a work on this subject by the sculptor Myro. Plinius, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 49. Bergk. *Exerc. Plin.* ii. 16.

Ceto, guards. On the bas-relief of the Capitol it is treated in a pictorial manner,<sup>a</sup> as in the mural paintings of Herculaneum<sup>b</sup> and Pompeii; once only with two other figures, probably Cassiope and the nurse. On the mirrors other figures appear upon the scene,<sup>c</sup> and on the Etruscan sarcophagi it is treated in a local manner, with the introduction of Lasæ,<sup>d</sup> Cepheus,<sup>e</sup> Cassiope, rocks, and scenery, but never, as Philostratus,<sup>f</sup> in the spirit of his age, describes the action, with Cupid taking off the shackles of Andromeda, nor the monster devouring men and herds. This subject was by no means common upon vases, although the arrival of Perseus at the court of Cepheus may be intended by the artist of the Vase published by Millin,<sup>g</sup> rather than the return of the hero to Seriphos, for Perseus here, attended by Athene, holds the Gorgon's head, while Cepheus, seated on his throne and holding his sceptre, and having Phineus waiting behind him, listens to the hero's proposals, who looks to Andromeda seated on a rock, and expecting the monster's approach. On a vase of very late style, probably as late as B. C. 200, she is seen chained or rather handcuffed to the rock, having at her feet her pyxides or dressing-cases, and alabastron or unguent vase, and Perseus is about to attack the monster.<sup>h</sup> Comparing these with the words of Ovid,<sup>i</sup> and the two adventures of the Gorgon and Andromeda as described by Lucian,<sup>k</sup> it would appear that this was an ordinary subject of bas-relief at his time, while the coins of the Egyptian Alexandria, struck

<sup>a</sup> Mus. Capitol. iv. 53. Guigniant, clxi. 613.

<sup>b</sup> Mus. Borb. tom. v. tav. xxxiii. lvi.; vi. xl. l.; x. xxxiii.

<sup>c</sup> Inghirami, Mon. Etr. s. i. tom. lv.

<sup>d</sup> Inghirami, Mon. Etr. s. i. tom. lv. lvi.

<sup>e</sup> . . . . . genitor lugubris et amens

Mater adest.—Ovid. Met. v. 691, 692.

<sup>f</sup> Imagines, i. xxvii. τὴν δ' Ἀνδρομέδαν ἀπαλλάττει τῶν δεσμῶν ὁ Ἔρως.

<sup>g</sup> Guigniant, Nouv. Gal. clx. 612, 12a. Inghirami, i. lxx. Millin, Vases Peints, lvi. D'Hancarville, iv. No. cxxviii. Paucker, in Arch. Zeit. 1852, p. 448, taf. xlii.

<sup>h</sup> Raoul Rochette, Mon. Ined. pl. xli.

<sup>i</sup> Quam simul ad duras religatam brachia cautes

Vidit Abantiades; nisi quod levis aura capillos

Moverat, et trepido manarunt lumina fletu,

Marmoreum ratus esse opus.—Met. iv. 671—4.

<sup>k</sup> Lucian, Domus, lxi. 24. Ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶόντι, Ἀργολικῷ μύθῳ ἀναμέμικται πάθος Λιθιοπικόν, ὁ Περσεὺς τὸ κῆτος φονεύει καὶ τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν καθαιρεῖ, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν γαμήσει, καὶ ἄπεισιν, αὐτὴν ἄγων· πάρεργον τοῦτο τῆς ἐπὶ Γοργόνας πτήσεως. Ἐν βραχεὶ δὲ πολλὰ ὁ τεχνίτης ἐμμύησατο, αἰδῶ παρθένον, καὶ φόβον· ἐπισκοπεῖ γὰρ μάχην ἄνωθεν ἐκ τῆς πέτρας, καὶ νεανίου τόλμαν ἔρωτικὴν, καὶ θηρίου ὕλιν ἀπρόσμαχον, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔπεισι πεφρικὸς ταῖς ἀκάνθαις, καὶ δεδιγμένος τῷ χάσματι· ὁ Περσεὺς δὲ τῇ λαίᾳ μὲν προδείκνυσιν τὴν Γοργόνα, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ καθικνεῖται τῷ ξίφει, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὅσον τοῦ κήτους εἶδε τὴν Μέδουσαν, ἤδη λίθοι ἐστί, τὸ δ' ὅσον ἐμψυχον μένει, τῇ ἄρπῃ κόπτεται.

Again, in lxi. 25. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ Περσεὺς πάλιν τὰ πρὸ τοῦ κήτους ἐκεῖνα τολμῶν, καὶ ἡ Μέδουσα

in the 4th year of Antoninus Pius,<sup>a</sup> of Neocesarea, issued in the reign of Maximinus,<sup>b</sup> and those of Tranquillina, from the mint of the Thracian Deultum,<sup>c</sup> repeat the same subject, which is common on gems.<sup>d</sup>

There is connected with the story of Andromeda an incident often represented, no mention of which remains in ancient authors, but which has been repeated on mirrors and on the wall-paintings of Pompeii,<sup>e</sup> not servilely copied, but repeated with that variety of treatment which forms the great charm of ancient art. Perseus shows the liberated fair one the reflection of the head of the terrible Gorgon in the waters either of the sea or of some lake or fountain. To protect her from the sight of this object, which would have changed her into stone, he wraps it under his cloak, or holds it behind his back. In the description of Ovid<sup>f</sup> he lays it on the sea-weeds, and it transforms them into corals; while in an account given by Pausanias,<sup>g</sup> the red colour of the waters of a fountain at Joppa was owing to Perseus having there washed away the blood of the whale with which he was stained. On the mirror published by Gerhard,<sup>h</sup> Pallas Athene holds up the head of the Gorgon for Perseus and Andromeda to behold, and Apollo, whose connection with the Perseid<sup>i</sup> is difficult to understand, appears on the scene. The subject of the liberation of Andromeda was probably selected for the sarcophagi and the mirrors of Etruscan ladies, on account of its relation to death typified by that of the monster, and the liberation of youthful beauty as exhibited by the delivered Andromeda. A similar reason probably caused the introduction of the subject of the fatal fight at her marriage feast on some of the Etruscan sarcophagi of later style and period. This indeed is not known to have been the subject of any work of renown; but that it had been so is probable, from the description of the fight in Ovid,<sup>k</sup> which is either the argument of some tragedy, the translation of an older Perseis, or the extract of some description of works of art. In this, Perseus fights at the altar with Phineus and his followers; some he kills with javelins, others with the harpé, one with a crater, and as a last

τεμνομένη τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ σκέπουσα τὸν Περσεῖα· ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν τάλμαν εἰργασται, τὸ δὲ ἔργον οὐχ' ἐώρακε ποῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος τῆς Γοργόνης τὴν εἰκόνα, οἶδε γὰρ τὸ προστίμον τῆς ἀληθοῦς ὕψους. A mere allusion to Perseus changing men into stone occurs in the Vet. Act. Lucian, xiv. 25.

<sup>a</sup> Mionnet, vi. 220, No. 1477.

<sup>b</sup> Mionnet, ii. 354, No. 129.

<sup>c</sup> Dumersan, Cabinet D'Allier d'Hauteroche, iii. 10.

<sup>d</sup> Winckelman, Pierres Gravées de Stosch, p. 342, No. 150.

<sup>e</sup> Pitture d'Ercolano, tom. iv. tab. viii. iii. 12. Mus. Borb. ix. tav. iii. ix. xxix. xii. tav. xlix—lii. That this is a phantom, not the real Gorgon's head, seems to me improbable. Cf. M. O. Jahn, l. c. p. 290.

<sup>f</sup> Met. iv. 743, 745.

<sup>g</sup> Pausan. iv. c. xxxv.

<sup>h</sup> Metallspiegel, taf. cxxii.

<sup>i</sup> On his road to the Gorgons Perseus passes through the land of the Hyperboreans, whom he finds sacrificing asses to Apollo. Pindar, Pyth. x. 50, 24, 46. The allusion would, however, be very far-fetched.

<sup>k</sup> Met. v. 1 and foll.



resource he produces the Gorgonion or Medusa's head. This is a reiteration, in fact, of the quarrel of the Lapithæ and Centaur on the Etruscan sarcophagi. The last act is sculptured. Perseus exhibits the Gorgon's head to the armed warriors who attack him, in one hand, while he holds a sword in the other.<sup>a</sup> In those scenes in which he kneels upon an altar, either with an armed companion,<sup>b</sup> or an armed female, probably Athene,<sup>c</sup> it is not always possible to feel assured that the subject of Tydeus, with the head of Menalippus, is not intended. The action on the vase of the Museum at Naples, already mentioned, is too quiet to be that of the death of Phineus or Agenor.<sup>d</sup> All the family of Phineus are placed finally in the starry heavens.<sup>e</sup> The serpents which sprang up from the dropping blood of the Gorgon, appear, however, on this vase.<sup>f</sup> The oracular Themis had warned Atlas that a son of Jove should rob the gardens of the Hesperides of their apples, and, on the refusal of Atlas to admit Perseus within them, Atlas is transformed by the Argive hero into the mountain that bears his name.<sup>g</sup> This has not been represented in any work of consequence of ancient art; but it is probably seen on certain gems,<sup>h</sup> where Perseus stands with the Gorgon's head before a pillar, on which is placed a globe, a subject possibly referable to a still later tradition; but yet probably representing the pole supported by Mount Atlas, as one of the pillars of Hercules. In Ovid this adventure is placed before that of Perseus and Andromeda; but it is of the latest age, as it entirely clashes with the Heracleid, in which Hercules obtains the apples from Atlas.

The return of Perseus to Seriphos, which occurs in all versions of the legend, his exhibition of the Gorgon's head to the notorious Polydectes, and his consequent transmutation, along with the natives of the isle, into stone,<sup>i</sup> was the subject of a painting in the Stoa Poikile at Athens,<sup>k</sup> probably taken from the tragedy of Polydectes by Æschylus.<sup>l</sup> On the coins of Tarsus Perseus is seen shewing the head to Dictys,<sup>m</sup> and on several gems he is seen standing in the temple of Athene at Seriphos, regarding the head of the Gorgon after having

<sup>a</sup> Inghirami, *Mon. Etr.* i. tav. liv.

<sup>b</sup> Inghirami, *M. Etr.* s. i. tav. lvii. liv. lxxxiii.

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* s. vi. t. A. Gori.

<sup>d</sup> Hygin. *Fab.* lxiv.

<sup>e</sup> *Palæphat. de Incred.* 32.

<sup>f</sup> Ovid. *Met.* v. 620. He speaks of Africa according to Alexander Polyhistor. in the *Schol. Apollon. Rhod.* 1515. *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* iii. 239, 135. *Mus. Borb.* v. ii. *Apollon. Argon.* iii. 1513.

<sup>g</sup> *Ibid.* 665.

<sup>h</sup> Tolken, *Verzeichniss*, 8vo. Berlin, 1826, p. 151, No. 133. Winckelman, *Pierres Gravées*, p. 340, No. 133.

<sup>i</sup> Strabo, *Tauchnitz*, p. 391, lib. x. c. v.

<sup>k</sup> Pausan. i. c. xxii. 6.

<sup>l</sup> The argument may be seen in *Eudocia* and the *Paræmiographi*, Gaisford, p. 240. Ovid. *Met.* v. 241.

<sup>m</sup> Hygin. l. c. Mionnet, iii. 647, No. 561, 587. *Suppl.* vii. p. 283, No. 511, 525. Cavedoni, *Spicil. Numism.* p. 311.



rescued his mother, or while converting Polydectes into stone.<sup>a</sup> This is the subject of a vase in the Museum of Naples, on which the presence of Hermes, *Pan*, Zeus, Hera, along with that of Athene, shows that it belongs to a drama, probably that of Polydectes.<sup>b</sup> The destruction of Prætus<sup>c</sup> in the same manner at Argos has either not been represented or is indistinguishable from the death of Polydectes; but the statues representing a *discobolus*, and generally supposed to be copies of the bronze of Myro, may, with every probability, be referred to *Perseus killing Acrisius* with the quoit, by which he was struck on the head<sup>d</sup> or foot<sup>e</sup> at the games in honour of Teutamius at Larissa,<sup>f</sup> while the hero was exercising at the pentathlon.<sup>g</sup> To Perseus, indeed, was attributed the invention of the quoit, and it is evident that he was represented in the statues in the flower of his age.<sup>h</sup> That Pliny should have called the Perseus of Myro by the name of a *discobolus* might have arisen from many of the ancient statues having, in his days, become known by the familiar names of amateurs and the artists of Rome; for when he speaks of the *Astragalizontes* of Polyclethus I. it is certain that this artist must, in accordance with the spirit of the age in which he lived, have selected either the incident of Patroclus killing his companion at this game, Ganymedes and Dardanus playing at astragali, or else the children of Medea thus amusing themselves. The dying warrior (*vulneratus deficiens*) of Onatas was also, probably, the name given by the Romans to the statue of some expiring Greek hero.

The last of the adventures of the Perseid was the war he carried on at Argos<sup>i</sup> against the followers of Dionysos. Two vases of late style, with red figures, one published by Millingen,<sup>k</sup> the other by Curtius,<sup>l</sup> which have Perseus holding up the Gorgon's head to the Satyrs, are supposed to allude to this event. As, however, the *Andromeda*<sup>m</sup> of Sophocles was a satiric drama, it might form an incident of that play. But the Dionysiac war of Perseus was well known, for the sepulchre of Chorea remained in the days of Pausanias,<sup>n</sup> close to the temple of the Nemean Jupiter at Corinth, and that of the other Bacchantes before the temple

<sup>a</sup> Where he was educated. Hygin. cclxxiii.

<sup>b</sup> Mus. Borb. v. li.

<sup>c</sup> Ovid. Met. v. 240.

<sup>d</sup> Hygin. lxiii. Pausan. ii. c. xvi.

<sup>e</sup> Apoll. Bibl. l. c.

<sup>f</sup> Hygin. lxiii.

<sup>g</sup> Paræmiogr. Vet. a Gaisford. Zenob. 41, p. 240.

<sup>h</sup> Paus. l. c. καὶ ὁ μὲν οἷα ἡλικία τε ἀκμάζων καὶ τοῦ δίσκου χαίρων τῷ εὐρήματι, ἐπεδείκνυτο ἐς πάντας.

<sup>i</sup> Pausanias, ix. 11, 20, 3.

<sup>k</sup> Vases Peints, Pl. 2.

<sup>l</sup> Curtius (Ernst), Herakles der Satyr und dreifuss Rauber, 4to. Berlin, 1852, p. 4. O. Jahn, Vorhand. d. Sachsich. Akad. Bd. 1.

<sup>m</sup> *Andromeda*, Sophocles, a Brunckh. 8vo. Lond. 1824, p. 200. Eratosthenes, Catast. 16.

<sup>n</sup> ii. c. xx. 3.

of Leto.<sup>a</sup> It is, however, only later writers that make him killed by this cohort.<sup>b</sup> The Corinthian legends alone narrated that the Gorgon's head was buried under the Argive agora of Corinth, for the Argives placed the heroum of Perseus on the road from Mycenæ to Argos, and close to it the altar of Dictys and Clymene, his saviours.<sup>c</sup> Deinias, a late Argive writer, makes him fly to the Persians, and call the Erythrean sea from the name of his son.<sup>d</sup> Pausanias of Damascus, in his book on Antioch, describes the hero as coming to the Ionitæ or Iopolitanæ, of Syria, and to Mount Silpion. The river Draco overflows; Perseus exhorts the inhabitants to pray; a globe of fire descends from heaven and averts the inundation.<sup>e</sup> The Syncellus makes him fly from Dionysos with one hundred ships to Assyria,<sup>f</sup> and Cephalion to overturn that kingdom.<sup>g</sup> To these writers may be added the authority of Plutarch,<sup>h</sup> and of one Semeronius<sup>i</sup> of Babylon, who makes him destroy the Assyrian lord [Sard]Anapullus, confounding him with the Persians. These miserable mixtures of truth and history, confused or blended by the ignorance of the writers, are scarcely worth reciting, except that they are the result of such credulity as that of Herodotus, who sought for Perseus in Egypt. Yet the old legends always asserted that Perseus had founded Mycenæ, where the point of his sword dropped, as may be seen from Chrysormos,<sup>k</sup> and that he was killed by Megapenthes.<sup>l</sup> Possibly some of the later versions of the Perseid may be illustrated by certain gems<sup>m</sup> and other monuments. In connection with the Perseid is the invention by Athene of the tune upon the flutes, which was suggested by the wail or threne of the Gorgons for their deceased sister,<sup>n</sup> the subject of one vase.<sup>o</sup> Isolated groups of Perseus, or of Gorgons, taken from groups of various compositions, are numerous on all kinds of monuments, as statues,<sup>p</sup> vases,<sup>q</sup> gems,<sup>r</sup> and reliefs, and shew Perseus winging his way through the air, holding the head of the

<sup>a</sup> ii. c. xxii. l.

<sup>b</sup> Augustin, De Civit. Dei, xvii. 2. Lobeck, Aglaophamos, pp. 573, 574.

<sup>c</sup> Paus. ii. xviii. 1; ii. c. xv. xvi. 146.

<sup>d</sup> Fragm. Hist. iii. p. 25, 4.

<sup>e</sup> From Malala, Frag. Hist. Grec. iii. ad fin.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. iii. 169.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. iv. 591.

<sup>h</sup> Vit. Cimon. Init.

<sup>i</sup> Chron. Alex. p. 38. Voss, De Hist. Græc. 8vo. Lips 1838, a Westermann, p. 497.

<sup>k</sup> Fragm. Hist. Græc. iv. 361, 1. Plutarch. de Flum. 18, 7.

<sup>l</sup> Hygin. cexliv.

<sup>m</sup> Cf. Winckelman, Pierres de Stosch, p. 340, Nos. 134, 136, 137. Tolkien, Verzeichniss, 8vo. Berl. 1826, p. 151, Nos. 135-137.

<sup>n</sup> Τὸν αὐλόητον καλούμενον νόμον. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. 838.

<sup>o</sup> Lenormant and De Witte, Élite. Pl. lxxiv.

<sup>p</sup> Mus. Pio Clem. ii. plate xxxiii.

<sup>q</sup> Enochoe at Munich. Micali, Mon. Ined. xliii. 2. p. 252. Mus. Blac. plate xxvi.

<sup>r</sup> Winckelm. Pierres, l. c. p. 1760. Tolkien, l. c.

Gorgon, dropping clots of blood,<sup>a</sup> from which spring the Libyan serpents,<sup>b</sup> a late version of the story. He is occasionally pursued by Medusa's sisters,<sup>c</sup> as on the shield of Hesiod and chest of Cypselus, and some vases of archaic style, which probably copied that monument.

The numismatic representations of this portion of the story are most numerous, it having been generally selected for the coins of such cities as regarded this hero as their founder. Such reasons, at least, have made it the type of Iconium,<sup>d</sup> in Lycaonia, in which he stands holding the head of the Medusa, for there he founded the city of Perseis;<sup>e</sup> of Argos;<sup>f</sup> of Amastris, on which he is represented standing over the corpse of the decapitated Gorgon, while his protectress Athene has her head on the obverse;<sup>g</sup> of Amisus;<sup>h</sup> and Sinope;<sup>i</sup> of those of Anemurium, Cabira,<sup>k</sup> and Comasa,<sup>l</sup> struck under Maximinus,<sup>m</sup> and of Argos under the younger Valerian,<sup>n</sup> and on those of the already cited Sebaste. The types of Seriphos, with the Gorgonion, or Perseus walking, rather recal to mind his fatal arrival at the island, and the transmutation of Polydectes and his court into rocks, than the destruction of the Gorgon.<sup>o</sup> This head alone, or in connection with the Gorgonion, is also seen on the coins of Argos,<sup>p</sup> Amphipolis,<sup>q</sup> Astypalæa,<sup>r</sup> and Macedon.<sup>s</sup> It is on the obverse of the coins of Philip V.<sup>t</sup> and Perseus<sup>u</sup> that the head of Perseus appears as the

<sup>a</sup> Inghirami, *Mon. Etr.* s. vi. t. 2. 4, with his name ΦΕΔΣΕ. Cf. Millin, *Gal. Myth.* xcv. 387. ΝΕΔΕΔ. Lanzi, *Saggio* ii. iv. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Vase, r. f. Mus. Borb. Ovid. *Met.* v. 620.

<sup>c</sup> Amph. r. f. Campanari, *Antichi Vasi dipinti*, 8vo. Roma. 1837, pp. 166, 167, No. 95.

<sup>d</sup> Eckhel, *Num. Vet. Thes. Tb.* 15, s. 2, pp. 271, 272. Cat. 1, p. 209, No. 1. Rasche, *Lex. N. t.* ii. P. ii. p. 254. Mionnet, vii. 147, No. 5.

<sup>e</sup> Hygin. 275.

<sup>f</sup> Mionnet, *Supp.* iv. p. 249, Nos. 86, 87. Sestini, *Descr. del. Mus. Fontana*, p. 63, No. ii, tab. ii. fig. 12. Mus. Gothan.

<sup>g</sup> Mionnet, ii. 389, No. 7; s. iv. 552, No. 9. Pellerin, *Rec. tom.* ii. pl. xi. p. 18. Mus. Pemb. Pl. 2, t. 3.

<sup>h</sup> Mionnet, s. iv. p. 435, No. 436. Hunter, *Num. Vet. t.* 4, viii. Haym. *Tes. Brit. P. II. t.* xx. No. 2, p. 174. Neumann, *Pop. Th.* 1, fig. 1, p. 1.

<sup>i</sup> Mionnet, ii. 401, No. 84. Neumann, *P. II. tab.* 1. Gesner, *Vor Ill.* iii. No. 19.

<sup>k</sup> Haym. *Tes. Brit.* ii. t. xx. No. 4, p. 75. Mionnet, ii. p. 348, No. 99.

<sup>l</sup> Neumann, l. c. p. 8. Mus. Theup. *P. II.* p. 1261.

<sup>m</sup> Mionnet, iii. p. 559. Cabinet d'Ennery, p. 426, No. 1.

<sup>n</sup> Mionnet, iii. p. 565.

<sup>o</sup> Mionnet, *S.* iv. 400, No. 217. Sestini, *Lett. Num. Cont.* v. p. 29, No. 1. Cadalvene, *Recueil*, Pl. IV. No. 6, Pl. iv. fig. 27.

<sup>p</sup> Mionnet, s. iv. 243. Eckhel, *Num. Vet. Tb.* xiii. s. 9, pp. 225, 226.

<sup>q</sup> Mionnet, i. 495.

<sup>r</sup> Mionnet, vi. 563. Cadalvene, *Recueil*, p. 252, No. 1, Pt. IV. fig. 22. No. 8, Pt. IV. fig. 26.

<sup>s</sup> Mionnet, i. 435.

<sup>t</sup> Mus. Pemb. p. 2, l. 54, No. 263. Mionnet, *Supp.* i. 587, No. 920. Eckhel, *Sylloge*, i. p. 47.

<sup>u</sup> Eckhel, *Cat.* i. p. 94, Nos. 5, 6.

ἐπισημεῖον of the Macedonian shield of the Argyraspides, with the harpé behind his head, as his helmet here is in shape of a gryphon, the crest in shape of the head of the animal, the side-pieces, or *phaloi*, like the wings. It is to this period that this mode of treating the helmet of Hades must be referred, as well as the age of those monuments and coins above cited on which it is so represented.<sup>a</sup>

The figures on the vase now particularly under consideration divide themselves into two groups; the first represents an aged person, probably a female, for the form is attired as the Amazons are on works of art of the same period, leaning on two Ethiopians, accompanied by a diphropheros or chair-bearer; another figure with a pyxis or toilet-box and a tainia or sash; a third with a mirror and alabastron; all in attendance upon her. This figure wears an anaxyrides, a tunic, and a cidaris, and advances full face with an air of great dejection, such as would suit Cassiope the mother of Andromeda, or the maiden herself at the prospect of being attached to the fatal rock. The second group represents a bearded man, in whom must be recognised Phineus seated on a rock, draped in a tunic and peplos, and wearing a cidaris, seated on a rock, holding a stick on which he leans, bending down his head in grief or attention, and regarding the action of three other Ethiopians, two of whom are engaged in driving a hole with picks into a rock or mountain, while a third passes his hand almost to the elbow into the hole. Behind Cepheus stands a figure that should be Perseus. On his head is the casque or winged helmet of Hades, which he and Hermes only wear, for at the earliest period of art he can scarcely be distinguished from the son of Maia, as he then wears the petasus; at the fuller developement of art, and especially on the vases of South Italy, both wear helmets with wings. On the latest monuments the helmet of Hades is represented as a gryphon, probably in allusion to the Cimmerian darkness of the Hyperboreans, to whom that animal was sacred, and where it was supposed to dwell; a helmet also worn by his protectress Pallas Athene.<sup>b</sup> The description of the charlatan Alexander in Lucian, who bound up his hair<sup>c</sup> like Perseus, wore a

<sup>a</sup> The coin itself being of silver, Ἀργυρον, and the obverse convex shows the device of the Ἀργυρ-ἄσπιδες of the reign of Philip. It was an elegant device. Most of the autonymous coins have the helmet in this shape.

<sup>b</sup> Eudocia Violar. περὶ Αἴδος κυνέης. Villosion, Anecd. Græcæ, i. p. 30, ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐκρυψεν ἡ Ἀθήνα, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁράσθαι ὑπὸ Ἄρεος τοιαύτη καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἄδου κυνῆ, ἣ Περσεὺς χρησάμενος τὴν Γοργόνα ἰδεδροτόμησεν.

<sup>c</sup> The peculiar type of Perseus was holding the falx, προεισπέπεται δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, κομῶν ἤδη καὶ πλοκάμους καθευμένος, καὶ μεσόλευκον χιτῶνα πορφυροῦν ἐνδεδυκώς, καὶ ἱμάτιον ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν λευκὸν ἀναβεβλημένος, ἄρπην ἔχων κατὰ τὸν Περσέα, ἀφ' οὗ αὐτὸν ἐγενεαλόγει μητρόθεν. Pausanias, xxii. 11.

This same impostor solicited the Emperor to be allowed καὶ νόμισμα καινὸν κόψαι τῇ μὲν τοῦ Γλύκωνος,



white and purple tunic, and held a harpé, shows the mode in which the hero was then represented, and he is occasionally seen holding lances instead of the sword<sup>a</sup> or harpé.<sup>b</sup> On his feet are certainly the talaria or ἀρβυλόπτερον.<sup>c</sup> There is not sufficient vegetation on the mountain to justify the supposition that the scene is intended for the Æthiopians uprooting the *Persea* which Cepheus presents to Perseus after the destruction of the marine monster and the liberation of Andromeda, and which he subsequently transplanted to Argos.<sup>d</sup> The action is therefore more probably the Æthiopians preparing the fetters to attach Andromeda to the rock.

Some, indeed, may prefer to interpret this scene as the destruction of the effeminate Sardanapalus by the Argive hero; but that tradition is of too late an origin for it to be admitted. The Æthiopian character of the attendant boys places the action amidst the "blameless Æthiopians;" and if the costume of the central figure, with the cap, short tunic, and the trowsers, resembles the Persian or Asiatic dress rather than that usually seen on the forms of Negroes, the period of the fabrication of the vase must be borne in mind. The Amazons, too, are thus apparelled; so are the Trojan archers, and the followers of the Æthiopian Memnon. The seat may be the *trapeza* or table which held the *kosmos*, or toilet apparatus, which on the Etruscan sarcophagi was placed at the foot of the rock to which Andromeda was fettered. It is hardly possible to conceive that such objects could have been carried, except in the train of a female; and in the mythos of Andromeda the monster, like the Minotaur, requires to be propitiated by a lovely virgin. It is to be observed that her face is, unlike that of Phineus, provided

κατὰ θάτερα δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου στεμματὰ τε τοῦ πάππου Ἀσκληπιοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἄρπην ἐκείνην τοῦ πατρομήτορος Περσέως ἔχοντος. Ibid. 58.

<sup>a</sup> Serra di Falco, ii. 26. Müller, Denk. i. 4. 24. Valeriani, Mus. Chius. 33, 34. Micali, Storia, 22. D'Agincourt, Fragn. 14. 2. Millin, Gal. Myth. 105, 386, xx. f. Mus. Borb. v. 32, 39.

<sup>b</sup> Sometimes the harpé appears merely a kind of scimeter (O. Jahn, Arch. Beitrage, s. 256), and is the characteristic mark of Perseus on the coins. See supra, and Millingen, Recueil, 3, 13; Cab. d'Allier, 7, 22; Cadalvene, 4, 24-29, p. 116; also on the bas-relief, Mus. Borbon. v. 40; on the wall-paintings, Mus. Borb. vi. 30; Pitture di Ere. iv. 37; and on the vases, Millingen, Vases Peints, 3; Inghirami, Vasi Fittili, 366; Rochette, Mon. In. i. 48; Gerhard, Aus. Vas. 88. 1. It appears as a mere sickle, Millin, Vases, ii. 34; Blacas, ii. 1; with handle in shape of a winged serpent, Stackelberg die Græber, 39; Gerhard, Aus. Vas. 88. 2; Panofka, Verlegene, Mythen, taf. 2; Micali, Mon. In. i. 44. 2; also on mirrors, Gerhard, Mirrors 122, 123; and scarabæi, Lanzi, Saggio ii. 4, 6; and on the terra-cotta, from Melos, Millingen, Anc. Un. Mon. ii. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Tzetzes, ad Lyc. 839.

<sup>d</sup> Schol. ad Nicandri Alexipharmaca, 100. Eutech. in Schol. ad eund. Ibid. 102-101. Theriaca, 764.



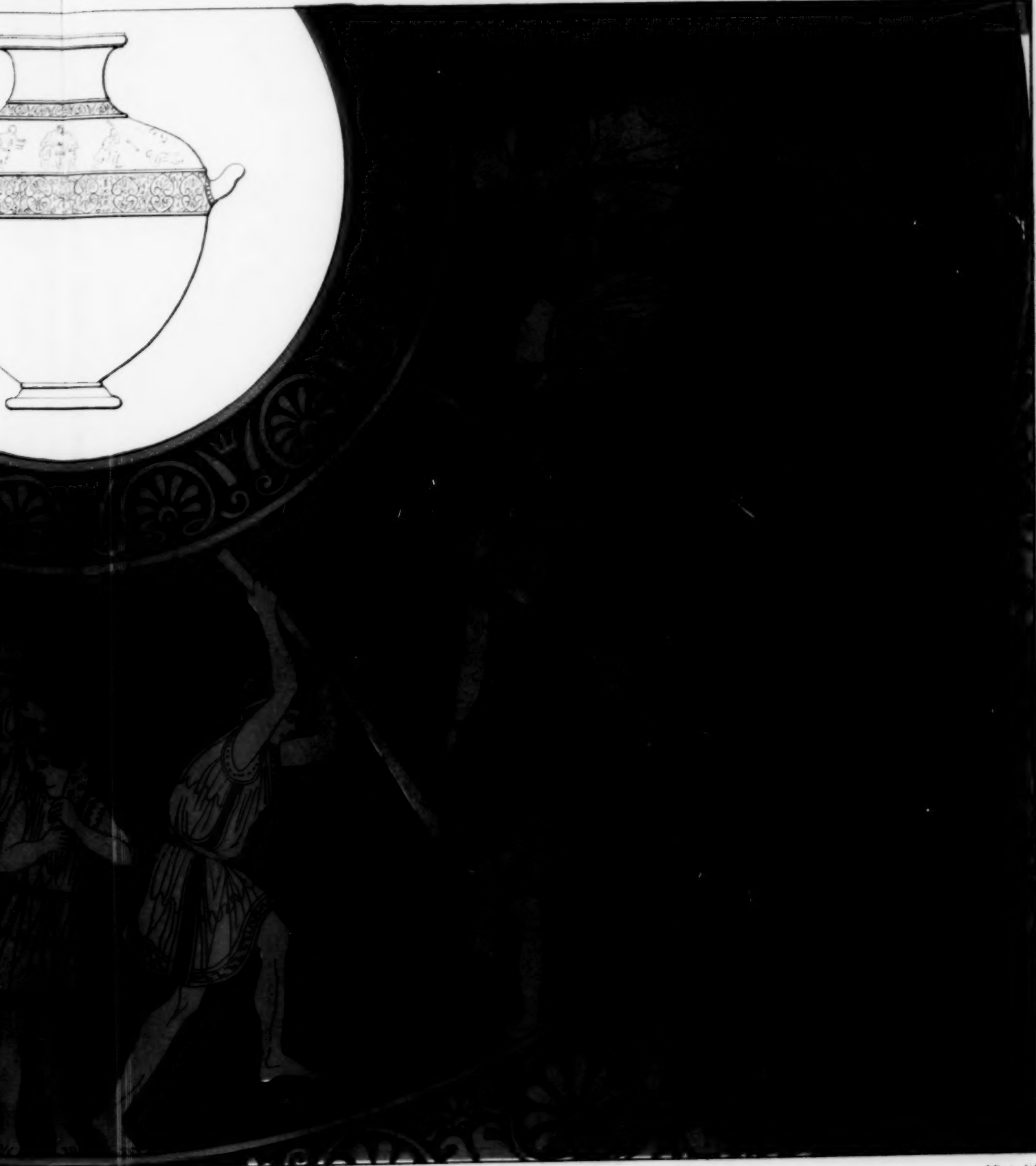
with an ample beard. Although the same costume as the supposed Andromeda wears is also seen on certain vases of the same age and style as the apparel of male personages, such as the Indian Dionysos, Midas, Memnon, yet it is also worn by females; and it is impossible to conceive that, according to Greek ideas, Perseus should become fascinated by a negress. Hence the artists of the best schools always represented the characters of Cepheus, Cassiope, and Andromeda, under a form purely Greek; but on the vases of the decadence of art, there is constantly a departure from this rule, and a tendency to represent the individuals of foreign myths in their appropriate costume. At the same time certain restrictions, the necessary tribute to national taste or ignorance, prevented the adoption of costume entirely Asiatic.





VASE REPRESENTING A

*Published by the State*



...TING AN ADVENTURE OF PERSEUS.

...d. by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1855.

J. B. 1855.





VI. *Note on a Variety of Objects discovered during the progress of Excavations for Sewerage in Salisbury.* By JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq. F.S.A. Secretary.

Read 25 May, 1854.

By the kind permission of Mr. Edward C. Brodie, of Salisbury, I submit to the inspection of the Society a very numerous collection of objects discovered in that city during the progress of excavations for the new sewers. They consist of—1. Knives, of various descriptions; 2. Shears; 3. Spoons; 4. Padlocks; 5. Keys; 6. Weapons; 7. Buckles; 8. Pilgrims' signs; 9. Rings; and some other relics, the uses of which are not easily ascertained.

The knives appear to range from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. Many of these were doubtless for personal use, and carried in the girdle. There are others, however, which seem to be the implements of curriers or cordwainers. Several are marked with the letter W within a double square, but one has the mark of an open human hand.\* They do not appear to be of a very early date, but are doubtless examples of the cutlery for which Salisbury was long famous.

The shears are all small, but of different sizes and very simple form, and are not unlike the examples of the Anglo-Saxon period, though probably not earlier than the fifteenth century.

The spoons are of latten and lead, and present nothing remarkable. The makers' stamps are a crowned full-blown rose between the letters I. R.; a fleur-de-lis, which is stamped also along the handle; a key between the letters R. G.; three spoons between the letters G . . . and DOVBEL; a key and a sword in saltier between the letters R. I.; a crowned lion's head; R. G., and another stamp of W.; I. G., within a beaded circle; a crowned rose between M. H.; and a spoon between two inverted G's and L. R.

The padlocks are for the most part of a comparatively late period, some of them resembling the padlocks of globose form still used in the Netherlands. Two or three are, however, apparently as early as the fifteenth century.

\* Probably the device of a maker named Gauntlett. A tobacco-pipe maker of that name is mentioned by Fuller and by Aubrey.

The keys are the most numerous objects in this collection. They include many interesting examples, ranging perhaps from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. But the most remarkable objects are the latch-keys, the age of which might be questioned if they were not known to have been found with other keys at least as old as the fifteenth century.

The heads of weapons consist of a specimen of a spear of very powerful make, barbed darts of several sizes, an old English arrow-head, the head of a cross-bow-bolt, and the head of a bird-bolt.

The buckles present nothing worthy of special notice.

The pilgrims' signs in lead are devices which appear not to have been hitherto noticed. One evidently represents Saint Michael, without however his characteristic arms; the other the sun within a crescent, and the third the bust of a man within a pulpit (or a font?), surrounded by a square frame or border inscribed SOLI DEO HONOS ET AMOR ET GLORY. Above the whole, the rising sun.

There are several other relics, among which is a stonemason's chisel, compasses, a small hammer, and some fragments of chain-armour.

Of all these objects, which have been rescued from dispersion by the conservative zeal of Mr. Brodie, the heads of various missile weapons (represented in the accompanying Plate) are perhaps the most deserving of the notice of the antiquary, especially of those who have given their attention to our military antiquities, of which these are interesting illustrations.

No. 1, represented like the others of the actual size, is distinguished from the rest by the form of the barbs, which are bent inwards. It appears to be too small for a dart cast by the hand, and was probably projected from a balista or large cross-bow.

No. 2 is another dart-head, the barbs of which appear to have been broken off. No. 5 closely resembles it, and appears likewise to have lost its barbs.

Nos. 3 and 4 are dart-heads, with very long barbs, similar in construction to one exhibited in January, 1852, by Mr. Greville Chester, at a meeting of the Archæological Institute, in whose *Journal* (vol. ix. p. 112) it is described as "a pheen found at Blenheim." I have seen several examples of these heads, and possess one found in the Thames. They appear to have been the heads of feathered darts cast with the hand. An illustration of their use may be seen in the exquisite illuminations of a copy of Valerius Maximus, a MS. of the fifteenth century, in the British Museum (MS. Harl. 4374, fol. 161), and another of "*Jehan de Saintre*" (Cott. Nero, D. ix.)

No. 6 is a remarkable and uncommon example. It is probably the head of a dart projected from a balista, for which its trilateral head would peculiarly adapt



HEADS OF MISSILE WEAPONS FOUND AT SALISBURY

*Supplied by the County of Salisbury Museum*

*J. H. M. del. 1890*



it. Thus propelled it must have been capable of piercing any kind of defensive armour.

No. 7 appears to be the head of a cross-bow bolt.

No. 8, the head of the old cloth-yard arrow (?)

No. 9, the bifurcate head of a bird-bolt, similar to one found at Mentmore, Bucks, and described by Mr. Ouvry in the *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXV. p. 382. In 1852 Mr. Octavius Morgan, M.P., exhibited four specimens of this description of head, found behind the wainscot at Machen Place, an old seat of his family in Monmouthshire. This form of bolt appears to have been used in field-sports. A very curious picture, exhibited by Mr. Farrer at a meeting of the Archaeological Institute (*Journal*, vol. v. p. 303), represents a stag-hunt given by the Elector of Saxony to Charles the Fifth, and other great personages, who appear shooting with the cross-bow with bolts having heads of this peculiar form. They are conjectured, however, by some antiquaries to have been used in war, from the circumstance of several similar heads having been found on the memorable battle-field of Towton, but this at best seems doubtful. Forked arrow-heads have long been used by the Chinese, and it was with shafts thus armed that Commodus performed his famous feat of decapitating an ostrich when at full speed in the amphitheatre.

J. Y. AKERMAN.

London, 25th May, 1854.



VII. *Account of the Convent of English Nuns formerly settled at Louvain, in South Brabant: in a Letter addressed to the President by Sir HENRY ELLIS, Director.*

Read December 14, 1854.

MY LORD,

As long ago as 1797 the Abbé Mann of Brussels, then residing in exile at Prague in Bohemia, communicated to our Society, of which he was a foreign Member, "A short Chronological Account of the Religious Establishments made by English Catholics on the Continent of Europe." His lists were collected with care and exactness, and in many instances preserved a record of religious Communities in which numerous members of the most eminent Catholic families of England became professed.

His Account of the Augustine Nuns of Louvain is as follows:

"These Canonesses of St. Austin were first established in the year 1609, by Mrs. Mary Wiseman, a professed nun of the Flemish Convent of St. Ursula, in Louvain. They were governed by a prioress, and educated young ladies. This house enjoyed considerable funds, and subsisted till the French Invasion of 1794, when the members of it fled out of the Low Countries."—*Archæol.* vol. xiii. p. 264.

Fuller in his Church History, B. vi. p. 364, makes mention of this convent, but in a very unsatisfactory and, I may say, in an unkind manner. He says, "Here I purposely omit the nunnes of Lovaine, in Brabant, because not speaking *pure English*, and scarcely *medietatem lingue*, being a hodge-podge of Dutch and English, and the former at this day most numerous. Yea, oftentimes the two nations here strive for superiority, and, though nature inclineth me in this contention to favour my country women, yet I conceive it better to leave them alone to agree with themselves, and proceed to the Jesuitesses."

Whatever the hodge-podge of language spoken in the convent might have been in Fuller's time; at a time but little subsequent, comparatively speaking, one of the nuns wrote a short history of this convent in very good English, and showed that some of the most eminent Catholic families of England, for a considerable series of years, continued to send members of their families there, not only for profession, but for education. Cole in one of his MS. volumes, now in the British Museum, has preserved a copy of the Narrative relating to this convent to which I

allude. It forms a valuable appendage to the Abbé Mann's brief notice of the institution, and preserves the names of several ladies belonging to ancient and noble families of England, who from time to time became professed there.

The following is Cole's general title and introduction to his transcript :<sup>a</sup>—

"An Account of the Nunnery of St. Monica, in Louvain, given me by John Wade of the Priory in Earl's Colne in Essex, Esq. Febr. 10, 1745-6, and given to him by one of the Nuns of the said Convent when he was there in 1723 with a friend who went to see the Investiture of two of his Daughters in the said Nunnery."

I remain, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

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*"Some brief Notes concerning the Beginning and Progress of the Monastery of St. Monica, in Louvain."*

In the year of our Lord 1609, the 10 of February, the Monastery of St. Monica of the order of St. Augustine, chainoinesses regular, was begun in the town of Lovain (in an house then hired and after bought of the Abbot of Ulierbeck of the order of St. Benedict,) by seven religious women of England, who had been professed in the monastery of St. Ursula of the same order and in the same town, which said cloister of St. Monica was erected in honour of the Conception of our Lady and of the glorious Archangel St. Michael, under the title of St. Monica.

We began without either founder or foundation, relying only on the Divine Providence, which has brought us from so small and inconsiderable a beginning to what we now are. We had, indeed, a promise of what was thought sufficient to buy our house; but that failed: and, though we began with license of the Archbishop, and free consent of the Convent from whence we came, yet we had not above 5s. among us, and each person their habit and furniture, and some little household stuff.

Our chief assistants in all our troubles were Dr. Cesar Clement, Dean of St. Gudule's at Brussels, nephew to Reverend Mother Clement, and Mr. Worthington, our chief benefactor, who engaged his whole estate to the Bishop for our maintenance, if other promises should fail; but, thanks be to God, we wanted not that great charity.

There came from St. Ursula's, with the first seven included, at several times, to the number of seventeen nuns and two lay sisters:

<sup>a</sup> Addit. MSS. Brit. Mus. 5813; Cole, vol. xii. fol. 51.

1st. Elizabeth Sherley of Sherley, in Leicestershire, was the first impowered by the Bishop for the beginning of this Monastery, and performed the charge of both Superior and Procuratrix for about nine months (after which she was chosen Sub-Prioress). She was a person of great piety, prudence, and courage; ob. 1 Sept. 1641, in the 46th year of her profession, and æt. 76.

1. Our first Superior was Reverend Mother Mary Wiseman, daughter to Thomas Wiseman of Bradock, in Essex, Esq. and Mrs. Jane Vacham, of an ancient family in Wales, chosen on 16 Nov. 1609; ob. 8 July, 1633, in the 63 year of her age, 40 of her profession, and 24 of her government. She gave the Holy Vail to 78 Religious: viz. 53 Nuns, 6 Converse, and 19 Lay Sisters. She was a good Latinist, and translated all those homilies, sermons, and expositions of Psalms out of the Holy Fathers, which we read in our refectory.

2. Our second Prioress was Mother Magdalen Throgmorton, daughter of Mr. Throgmorton of Coughton, in Warwickshire, Esq. and Mrs. Agnes Wilsford; ob. 26 Oct. 1668, 78 of her age, 56 of her profession, and 35 of her government. She professed 38 Religious: viz. 28 Nuns, 1 Converse, and 9 Lay Sisters.

3. Our third Prioress was Mother Winifride Thimbleby, daughter of Richard Thimbleby of Ernham, in Lincolnshire, Esq. and Mrs. Broosby; ob. 31 Aug. 1690, 72 of her age, 55 of her profession, and 22 of her government. She was elected Superior by the unanimous votes of the whole community.

4. Our fourth Prioress, Mother Marina Plowden, daughter of Francis Plowden of Plowden, in Shropshire, Esq. and of Mrs. Catherine Rudely, widow of Mr. Butler; ob. 1 Nov. 1715, in the 78 year of her age, 60 of her profession, and 26 of her government. She professed 32 Religious: viz. 25 Nuns and 7 Lay Sisters.

5. Our present Prioress is Mother Delphina Sheldon, daughter of Edward Sheldon of Barton, in Oxfordshire, Esq. and of Catherine Constable of Everingham, in Yorkshire. She was elected on the 12th of November, 1715. She hath professed 16 Nuns and 4 Lay Sisters.\*

Since the foundation in 1609 to 1723, 50 Religious, 13 Lay Sisters. Most of the religious have been of the ancientest families in England. Six of the nobility: viz.

\* The following was the form used in the Nunnery at profession :

"Ego Soror . . . . Votum facio et Professionem ac promitto Deo omnipotenti, Beatæ Mariæ semper Virgini, Beato Patri nostro Augustino, et omnibus Sanctis, et tibi reverende domine Archi-Presbyter Vicegerens eminentissimi ac reverendissimi domini Domini Thomæ Cardinalis de Alsatia Archiepiscopi Mechliniensis, et tibi reverenda Mater Delphina Sheldon, hujus Conventus Priorissa, et omnibus vobis legitime successuris obedientiam secundum Regulam S<sup>ci</sup> Patris nostri Augustini, castitatem perpetuam, paupertatem et carentiam proprii, et clausuram perpetuam secundum constitutionem nostri Monasterii Divæ Monicæ."

Sister Frances Parker, daughter to Lord Morley, profest in 1626. Sister Mary Constable, daughter to Viscount Dunbar, profest in 1658. Sister Gertrude Thimelby, daughter to Lord Aston, profest in 1658. Sister Ursula Stafford, daughter to William Howard Viscount Stafford, who was beheaded in England in the time of Oates's plot, professed in 1664.

Sister Catherine and Sister Frances Radcliffe, daughters to Francis Radcliffe first Earl of Derwentwater.

Reverend Mother Margaret Clement, daughter of Dr. John Clement and Mrs. Margaret Giggs, professed in the monastery of St. Ursula in 1557, elected Prioress there in 1569, and there governed 38 years (resigning her office by reason of blindness). She came with our sisters to begin this house, and ob. 1612, on the 25 of May. She was a woman of exemplary piety. She had the education of Sister Elizabeth Woodford, an English Religious of the monastery of Dartford in Kent, of the Order of St. Augustine, Canoness Regular, professed there Dec. 8th, 1519. In 1540, Religious Houses being overthrown in England, she came to St. Ursula's in Lovain, and died 25 October, 1572, having been 53 years professed, 24 of which she lived at St. Ursula's.

Our first Confessor was Mr. John Fen, who came with us from St. Ursula's, and ob. 27th Dec. 1615.

Mr. Stephen Barnes, our second Confessor, came to us in 1611; ob. 1 Jan. 1653, æt. 77.

The third Confessor, Mr. Richard Johnson, came to us; ob. 12 Jan. 1687, æt. 84.

The fourth, Mr. George Lynde, came in 1677; ob. 15 Feb. 1715.

Our present Confessor is Mr. Gilbert Haydocke.

In 1625 our church was finished and consecrated by the Archbishop of Mechlin on the 25 of May, being Trinity Sunday, and dedicated in honour of the immaculate Conception of our Blessed Lady. The Bishop placing on the High Altar the reliques of St. Mauritius and his companions, Martyrs of the Theban Legion, ordaining that we should yearly keep their Feast on the 22d of September, with a double office. The anniversary of our Churches Dedication on the Sunday immediately following the Octave of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Our Monastery being over full, we erected a Convent at Bruges, with license of Superiors spiritual and temporal, and sent thither ten Religious, giving each £15 a year for life; dedicated in honour of our Blessed Lady's Nativity, under the title of Nazareth."



VIII. *Note on the Angon of Agathias.* By JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, *Secretary*; *introductory of Drawings of Examples, and some Remarks, by* HERR LUDWIG LINDENSCHMIT *of Mayence.*

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Read May 18, 1854.

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In my communication "On some of the Weapons of the Celtic and Teutonic Races" read to the Society some time since,\* I alluded to the fact of the weapon termed "angon" by Agathias never having been found in any of the numerous graves of the Frank and Anglo-Saxon period explored in France and in this country. The subject was thought not undeserving the attention of an active and observant Fellow of the Society, and accordingly Mr. Wylie on the 20th January, 1853, communicated some remarks on this weapon, which he illustrated by a sketch of a javelin, presumed by him to represent the angon so minutely described by Agathias. This example is preserved in the Museum of Artillery in Paris, and it is represented in Mr. Wylie's remarks in the 35th volume of the *Archæologia*, p. 51. At the same time Dr. Collingwood Bruce noticed incidentally in his account of the Roman Wall a weapon nearly identical in shape and character with that described and represented by Mr. Wylie.

There appear, however, the best reasons for our supposing that neither of these objects really represent the angon of Agathias. In a communication with which I have just been favoured by Herr Ludwig Lindenschmit of Mayence, an antiquary well known by his curious work on the Frank Graves of Selzen, this gentleman, after observing on the important results arising from the intercommunication of antiquaries of different nations, says, "I esteem myself fortunate in thus being able to communicate some remarks on an object which appears to be unknown in England, and, what is still more remarkable, has never been observed in France in any discoveries of the Merovingian period. I allude to the angon of the Franks, for a treatise on which by Mr. Wylie I am indebted to you, but of which the exact character is not generally known, at least as it appears to me. I discovered in the graves of Selzen the iron of a lance which certainly answers to the description of this weapon, but, its shape being concealed by rust, I was unable to identify it in the manner I could have wished until I had an opportunity of comparing it with other examples, discovered elsewhere, and so well preserved as to allow of our recognising the character of this arm.

\* *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXIV.





*Museum of Manchester*



*Museum of Manchester - found near Blom*



*Museum of Manchester*



*Museum of Manchester*



*Museum of Manchester*

*2 feet 1 inch*

ANGONS.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 21<sup>st</sup> April 1851*

*J. B. 1851*



"In forwarding you the accompanying designs, I may remark that in our neighbourhood are preserved five; two in our collection (Mayence), two in the Museum of Wiesbaden, and one in the Museum of Darmstadt. I feel confident that an inspection of these drawings will satisfy you that the weapons accord with the description of Agathias, as also with that in Eigil's Saga—the lance of Thorulf—more completely than any yet described. I readily concede that the lance figured No. 1 in the interesting treatise of Mr. Wylie responds to the idea of the angon; nevertheless it does not accord with the length of the iron socket so especially indicated, and which in the angon properly so called is from three to four feet in length.

"The quadrilateral points of these lances are very remarkable. They differ entirely from all the other descriptions of lance-heads of this period, and resemble the points of the cross-bow bolts and halberds of the middle ages, and also the points of different swords and daggers made for piercing defensive armour.

"In nearly all these lance-heads," observes Herr Lindenschmit, "the barbs are pressed close to the shaft, as if they had been forced through some solid body. The examples from Wiesbaden and Darmstadt are also bent as if they had been employed in warfare."

From these drawings and remarks it will be seen that the description which Agathias gives us of the angon of the Franks is verified by archaeological discovery. But we have yet to account for the fact that no weapon of this character has been discovered in the Merovingian cemeteries of France—a fact which we may venture to explain by supposing that, as the Riparian and the Salic Franks, though of one great Teutonic family, were governed by different laws, so also they may have differed in many usages both in peace and in war, and among others in the adoption of the weapon so minutely described by the historian.

The drawings now exhibited are especially deserving of our notice. The example found at Wiesbaden is the most perfect, and it will be seen by the accompanying scale, that from the point to the termination of the socket it is nearly four feet in length. Another, found near Worms, measures exactly four feet. A third, preserved in the Museum of Darmstadt, is three feet and a half long. That in the Museum of Wiesbaden, the lower portion of the socket of which is quadrangular, is about four feet in length; and the example found at Selzen, of which a drawing is given of the actual size, measures four feet two inches and a half.

Herr Lindenschmit informs me that four of these weapons were found in graves the contents of which are preserved, and leave no doubt whatever as to the age to which they may be ascribed.

J. Y. AKERMAN.

London, 15 May, 1854.

IX. *Remarks on the Angon of the Franks and the Pilum of Vegetius: in a Letter addressed by W. M. WYLIE, Esq. B.A., F.S.A., to J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq., F.S.A., Secretary.*

Read January 18, 1855.

MY DEAR SIR,

Much has already been said on the Angon, and after the so full and interesting communication, illustrated by the able pencil of Herr Lindenschmit, with which you favoured us last season on this historic subject, any further comments may appear needless. At the risk of such an imputation, however, I shall beg permission to submit some additional gleanings, made during the past summer, of the attentive consideration of the Society.

In the public museum of Rheims are some exceedingly well preserved and interesting remains, of the Merovingian period, discovered in the vicinity of that ancient town. Among these records of past ages is a very good example of the Angon, of that type which we so lately had an opportunity of studying here in the careful drawings of Herr Lindenschmit—barbed, with a broad quadrangular point, and round iron stem about three feet long. Many similar weapons were also found in the same line of country at Remennecourt, a village near Bar-le-Duc, in Lorraine, during excavations for public works in the years 1838, 1839, and 1840, together with an immense mass of every description of arms, and other relics usually met with in Merovingian graves. The account of this find, by Mr. de Widranges, was published with copious illustrations, and the author not only rightly recognised the barbed spears for angons, but quotes the description of Agathias. The satisfactory labours of the Archæologists of Verdun do not however seem to have become generally known. As long after this discovery as 1850, we find the subject of the Angon propounded in a very able treatise in the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*.<sup>b</sup> Not aware of the existence of the real Angon, the author confounds it with the *lancea uncata* of Sidonius Apollinaris,<sup>c</sup>

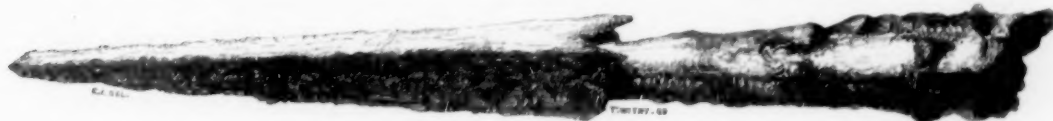
<sup>a</sup> *Mémoires de la Société Philomathique de Verdun*, vol. iii. p. 199.

<sup>b</sup> In vol. x. and entitled "*Recherches Historiques sur les Peuples de la race Teutonique*. Par M. le Dr. Rigollot."

<sup>c</sup> *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXV. p. 51.

an arm as peculiar, apparently, to the Salic Franks, as the Angon was to the Ripuarians.

Rheims was always a favourite position both with the Roman Emperors and their Merovingian successors. In consequence the town and surrounding country teem with antiquities of their times, which numerous modern improvements are daily revealing. The tri-lateral barbed weapon on the table is a present from the valuable cabinet of M. Duquenel, of Rheims, who unfortunately could give me no further particulars than that it was found, during the digging of a canal, together with a mass of other Roman remains. It is an interesting relic both from its rarity and historic authenticity, as also that some antiquaries have fancied it the prototype of the Angon. The Society will decide how far it corresponds with the account of the Roman *pilum* of the Lower Empire which Vegetius has left us. The



PILUM OF VEGETIUS.

account given by Polybius of the *pilum* of earlier times is so confessedly obscure and confused, that, great as was the experience of Montfaucon, we find him owning his inability to reconcile it with any known examples.<sup>a</sup> Vegetius<sup>b</sup> tells us that the darts used by the infantry in the Roman army were termed *pila*. These had a slender trilateral iron head—"ferro subtili trigono præfixa"—from nine inches to a foot in length, and, impelled by an able arm, were strong enough to pierce a breast-plate. This trilateral head must have been barbed, though it is not so expressly stated, for, he adds, it is not possible to remove the *pila* when once fixed in the shield—"in scuto fixa non possent abscindi." In another place Vegetius<sup>c</sup> recurs to this subject more minutely, and we learn that there were two kinds of these darts,—the one just named, with a triangular head nine inches long, and a staff five feet and a half long, which, well-driven, could transfix the foot-soldier through his shield, or the horseman through his cuirass. This weapon, he says, was formerly called *pilum*, but now *spiculum*. The other missile was similar but smaller, the head only measuring five inches, and the staff three feet and a half in length. This bore the name of *verutum*. It will be seen how closely the weapon before us answers to the description of Vegetius. It is trilateral, and, allowing for

<sup>a</sup> Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliquée*, vol. iv. p. 63.

<sup>b</sup> Vegetius de re *Militari*, l. i. c. 20.

<sup>c</sup> Vegetius, lib. ii. c. 15.



the broken ferrule, it must have measured about nine inches in all, which was about the length of the *pilum*; or, if it be thought Vegetius did not mean to include the ferrule in his measurement, it would rather correspond to the smaller dart, the *verrutum*.<sup>a</sup>

It further appears that the *pilum* had fallen greatly into disuse with the Roman soldiery at this late period of the empire, in consequence, no doubt, of the neglect and impatience of military exercises which Vegetius laments. It was therefore mainly transferred to the more skilful hands of the barbarian mercenaries, with whom it went by the name of *bebra*. Two or three of these darts were borne in the hand at once to battle—a circumstance also related of the Franks by Sidonius Apollinaris.<sup>b</sup>

Historic evidence seems rather opposed to the opinion that the Angon was merely an imitation of the *pilum*. Agathias<sup>c</sup> speaks of the Angon as the native weapon—*επιχωρια όπλατα*—of the Franks, and we can scarcely suppose him to have used this term had its use been acquired in the Roman ranks. When Vegetius, lamenting the degeneracy of his countrymen, states the *pilum* to have passed into the hands of barbarian stipendiaries, probably for the most part Ripuarian Franks, we merely infer that the early habits of the German warriors had fitted them for the use of a weapon similar to their own. I am indebted to your numismatic experience for the hint that a spear on the coins of Constantine and Constantius Gallus closely resembles the Angon alluded to in a former paper<sup>d</sup> as found in a Merovingian tomb near Metz. It in no way resembles the Roman darts described



BRASS COIN OF CONSTANTINE.



BRASS COIN OF CONSTANTIVS GALLVS.

by Vegetius, and it is possible that it is the Angon adopted as an emblem of

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Roach Smith has in his possession the sketches of several smaller *trilateral* iron weapons found in a Roman castrum on Hod Hill, near Blandford, Dorset. There was no admixture of British or Saxon relics; and, from the coins found with the arms, Mr. Smith considers the castrum to be of a date not later than Vespasian.

<sup>b</sup> "Lanceis dextræ refertæ." Lib. iv. Ep. 20

<sup>c</sup> Hist. lib. ii. c. 5.

<sup>d</sup> Archæologia, Vol. XXXV. p. 50.

Constantine's victory over the Franks in the early part of his reign. On the coins of Gallus the weapon appears still more conclusively as a triumphant weapon. To suppose such spears Roman would be a disregard of the statements of *Vegetius*, whose authority as a military writer is invaluable on all details of Roman arms and military service. But, as a French antiquary well remarks, "Ce n'est pas qu'aux derniers temps de l'Empire il n'y ait eu dans les milices Impériales un assez grand mélange d'armes, provenant soit des nombreux auxiliaires, soit des changements introduits."<sup>a</sup>

It will also be remembered that during the latter part of Constantine's reign the Frankish auxiliaries obtained great influence at the Roman court, which was afterwards still further developed under his successors. Constantine raised the Frankish chiefs to the consular dignity, and, as we cannot conceive them to have discarded their national arms under any circumstances, the Angon must have been common enough at Rome.<sup>b</sup>

In what manner the Angon first became the distinguishing weapon of Frankish warfare—whether it was an alien imitation, or more probably a direct Oriental tradition of the race,—and why *Agathias* alone records its use, it would be in vain to inquire. To the monumental antiquary it cannot fail to be pleasing that modern inquiry has led to the discovery and the right application of a weapon concealed during so many ages from positive recognition.

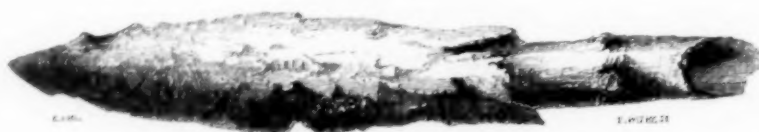
In addition to the examples of the Angon just quoted from Rheims, Remennecourt, and Metz, in France, the German districts of Bonn, Mayence, Wiesbaden, Worms, Greisch, and Elbringen in Baden have also furnished others. It will be remarked that these discoveries are mostly limited to the region of the Ripuarian Franks. Rheims and Remennecourt are more distant from the banks of the Moselle; but some historians have carried the first invasion of the Franks, under *Pharamond*, as far as Rheims, and beyond that ancient city very few examples have been found. The accumulated mass of arms found during the excavations of Remennecourt might lead us to fancy the interments there consequent on one of the great battles in which the Franks were prominently engaged, on the plains of Champagne, in the fifth century and later, rather than on the gradual, natural lapse of a village population.

The Abbé Cochet tells me that in the whole course of his researches in Normandy, during which he has opened above a thousand Frankish graves, he has

<sup>a</sup> Sépultures de la Vallée de l'Eaulne, par M. J. P. Feret.

<sup>b</sup> Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. 17.

only met with one single specimen of the Angon.\* This fact concurs to prove the



ANGON OF THE FRANKS.

use of the weapon confined to the Ripuarian Franks.

On referring to the preceding papers in *Archæologia* on this subject, it will at once be seen that the several spears termed Angons, though somewhat differing in their conformation, are but varieties of the same weapon. The strong re-curved barbs—*καμπύλαι ἀκίδες*—of the example preserved in the *Musée de l'Artillerie*, correspond with the description of the Byzantine historian better than the Rhenish Angons, the slighter barbs of which are mostly collapsed. Length of iron stem, or socket, is not insisted on in the narrative; in fact we are at liberty to infer the very reverse, since we find the spear-staff was protected by a thin iron sheathing—*σιδήρῳ περιέχεται*. The object had in view was lightness, and security to the staff from a sword-cut, as will be seen on a careful study of the original text of Agathias. There is, however, no more reason for expecting precise uniformity in the details of the Angon, than in those of any other weapon. The examples given probably represent the varying workmanship of armourers, widely dissevered by time and space during the long period of its use among the Frankish tribes.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Sincerely yours,

W. M. WYLIE.

United University Club, Dec. 23, 1854.

\* The Angon referred to was found last September in a grave at Envermeu, near the head of a skeleton, together with a very short lance-head. The stem of the Angon is round; the length being forty inches English measure.—*Normandie Souterraine*, 2nd ed. p. 352.

X. *Remarks on the supposed submerged City of Vineta, by R. H. MAJOR, Esq.  
F.S.A. In a Letter to Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. Director.*

Read 15th February, 1855.

DEAR SIR HENRY,

British Museum, Feb. 10, 1855.

In the year 1847 you published in the *Archæologia* an interesting letter addressed by a Mr. Churchman to Sir Joseph Banks, respecting the tradition of a city named Vineta, which was supposed to have been submerged on the shores of Pomerania. The circumstance that a city of such size, wealth, and commercial importance, as to have been described as "*Maxima civitatum Europæ*," should have been not only obliterated from the face of the earth, but almost from the memory of man, gave me an interest in investigating the statements of early authors respecting its history and situation. My researches, however, brought under my notice so much that was either doubtful or contradictory, that I could come to no definite conclusion upon either point, and became content to lay the subject aside till more decisive evidence might chance to fall under my notice.

It was therefore with great interest that I read the letter addressed to you by Miss A. Gurney, in 1851, in which I found that some of the ground of my own researches had been travelled over, and, although my points of inquiry remained still unsettled thereby, I could not but remark with admiration the amount of reading which was so unpretendingly comprised within the compass of a couple of pages. As might be supposed, such laborious investigators as the Germans have not been wanting in industrious research in a question of so much interest, and to the deductions of several local as well as Danish writers Miss Gurney has already referred.

It would indeed be tedious to give even a passing reference to the many authors who during the last hundred years have made this question their study, but who, after a pains-taking and shrewd collation of the statements of a wide range of early historians, have differed among themselves in their ultimate conclusions. In spite of all their arguments the one opinion still held its ground. That there once was a city, situated on the shores of the island of Usedom, near the Swine mouth of the Oder, seemed to be proved to demonstration by the fact that stones of great magnitude, which lay in remarkable regularity, had been seen for many centuries



beneath the surface of the water at the point referred to; and that that city was Vineta, was concluded from the repeated mention made by local and other historians, of a city of great importance, the resort of the northern sea-kings, to which that name had been given, and which had existed somewhere in that region. This general belief was recorded in the earliest maps of Pomerania that were ever engraved, and has held its ground even in the great "*Neptune du Cattegat*," published in 1809, not to mention maps of less pretension of a much more recent date, which have unhesitatingly copied the data of their predecessors. Tradition joined these links of evidence into a chain, and novelists, poets, and dramatists, attracted by the romantic character of the legend, ratified the story in the pages of fiction.

So late as 1832 Mørke introduced by way of episode, in his novel entitled "*Maler Nolten*," a play based upon the story of Vineta; and still later, in 1837, Wilhelm Meinhold, the author of the charming story of "*The Amber Witch*," has defended the tradition in his "*Humoristische Reisebilder*."

So great a mass of assertion and apparent evidence might seem to render nugatory all further discussion; but as of the two classes of evidence, ocular and historical, on which the story had been founded, the former has been demolished by actual exploration, and the latter overruled by the close and careful scrutiny of the most recent and at the same time the most learned Slavonic historians, I have thought it might not prove uninteresting to the Society of Antiquaries if I laid these results before their notice. In so doing, however, I do not propose to content myself with the mere refutation of an old fable, however long it may have been believed, but hope to be able to show where this "*Maxima civitatum Europæ*" really stood, and at the same time to quote the remarks of a very high Slavonian authority upon the authenticity of the name of Vineta itself.

And first as regards the supposed remains beneath the surface of the water. In Martin Rango's "*Notæ et animadversiones*" to Hartknock's "*Origines Pomeranicæ*," a diagram is given of the appearance of the stones as seen and described by Lubecchius, Alderman of Treptow, in the visit referred to in Mr. Churchman's letter. The perfect regularity as well as great extent of these stones, placed at right angles, and covering an area larger, as he thought, than that of Stralsund or Rostock, seemed to leave no doubt that what was seen had been the result of human arrangement, and was in fact the ruins of a large city. In 1779 Johann Friedrich Zöllner, Oberconsistorial Rath and Probst in Berlin, published his journey through Pomerania to the Island of Rugen, in which he brings together all the various legends and statements, both oral and from books, which he could



light upon in connection with these ruins, together with his own personal inspection of them. The details are interesting; but for the sake of brevity I merely give his conclusions. He says "For a long period we had accounts admitting of no doubt respecting the city of Julin. The people of Pomerania were convinced that it stood upon the Island of Wollin. Then from Helmold and Cranzius we became informed of a city called Vineta. For a long time one did not know where to fix its locality. At length some one who busied his brains much upon the subject (for the origin of the report is quite unknown) heard from a sailor that on the coast of Usedom were to be seen what look like the remains of a city with walls, and towers, and gates. He greedily seized this welcome communication, and possibly at first only said, 'these *might* have been the ruins of Vineta.' In a short time the conjecture was resolved into a certainty, and was circulated so frequently from mouth to mouth, and from pen to pen, that at last no doubt was left upon the subject, especially as it became corroborated by the circumstantial account of Lubecchius, and as every sailor, who could see from the same point that I did the breaking of the waters against the rocks, declared that he had seen the ruins of Vineta." Our traveller concludes by making an appeal to the friends of antiquarian investigation in his fatherland, to get up a subscription for the purpose of examining the spot, in such a manner as to set at rest all doubt upon the subject, and engages to open it himself with a deposit of four Frederichs d'or, but we have not learned that the invitation was responded to.

So great was the interest taken by Wilhelm Meinhold, the author of the *Amber Witch*, in the pursuit of his favourite idea that Vineta had stood upon the site in question, that, in the year 1836, he made an appeal to the committee of the Society which publishes the *Baltische Studien*, to have the ground inspected with the diving-bell. In consequence of this appeal they set about making inquiries as to what explorations of a similar nature had previously been made, and the result has educed the most conclusive evidence upon the subject that had yet appeared. The account is given in the 7th Jahrgang of the *Baltische Studien*, Heft 1, p. 248 et seq. Stettin, 1840. In the first place they learned by inquiries of Herr Krause, Geheime Commerzienrath, that about forty years before he had employed a diver recommended by an English captain, and that this man had during ten hours on a clear day dived a great number of times and at various places on the reef, and discovered nothing but stones bearing no evidence of human handicraft or arrangement. Secondly, They questioned Herr Scabell, the superintendent of works for building the Harbour of Swinemunde, which was constructed in 1827, and he declared that he had himself inspected the reef and found no indications either of

ruins or of stones placed in regular order. Thirdly, On receiving from Starcke, the harbour inspector at Swinemunde, a similar account, they procured from him a protocol or statement of the observations made during the construction of that harbour, of which I here give the translation.

"We have every year, from the commencement of the building of this harbour, broken off with clippers a great many stones from the reef Vineta, and delivered them here at Swinemunde in our boats. During these innumerable times that we have been on the reef, we have had sufficient opportunity to learn exactly its form and position. Moreover, as we have carried away all the large transportable stones, and clearly seen during the calm weather every object down to twenty feet deep, we can give the result of our investigations in no other words but that the reef is as it were an island situated in the Baltic, about one-eighth of a mile (German) from the mainland, and consists of layers of large granite stones, which are partly lying on granite, and partly in chalk and clay. No trace of any regularity have we found, and in our opinion there is no sign of any old submerged place. We have further to observe that it is clearly visible that the reef in which the granite stones are placed has a combination of whitish blue and yellow stripes at the bottom of the sea. The stones in the chalk are so firm that they could not be broken off at all, or only with the greatest effort. Where the reef is highest the water at present is at the utmost the depth of four and a half Rhenish feet, although there are other places where there is more than from eighteen to twenty-four feet of water."

After reviewing these various replies, all agreeing with each other, the Committee regarded it as useless to make any further explorations with the diving-bell.

So much by way of evidence as to where Vineta was not. It will now be my endeavour to show what Vineta was, and where it stood, from the statements of contemporary or very early historians. Before commencing the task, however, I would take leave to translate the words of the Swedish author Lindfors, who published a "*Dissertatio Historica*" on the subject at Lund, in 1806, where he says, "The things which are related concerning the early history of this city are so dispersed through a variety of authors, and also in some respects so obscure and contradictory, that he who shall attempt to bring them all together, and to reconcile the different opinions of different writers upon the subject, will indeed undertake '*onus gravissimum aut potius intolerabile*.'" My own investigations, in which I have been greatly assisted by my friend Mr. Zedner of the British Museum, have shewn me the correctness of this observation, and I should have no hope of

ensuring either clearness or brevity, but by passing aside all the perplexities arising from the conjectures or imperfect quotations of disputants, and adhering only to the statements of the earliest authorities.

Apart from the question of the site on the shores of Usedom, the discussion has mainly been whether the various names of Vineta, Julin, Jumne, and Jomsborg, mentioned in early historians, do or do not represent one and the same city, and if they do, whether that city did not occupy the site of the modern city of Wollin on the island of that name. Of those who, admitting the disproof of the existence of the ruins, discarded the very name of Vineta itself as having only had existence in a copyist's mistranscription, some have deemed the city which had been really referred to under that name to have been identical with Julin, Jumne, and Jomsborg; while others regard them as representing three different cities, but which they are quite at a loss to find localities for. Of the latter, Giesebrecht in his "*Wendische Geschichten*," and of the former, Barthold, in his "*Geschichte von Rügen und Pommern*," are amongst the latest and most authoritative supporters.

In the attempt to lay before you what appears to me conclusive evidence upon this *vexata quæstio*, I propose to demonstrate that all these various names represent one and the same city, and that it stood on the site of the modern city of Wollin, in the island of that name. For this purpose, I think I shall best meet the requirements of the entire argument, by treating at the commencement of the earliest mention of the name of Vineta. It first occurs in print as transcribed from the manuscript of Helmold, Curate of Bosow in (Lubeck?) who wrote between the years 1160 and 1170, and who describes the city in the following language:\*

"The other river, that is, the Oder, turning northwards, passes through the midst of the people of the Winuli, separating the Pomerani from the Wilzi. At

\* Alter fluvius, id est, Odora, vergens in Boream, transit per medios Winulorum populos dividens Pomeranos a Wilzis; in ejus ostio, qua Balticum alluit pelagus, quondam fuit nobilissima civitas Vinneta, præstans celeberrimam stationem barbaris et Græcis qui sunt in circuitu. De ejus præconio urbis quia magna quædam et vix credibilia recitantur, libet aliqua commemorare, digna relatu. Fuit sane maxima omnium quas Europa claudit civitatum, quam incolunt Slavi cum aliis gentibus permixtis Græcis et barbaris, nam et advenæ Saxones parem cohabitandi licentiam acceperunt, si tantum Christianitatis titulum ibi commorantes non publicassent. Omnes enim usque ad excidium ejusdem urbis, paganis ritibus oberarunt. Cæterum moribus et hospitalitate nulla gens honestior aut benignior potuit inveniri. Civitas illa mercibus omnium nationum locuples, nihil non habuit jucundi aut rari. Hanc civitatem opulentissimam quidam Danorum rex maxima classe stipatus, funditus evertisse refertur. Præsto sunt adhuc antiquæ illius civitatis monumenta. Ibi cernitur Neptunus triplicis naturæ. Tribus enim fretis alluitur illa insula, quorum aiunt unum viridissimæ esse speciei, alteram subalbidæ, tertium motu furibundo perpetuis sævit tempestatibus."

the mouth of which river, where it falls into the Baltic, was formerly a most noble city, called Vinneta, affording a most excellent station for the surrounding barbarians and Greeks. Concerning the praises of which city, as many great and almost incredible things are related thereof, I should wish to mention some facts worthy of record. It was in truth the largest of all the cities in Europe, and inhabited by Slavonians intermixed with other nations both Greeks and barbarians. Even the Saxons who came to it were granted an equal liberty of taking up their abode therein, provided only that while they remained in it they did not mention the name of Christianity. For all the inhabitants even up to the destruction of the city went astray in pagan observances. In morals, and in hospitality, however, there could be found no nation of greater worthiness or kindness. The city was rich in the merchandize of all nations, and was wanting in no sort of pleasant or rare commodity. A certain king of the Danes is said to have besieged this most wealthy city with a large fleet, and to have overthrown it. There still remain some monuments of this ancient city. On its site the sea is observed to have a triple character. For the island is washed by three friths, one of which is said to be green, the second of a pale white, and the third to rage with a violent motion under the action of constant storms."

Now, with a very slight change of words, this description is identical with that given by Adamus Bremensis, of a city which he calls *Julinum*, in his "Historia Ecclesiastica" written between the years 1072 and 1076. Hence, whether we regard the name of Vineta as corrupted by mistaken or careless transcription, or whether the name be considered as genuine and true, we have two distinct names given by ancient historians for one and the self-same city. That the name of Vineta should have been discarded by some as an oft-repeated mistranscription is referrible to the fact that different copyists of Helmold have transcribed it under the various forms of Niniveta, Immuveta, and Jumneta. I would here however state *en passant* that this is not the view taken of the matter by Schafarik, who, I believe, is acknowledged to be the greatest authority on Slavonian antiquities. He holds the name to be genuine, and in the "Jahrbuch für Slawische Literatur 1846" has given his reasons, which I will take leave hereafter to quote.

But further, if the records of the early historians and Northern Sagas are not utterly to be set at nought, the city thus described by Adamus Bremensis and Helmold can be shown to be identical with that which such early historians and Sagas speak of under the names of Jumne and Jomsborg. Thus where Adamus Bremensis speaks of the flight and death of Harold, the Danish king, he calls the town to which he fled *Julinum*, but with the alias of Jumno, given in the margin



by his Scholiast, while Saxo Grammaticus, who wrote between 1187 and 1208 speaking of the same circumstance, calls it Julin. Moreover, Adamus Bremensis uses the word *Juminum*, in two or three places in his text, for the same city. And at the same time it is not unimportant to notice that one of the readings by the transcribers of Helmold's MSS. above referred to calls it *Jumneta*, a word which, exclusive of the Latin termination, so closely coincides with the form of word in question. So much for the terms Vineta, Julinum, and Jumne.

Now that the city bearing, from whatever cause, these several designations, was also identical with that known at the present day as Wollin, on the island of the same name, and also with Jomsborg, is thus, I think, demonstrable. In the first place, the biographers of the Bishop Otto of Bamberg, some of whom accompanied that prelate in his journeys into Pomerania, in the years 1124 and 1128, called the city converted by him Julin, although in the Bull of Pope Innocent II. constituting that place a bishopric in 1140, and also in the chronicles of the Abbot of Ursberg in 1230, where Otto is likewise mentioned, the same city is called Wulin. Moreover in archives of the dates of 1168, 1175, and 1185, one and the same person, the Burgrave Wenceslaus, is once called Castellanus Juliensis, and twice Castellanus de Wolyn. Finally, in Kadlubek (about 1220) the expression occurs, "*Julin quod nunc Welin dicitur.*"

Wolin, Welin, Wulin, are Slavonian forms of dialect regularly constructed by modification of the *o* into *e* and *u*, for which Schafarik gives the following comparative examples. Compare Welyniane used by Nestor in lieu of Wolyniane, the Polish Wielun, and the name of the Polish village Wolka read for Wulka; also Wuloini instead of Woliner used by Witikind, Burislaf instead of Borislav in the Scandinavian legends, &c. Julin is the German pronunciation, originally derived, according to Thunmann and Barthold (a most distinguished writer upon the antiquities of Pomerania) from the Danish, who change the initial *w* into *j*; and that the Germans really pronounced it Julin, we see from this name being connected with that of Julius Cæsar by Herbord, and other biographers of Saint Otto.

That Jomsborg, a city renowned in the Northern Sagas, especially that known by the name of the Jomsvikinga Saga, as the resort of the celebrated Vikings, is identical with Julin and Wollin, is shown from two Icelandic fragments, describing the death of the Danish King Harold, respectively in the following terms, latinized by Langebek, in whose work they are given. The first occurs thus (t. 2. p. 149): "*Ex hoc prælio Haraldus Rex saucius in Vindlandiam fugit et prope Jomsburgum festo omnium sanctorum expiravit*" (the original Icelandic being, "*andadiz vid Jomsborg.*") The second (t. 2. p. 425) thus: "*Haraldus Rex,*



saucius factus in Vandaliâ Jomsburgum fugit, ubi omnium sanctorum festo mortuus est," while Adamus Bremensis describes the same event as follows:—"Ascensâ navi elapsus est ad civitatem Slavorum quæ Julinum dicitur."

Moreover while the Jomsvikinga Saga itself, which is the legend or story of the Jomsvikings or Pirates of the Baltic, calls their city Jomsborg, there could be no doubt that the said Jomsvikings are identical with the "Piratæ Julinenses" of Saxo Grammaticus, even were the fact not distinctly asserted by Stephanus the early annotator of that author's work.

Much discussion and many surmises have arisen with respect to the date of the destruction of the ancient city. The truth is, there are records of the city having been destroyed either partially or entirely three several times. In the first place, it was laid waste in 1043 by the Danish king Magnus, and it was this overthrow that originated, as Schafarik infers from the Scholiast of Adam, from Snorre Sturleson, and the Knytlinga-Saga, the legend of its submersion. If this inference be correct, however, the rebuilding must have been speedily accomplished, as Adamus Bremensis, in his description above referred to, writes of the city in the present tense, while Helmold, who wrote nearly a century after in almost the same language, says, "quondam fuit" and "hanc civitatem quidam Danorum rex funditus evertisse refertur." This is explained by the fact that between the years 1116-1119 Niels king of Denmark, with his son Magnus, and the Polish prince Boleslaw, took the place and destroyed it with fire. What may more fairly be called the ultimate downfall of the city took place in 1172, when Waldemar, another king of the Danes, again destroyed the city by fire, after its inhabitants had fled to Cammin, which facts are derived from the Knytlinga-Saga, as well as from the statements of Sweno Aggeson, an eye-witness of the occurrence, his expression being, "Mænia ego Sueno solo conspexi æquari."

The foregoing testimony of ancient witnesses as to the identity of the towns Jumin, Julin, and Jomsborg, receives the most ample confirmation, says Schafarik, in those proofs of the antiquity, power, and extensive commerce of the town of Wollin, which we obtain from other sources. That Wollin was celebrated far and wide as a most flourishing town in the tenth century, we find proved by the number of old Arabic coins and other gems and ornaments which have been dug up from time to time on its site, and in the environs, since the seventeenth century up to the present period. These coins chiefly belong to the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, *i. e.* to the times of the Abassides as Caliphs of Bagdad, and the Samanides as rulers of Samarcand, and scarcely ever are later than the first half of the eleventh century. This is fully explained by the destruction of the caliphate,

the annihilation of the Slavonian traffic in the Baltic, and the invasion of the intermediate nations of Kozari and Bulgari. These coins, gems, and metallic ornaments are no where found in equal profusion, variety, and freshness, except in the most celebrated and powerful commercial cities of ancient times in the North, as in Novgorod, Wisby, Danzig, Traunsee, Kolberg, Sleswick, &c. Another reason, which is of importance in combination with the preceding, consists in the popular tradition of the former greatness and celebrity of the town, which is actually confirmed by many heaps of remains and ruins, which were to be seen about the present town of Wollin in the sixteenth century.

The objection which has been offered that Helmold speaks of Vineta as having been destroyed, though Wollin was still flourishing at the time he wrote, is thus met by Schafarik. If, he says, we apply Helmold's testimony to the sacking and destruction of the town, which was afterwards rebuilt, the argument may very well be accepted; but it will hold good in no other way. When Helmold quoted and copied the testimony of the Scholiast of Adam relating to the destruction of Julin in 1043, he twisted the same, misled by some fabricated tradition, into an entire annihilation. That Vineta was not razed to the ground in 1043 is evident from the report of Adam of Bremen, about the flourishing state of Jumin in 1072-1076; and that Helmold's Wineta is indeed the Jumin of Adam of Bremen has been already shown, for Helmold knows and reports no more of this town than he copies from Adam and his Scholiast, with some trifling alteration of diction. But Helmold (it is further objected) only made use of the words of the Scholiast of Adam for the purposes of style in description, while for his real subject he had the later destruction of Wineta about 1116-1119 in mind. The thing is improbable enough indeed; but, if we were to suppose it so, Helmold's account of the siege and sacking of the town of Wollin cannot refer to the destruction of any other town at the mouth of the Oder, because history does not make mention of any town of consequence situated there, and that we should have lost every trace of a commercial town of equal importance on this coast would be highly improbable.

On the ground of such evidence, both ocular and historical, as that which I have endeavoured to embody in the foregoing remarks, many students have, as I have already stated, been inclined to regard the name of Vineta as entirely apocryphal. Schafarik, however, holds by the opinion that the name is genuine, and upon the following grounds, which I give in his own words.

First. In all forms of this name the ending *ta* is found, which could not be derived from the word Jume.

Second. Very ancient writers quoting from Helmold have thus read the name, and chiefly referred it to the Wenden; Kirchberg, writing in 1378, on the other

hand, says, "Von der stad Wynnetha nennet man sy Winthi." The anonymous chronologist of Susel (about 1418) has *lunneta*, certainly erroneously, but evidently instead of *uinneta* (*vi* and *lu* at the beginning of a word being frequently confounded in old manuscripts, as the *i* is written without a dot, and all the letters are small.) Cranzius says, "Dixere Winetam ab gente Winitorum." The anonymous author of Lubeck also says the same.

Third. The name of Wineta was really in use in Germany as given to other Slavonian settlements, for example, "Groninche quod dicitur Wenethen," in an old chronicle of the year 936; Winethahusam, Wendenheimath, of 937, 1022, 1062; archives of Winethe of the years 1022, 1064; Weinetheburch (Winnetheburch) 1179, analogous with the Slavonian name of Slowensk (an ancient town by the Beresina in the government of Wilno), the name of Njemcy in Silesia, &c.; as well as with many in other languages, as for example, Madzary in the Caucasus by the Kuma, &c. both with regard to its formation and meaning. That the same place may have different names, not only amongst different races, which is of common occurrence, but amongst different tribes of the same race, we have an example in the name of Stargardt in Wagrien, which place was called Oldenburg by the Saxons, and Brannesia by the Danes. It is possible that the name of Wineta was only current in popular use among one or more branches of the German race, and that it only originated when the legend of the destruction, or rather sacking, of a large Slavonian town at the mouth of the Oder became more generally circulated. In the same manner as Wineta appears to be a provincial, so Hynnishburgh (*i. e.* Hunnish or Slavonian burgh) and Waltsburg (*i. e.* the burgh of Weleten or Weltzen) appear to be rather poetical names of the once world-famed Wollin, as the former occurs in Sweno, and the latter in the Wilkin Saga or legend of Wilkin.

Whatever weight may be attached to these learned but conjectural observations of so great an authority as Schafarik as to the name of Vineta, its first occurrence in printed history has been already clearly shown. It remains for me to mention that among the early writers on Pomeranian antiquities since the discovery of printing, Albertus Cranzius was the first to repeat the name with an amplification of the grandeur of the city, and in his wake followed Micraelius, Bugenhagius, and a host of others of accepted authority.

By none of these, however, was the position of Wineta so distinctly defined as to prevent the fallacious conclusions to which the submarine appearances off the island of Usedom gave rise, and which they have tended to confirm for so long a series of years.

I remain, dear Sir Henry, with great respect, yours very truly,

R. H. MAJOR.

XI. *A further Notice of Vineta, in a Letter addressed to Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Director, from K. R. H. MACKENZIE, Esq., F.S.A.*

Read March 22, 1855.

DEAR SIR HENRY,

60, Berners Street, Oxford Street, March 22, 1855.

Mr. Major's paper on the subject of the so-called city of Vineta, lately read before the Society of Antiquaries, together with the interest which I know you to have in the question, afford a sufficient apology for the few lines I now address to you, for communication to the Society.

In 1851, while on a visit in Pomerania, I took advantage of my vicinity to the island of Usedom, to visit the reef of rocks with which the legend of Vineta has become connected. At the foot of the Streckelberg are situated the rocks in question, and, although some of the stones have very fantastic forms, there is certainly nothing to explain how it happened that the place should be so associated with the idea of a town. Still I found, although my boatman himself was a sceptic, that the countrypeople thereabouts believed in the story of a sunken city, destroyed, like the cities of the Plain of the Dead Sea, for its idolatry and wickedness, and also associated with the place traditions of immense but concealed wealth, with the ordinary accompaniment of a spirit to watch it.

It is curious to read in Kantzow (ob. 1542) a description of the place, as it appeared to a visitor who believed in the story. As Mr. Major did not seem to me to refer to his visit, I may be excused for translating the passage (Hoch Deutsche Chronik, ed. Meden, lib. ii. pp. 34 et seq.) :—"And it is true," says the worthy man, "that the remains (of Vineta) exist to the present day; for on the way across the Peene from Wolgast into Usedom, there is a village named Damerow, about two miles (German) from Wolgast, where, about a quarter of a mile to sea (the ocean having encroached upon the land thus much since then) one may see great stones and foundations. I, as well as others, have rowed thither, and examined them carefully. There is now no brickwork visible at the place; so many hundred years have passed since the destruction of the city that it is impossible for any to have remained in that stormy sea. The great foundation stones, however, are still there, lying in rows in the usual way that they are placed under houses, one by one, and here and there one above another. Some of these stones are so tall as to reach ell-high above the water, so that it is believed that their



churches and assembly houses stood in those parts. The other stones plainly show the direction of the streets, by the order in which they lie, stretched along the length and breadth of the city. The fishermen told me that the paving-stones of the streets were in some parts still entire, but covered with sea-moss (*uebermoset*), and therefore not to be seen, although with a long pointed pole or lance they might easily be felt. Thus were the stones laid; and, as we rowed over the city, we saw that the place was built lying from east to west. On account of the depth of the sea, however, we could not tell how great the extent of the place was, but, from what we saw, we thought it about the size of Lübeck, a short quarter of a mile in length, but broader than Lübeck."

Thus far Kantzow; and, with the sole exception of his having idealised a great deal, his description fits the present time very well. A more useful purpose than supplying a subject for literary controversy, however, has now been made of the rocks, as they have been employed in constructing a new pier and harbour at Swinemünde. The place, my fisherman told me, was much frequented by bathers from the Baltic Brighton, Misdroy, on the island of Wollin, who came to stare at the remains of the sunken city.

In Kantzow's account of the history of Vineta, Helmold's version of Adam of Bremen's History of Julin, or Jumne, the present Wollin, is applied to that city. Still it is evident, from his reference to the three seas surrounding the island of Wollin, that Kantzow was not thinking at the moment of the site of Vineta at the Streckelberg, although, with the confusion which compilers of his standing seem to be tormented with, he refers to his visit to Usedom almost in the same breath.

In Saxo Grammaticus, Harald, when unseated by Schwenotto, fled to Wollin; in Helmold he fled to Vineta; but in every other particular the history of the destruction of the two places is identical. Schwenotto in both instances came down upon the place and desolated it, in consequence of the refuge afforded to Harald. Kantzow gives no account of the submersion of Vineta by the waves.

While numerous coins, not only Wendic, but Kufic, Byzantine, and Italian, have been found in the ruins of ancient Jumne, about a mile north-east of modern Wollin, I have never been able to find any mention of similar discoveries at the Streckelberg reef, nor did I hear of any on my visit.

I am therefore led to the conclusion that the history of the grandeur and fall of Vineta is to be referred to Julin solely, and that if an origin be sought for the name of Vineta, it might be found in Rügen, where Tacitus (I think in the Germania) locates the head-quarters of the Veneti.

I remain, dear Sir Henry, yours faithfully,

K. R. H. MACKENZIE.



XII. *Account of a Manuscript, by Thomas Norton, Member of Parliament for, and Remembrancer to, the City of London, relating to the ancient Duties of the Lord Mayor and Corporation. In a Letter from J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., Vice-President, to THOMAS LOTT, Esq., F.S.A.*

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Read March 22, 1855.

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MY DEAR SIR,

The recent investigations respecting the Charter of the City of London, and the manner in which it has worked, may seem to give particular interest to a manuscript to which I take the liberty to direct your attention and that of the Fellows of our Society. It is entitled—

“An Exhortation or Rule, set down by Mr. Norton, some time Remembrancer of London, whereby the Lord Mayor of London is to order himself and the City.”

This document forms part of a quarto MS. volume, which has been for some time in my possession, which includes copies of a variety of other curious and important papers, and which was formerly the property of Sir Christopher Hatton, the celebrated Lord Chancellor of England, more remarkable for his disqualifications than for any fitness for the office. He, however, had the discretion to surround himself with lawyers, and it may be doubted whether, on the whole, equity was not as well administered from 1587 to 1591 as at many previous periods.

The ownership of the volume by Sir Christopher Hatton is proved, not merely by his autograph on both sides of the vellum cover, but by corrections in his own handwriting, and by the fact that the collection is preceded by a manuscript dedication to him, subscribed by a person of the name of Thomas Mynatts. This dedication is also material, since it ascertains the source from which the original papers, copied upon 150 closely-written pages, were derived. Hence it appears that Mynatts had been one of the clerks of the Star Chamber; that the documents he transcribed had been the property of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and that they had been given to Mynatts by Anthony Bacon, then abroad, who, as is well known, was once the proprietor of that vast mass of valuable MSS. now deposited at Lambeth. Mynatts also mentions Anthony Bacon's gifted brother Francis,

and tells Sir Christopher Hatton that he (Mynatts) had prepared and presented to the same patron a collection of what he calls "the discourses" of Sir Nicholas Bacon, as well as abstracts of the treasons of Ballard, Babbington, and others, "whom, with great zeal and justice, and to your never-dying honour, both with God and men, you (Sir Christopher) did worthily and christianly pursue even to the death." Thus the source from which these various papers came, and the hands through which they passed, give us the fullest assurance of their authenticity, independently of any internal evidence afforded by their contents. One of these is the document I have selected as the subject of this letter.

Biographically it is of considerable interest, recollecting that it is the authorship of a man no less celebrated than Thomas Norton, the joint writer of the tragedy of "Gorboduc," the earliest blank-verse production of a dramatic kind in our language. His coadjutor in it was Thomas Sackville, who afterwards became Baron Buckhurst and Earl of Dorset, Lord High Treasurer of England. It establishes a new and not an unimportant fact in Norton's history, with which my friend Mr. W. D. Cooper was not acquainted when he wrote the memoirs of the two authors of "Gorboduc," preceding the reprint of that drama by the Shakespeare Society. I need hardly add that I was entirely ignorant of it, when I had occasion to speak of Norton and Sackville in my History of our early National Stage. Mr. W. D. Cooper was aware that Norton was for a considerable period one of the counsel for the Corporation of London; but neither he, nor any one else knew till now, that, when the paper under consideration was drawn up, he filled the lucrative and influential office of City Remembrancer. It is stated distinctly by Mynatts, who was his contemporary, that Norton had been called upon, in his capacity of Remembrancer, to prepare the instructions in question for the information and guidance of the first magistrate.

Norton died, as Mr. W. D. Cooper correctly informs us, in 1584; but we are able very distinctly to fix the date of this "exhortation or rule" (so Mynatts terms it), because Norton speaks of Mr. James Hawes as the Lord Mayor to whom it was addressed, and of Sir Alexander Avenon as one of his predecessors in office. It appears from Stow's Survey (I refer to the edition superintended, in 1842, by our friend and Fellow Mr. Thoms) that Sir Alexander Avenon was Lord Mayor in 1569; that Sir Rowland Heyward, also mentioned by Norton, was Lord Mayor in 1570; and that James Hawes, in whose mayoralty Norton wrote, filled the same office in 1574. Therefore 1574 is the precise year in which the MS. to which I am adverting was composed, which was ten years anterior to the demise of the author of it.

It was evidently, and avowedly, only the comprehensive introduction, or preface, to a much larger and more detailed work upon the particular duties of the Lord Mayor, and upon the manner in which he was to derive assistance and advice from the Court of Aldermen, as well as from the Common Council. It must have been a volume of much bulk, judging from what Norton says of it; but what has since become of it I am unable to state. It is, I believe, a fact that the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, or *Cronica Majorum et Vicecomitum Londiniarum* (printed by the Camden Society in 1846), once, in some mysterious way, made its escape from the archives of the City to which it belongs: we cannot, therefore, much wonder if this treatise by Norton, following up the purposes of the older work, should not now be forthcoming. However, it may be discovered, and, if it be, we hope that, like the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, it will be printed. It must have contained highly curious and interesting matter regarding the then regulations and ordinances of the magistrates and the customs and habits of the citizens of London.

Norton commences his exhortation in the following words:—

“There be many reasons, which I ought not to doubt, that you do daily call to mind the weight of your charge in the office of Lord Mayor of London.”

He does not tell the Lord Mayor, James Hawes, that he does not doubt that he daily reflects on the burden of his duties, but merely that he “ought not” to doubt it, thereby implying, perhaps, that there was some reason to doubt it, although he does not inform us what were his grounds for hesitation. When he proceeds to say, “You are to remember how great a thing is the Lord Mayor,” the expression is again a little equivocal; but the writer certainly refers to the dignity and importance of the situation, for he goes on to remind Mr. James Hawes, whom he especially addresses, that the City of London is “the imperial chamber of so great a prince as our Sovereign Lady, the immediate Lieutenant of the most great and mighty God.” He adds subsequently, “Our Sovereign Lady, whom you shall serve, is the most nobly natured prince in the world, and therewith both so wise, as she would not so far have trusted you, if she had not been resolved well to trust you, and so gracious, as she will well allow of all true, plain, and honest meaning in all your predecessors, and most expressly in your worshipfull brother and friend Sir Alexander Avenon, hath appeared: and, above all other things, her Highness is so tenderly minded to her City of London, as the well guiding thereof cannot but be, in her consideration, a most allowed and pleasant service.”

A little adulation of this kind was, of course, to be expected; and from hence

Norton takes occasion to enumerate the aids the Lord Mayor might obtain from the Aldermen, the members of the Common Council, and from particular officers, enumerating the Recorder, the Common Serjeant, the Town Clerk, and a "wise and well-esteemed Solicitor." I mention this functionary in particular, with the epithets applied to him, because it relates to a point of some little importance in the history of the legal advisers of the City of London. Norton had himself been, as already stated, one of the Counsel of the City, and he mentions the Solicitor as a distinct office in 1574; but my friend Mr. W. D. Cooper, in a note to his Memoir of Norton, before referred to, tells us that, in Norton's time, "the office of City Solicitor, as distinct from City Counsel, did not exist;" and he subjoins as a matter of fact, upon which I dare say he was well informed, that the "earliest record in the Solicitor's office is in 1607." Still, although Norton speaks of the "wise and well-esteemed Solicitor" of the City, it is very possible that, at the period when he was writing, the duties of Solicitor might be performed by one of the City Counsel under the name of Solicitor. I only adduce Norton's evidence to shew that, when he was City Remembrancer, the office known as City Solicitor did exist, either separately, or in combination.\*

It appears that, when Norton wrote this Exhortation, two books relating to the history, powers, and duties of the Magistrates of London, &c. were extant. "You have," he observes, "the ancient and late book of the City, the doings of your predecessors recorded, and their steps traced out." The "ancient book" was, of course, the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*; but Norton does not give us any mark by which we should know what he terms "the late book of the City," unless he mean that work which he had himself compiled, and to which this Exhortation was a species of preface. It is the more probable that he alluded to his own labours, because, just afterwards, he tells us that he had proceeded with his undertaking by the request of the Corporation, and especially at the instance

\* Since the above was written, Mr. W. D. Cooper has been enabled to make some further inquiries on the subject; and, in a note dated 5th April, 1855, he has kindly communicated to me the result: he says, "It is clear that in your MS., when Norton talks of Solicitor, he means Counsel, the same as the Queen's Solicitor or Attorney-General; for in 1572 the course was to appoint an Attorney for the City in each Court of Common Law, and a Clerk in Court, and also a Solicitor for causes in Chancery. There is also a record of a power of attorney to appear for the City in the Star-chamber; they had also City Counsel, and likewise other barristers, as City Pleaders. It was not till the Court held 28 Oct. 23 Eliz. that Robert Smith was appointed as City Solicitor, with a fee of twenty marks per annum, and he is described as the first Solicitor. Prior to that, Robert Christopher, one of the clerks of the Mayor's Court, had been appointed to solicit City causes; and, after Christopher, John Mersh, under-sheriff, surrendering that place, held a like appointment for City causes."



of Sir Rowland Heyward. The *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* is now in its proper depository; and if the City archives also contain the volume Norton prepared, we may be sure that the information it comprised would have been highly useful to the commissioners not long since sitting at Guildhall.

It is not to be disputed that Norton was a bitter and persevering enemy to the Roman Catholics, or Papists, as he thinks fit to call them. The title of "busy-body" was given to him in derision on this account, and in the MS. under consideration he is most violent in his abuse of them, and in his injunctions to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to persecute and drive them out of the limits of the City: he calls upon the Corporation, most vehemently, to "suppress the boldness and growing of dangerous sects, and especially the heresy of Papistry, which hath [been] and is, not only the damnable destroyer of souls, but also the universal enemy and supplanter of all just crowns and kingdoms." He afterwards gives a sort of qualification of this strong language, which makes the matter even worse, for he says, "Although it may be true that some Papists are not traitors, because some men are seduced of simplicity or countenance, yet it is also true that there is no traitor to our Queen but he is a Papist, if he be of any religion at all." He dwells long and energetically upon this point, and afterwards, in a spirit of contrasted charity and benevolence, in reference to the Orphans' Fund, requires the Corporation to take the utmost care that it is applied to the fit purpose, and not wasted by city feasting and mercenary misappropriation. He also adverts, with strong censure, to the singular practice of stealing the children of citizens, and even of Aldermen, in order that they might partake of the benefit of this fund, remarking, in terms not now very intelligible, "it is good cheap if the price of stealing an Alderman's or citizen's child be but twelve pence in the pound." He also alludes to "the sale of the bodies of orphans for lewd practices, grievous to good citizens and slanderous to the world."

There is one passage, in the portion of this address which relates to the conservation of health and morality in London, which, when first I read it, particularly attracted my attention, and which, in connection with the history of our stage and popular amusements, is of no little interest. It is not known, upon any extant authority with which I am acquainted, that women were allowed to perform in our public theatres until after the Restoration of Charles II., who, from his French predilections, encouraged the practice, and did not fail to take advantage of it by selecting two or more of his mistresses from the boards of his own or of his brother's playhouse. These were the earliest actresses, properly so called, in this country; but from a remarkable portion of the MS. in my hands we



learn that, in the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, female tumblers were permitted to exhibit (we cannot find a more appropriate word) on the open stage in London. They were, it is true, Italians, but the circumstance of country can make no difference as to the fact. The words of Norton upon this subject are these:—

“And one [matter] here out of place, that should before have been spoken of. The present time requireth you have good care, and use good means touching the contagion of sickness—that the sick be kept from the whole—that the places of persons infected be made plain to be known, and the more relieved—that sweetness and wholesomeness of public places be provided for—that unnecessary, and scarcely honest, resort to plays and shows, to the occasion of throng and press, except in the service of God—and especially the assemblies to the unchaste, shameless, and unnatural tumbling of the Italian women, may be avoided.”

It is recorded by my friend Mr. Peter Cunningham in his “Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court” (published by the Shakespeare Society in 1842), that in 1577 a company of Italian tumblers had performed before the Queen, but it is no where stated that these Italian tumblers, rewarded with court-favour and court-money, were females. Perhaps they were not so; but it is undeniable, on the evidence of Norton, that Italian women were to be publicly seen as tumblers at one of the playhouses in London, or in its suburbs, in the year 1574. This is a new, a characteristic, and an interesting fact, in reference to the state of theatres, and the state of morals, at that period in London and its neighbourhood. There were then only two, or at most three, buildings in existence, which had been erected for the express purpose of theatrical representations—the Theatre as it was distinctively called; the Curtain, also in Shoreditch, so named from the large cloth which separated the actors from the audience; and perhaps the Blackfriars playhouse, close to what is now the printing-office of “The Times” newspaper. These were all beyond the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor and Corporation; but, although the city authorities would not permit any edifice to be raised and opened for public performances within the boundary of the walls, they could not prevent the application of inn-yards, surrounded by galleries, to the purpose; and, although the performers were often disturbed, such was the increasing popular passion for the drama, that the performances were frequent. It was most likely on a temporary stage, within London, that the Italian female tumblers performed, and excited the indignation of the City Remembrancer. It is singular that one of the authors of the first blank-verse tragedy in our language should speak of the “scarcely honest resort” of audiences to plays and theatres; and still more remarkable in the history of our early drama, that Bishop Still, the

writer of nearly our first comedy, full of broad humour and coarse drollery, should afterwards have become so decided an enemy to the stage, that he would not allow a public company to act in a place where he possessed the power to prevent them. We may suppose, that when Norton censures the "scarcely honest resort" to theatres, he might not refer to the acting of our regular drama, then in its infancy, but to the "unchaste, shameless, and unnatural tumbling of the Italian women," who may, as it were, have obtruded themselves on the stage, to the exclusion of those dramatic performances, which led the way to the production of plays, such as they became in the hands of Shakespeare, his predecessors, and his contemporaries.

Returning to Norton, and to his book, as he himself calls it, for the guidance and government of the then Lord Mayor Hawes, and his successors, he informs us that he had drawn it out of the wholesome precedents established, perhaps, by the corporate officers, from the period to which the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* belongs. He suggests to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen that they should from time to time note in the margin such beneficial changes as occurred: they were also to keep a sort of daily register, which from month to month they were to peruse, "in order that they may consider what things be left undone in the former months, and remain to be expedited in time following." He adds—

"You must not look to find a large description how and in what form everything is to be done that is here mentioned; so should the book have been too large for your use, and yet impossible to have the whole therein fully contained."

Hence we see clearly what must have been the scope and character of Norton's work, and we may be sure that it included many matters, both of fact and of advice, a knowledge of which would have been of the greatest service during the progress of the late inquiry.

The conclusion of this Exhortation is, like the beginning, of a religious character, and Norton calls upon the Lord Mayor and his brethren to recollect that, as God is the giver of all good things, they owe their prosperity to him. Norton, therefore, requires them to begin all business with prayer; and he states a fact, not, I believe, ascertained from the History or Journals of Parliament, that the daily custom for the two Houses to commence their proceedings with prayers was then a recently established practice, and a comparative novelty: his words are, "I could gladly wish that some form of prayer might daily be used in your court and council chamber, by you and all your brethren, before you enter into causes. It is so used in the Parliament; and, though *such use be but of late*, I trust it shall be continued, and grow to be old: and, surely I speak it of good heart to yourself, I heartily wish to you the honour and blessing to have it begun in your time."

On the evidence of Norton himself, we are able to correct an inaccuracy, into which his biographers have fallen, when they tell us that he was born in the parish of Streatley, in Bedfordshire. He was a native of London, and, moreover, at the time he wrote the MS. in our hands, he was one of the representatives of the City in Parliament. It has been supposed that it was his father who sat for London in 13 and 14 Elizabeth (1571-2), but it was certainly the son, who continued in the exercise of this high and important trust, while he also filled the office of City Remembrancer. These are new and not unimportant facts in the life of a man who, independently of any other claims to our notice, was the author of the three first acts of the first tragedy in blank verse ever performed in this kingdom. In the last paragraph of his Exhortation, Norton tells the Lord Mayor where he was born, where he was brought up, and the right London possessed to his gratitude.

"I am," he says, "born a citizen, and here brought up: according to my right, I have accepted my freedom, and bound myself to this city by the oath of a freeman. I have served, and do remain at this present in trust and in charge to serve the City in Parliament; I have placed my dwelling here, and do take my part of the City's good provision; I am the City's officer, and called to their councils; I have the City's fee, and owe my attendance. Thus many things, beside the love of my country, and the special request made for this matter, and some particular good will, which, I think, you make account I do bear you, have moved me, not only to draw this book, but also to add these devices. I pray you to take them in good part, and therewith my readiness to do the City and you, in your place, the best service I can; and I shall count my labours best accepted, when I shall see and be a witness of your good endeavours accordingly."

The preceding is the substance of fifteen closely written quarto pages. It is a very material document as regards the City of London, its privileges, its duties, and its government, and there can be no doubt that the original of my copy ought to be found in the library or archives of the city. Perhaps, on a strict search, it may be discovered, as well indeed as the volume to which it must have been prefixed. We have belonging to our Society, besides yourself, several high and influential members of the Corporation of London, and, now their attention is drawn to the subject of Norton's labours, nearly three centuries ago, it may be hoped that a fresh investigation will bring to light, if not the work he produced, some other valuable muniment connected with the city and its ancient officers.

I remain, my dear Sir, &c.

Riverside, Maidenhead, 17 March, 1855.

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

XIII. *Further Particulars of Thomas Norton, and of State Proceedings in Matters of Religion, in the Years 1581 and 1582.* By WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, Esq., F.S.A., in a Letter addressed to J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., V.P.

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Read March 29, 1855.

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81, Guildford Street, Russell Square, March 27th, 1855.

YOUR recent communication to the Society has drawn their attention to some facts relating to Thomas Norton, which were not known to me when I wrote the Memoir for the Shakespeare Society; and, as it is clearly proved, both by your communication and by documents in the State Paper Office, that the author of the first three acts of our earliest tragedy in blank verse was also the citizen grocer and the active and zealous Member for the City of London in 1571, and again from 1572 to 1582, who was declared to be "a man wise, bold, and eloquent," and to have addressed the Members "in his accustomed manner of natural eloquence,"<sup>a</sup> it may not be uninteresting to notice some of the State transactions in which Norton was engaged in the years 1581 and 1582, when the renewed movement was made against the Catholics by the Parliament and the Government.

I have not been able to clear up the doubt as to the time when Norton went to College, or took his degree. He may have gone to college as a pensioner or exhibitioner from the Grocers' Company, of which the Nortons were influential members<sup>b</sup>: for at that time the Company sent pensioners to Oxford; and among them was Campion, who, after his junction with the Jesuits and his return to England, was required by the Company, as one of their former scholars or pen-

<sup>a</sup> D'Ewes' Journal, pp. 157-162.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Joseph Gwilt, F.S.A., having searched the records of the Grocers' Company, has kindly furnished me with these extracts relating to the Nortons:—

1553. Thomas Nortone, apprentice with Robert Wilkyns, rec<sup>d</sup> and sworne the xvj daie of Aprill.

1557. Thomas Norton, apprentice with Dame Johan Laxton, widow [of the benefactor to the Company, founder of the school at Oundle], received and sworne the same daie (9 Oct.).

1565. Thomas Norton, late apprentice with Dame Johan Laxton, receaved and sworne the sayde xj<sup>th</sup> daye of December.

And a will of Thomas Norton, citizen and grocer, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> July, 1577, was proved at Doctors Commons in that year.



sioners, to justify his proceedings in defence of the Pope's Bull.<sup>a</sup> Norton most probably went to college, as was then the custom, at an early age, and had left when in 1550, at the age of eighteen, he published his first work. He was in London 13th Nov. 1552, for he dated thence a letter to Calvin, published by the Parker Society,<sup>b</sup> giving a very interesting account of his late Master the Duke of Somerset: he was described as of London in 1555 when he entered the Inner Temple: in the books of the Grocers' Company in 1558 Thomas Nortone, their freeman, is mentioned as of Bucklersbury; and, as he was appointed counsel to the Stationers in December, 1562, and regularly took his salary from that time until his death in 1584, I agree with you in thinking that the Thomas Norton who in 1565 entered himself at Pembroke Hall, and in 1569 took his degree, was a different person.<sup>c</sup>

From the records of the City of London, in the Town Clerk's office, it appears that the office of Remembrancer was instituted in 1570-1, and that on 6th February, in that year, Thomas Norton, Gent., was admitted to the office, which he held till his death. At the original institution the duty of Remembrancer was to engross and make calendars to the books, but not in any way to prejudice the Town Clerk's office, and soon afterwards he was ordered to examine all leases to be sealed. Norton's first salary seems to have been 10*l.* per annum, and it was subsequently ordered that he should have a yearly consideration for his pains, beyond his salary, and also a dwelling-house; and afterwards 10*l.* a year were allowed him beyond his salary, for engrossing letters sent from the Court.<sup>d</sup>

Norton is thought by Herbert to have been "the State Amanuensis;" and after the promulgation of the Pope's Bull, he was often consulted upon, and settled the papers used in the proceedings taken against the professors of the old faith. Among other matters he settled for Sir Francis Walsingham the interrogatories to be administered in January, 1581 (just before the re-assembling of Parliament, after six years of prorogations), to Lord Henry Howard (brother of the late Duke of Norfolk), created by James I. Earl of Northampton, touching the book published in defence of his brother: the Bull of Pius V.: and the departure of Gregory Martin from England. The interrogatories were inclosed in the following letter:—

<sup>a</sup> Heath's History of the Grocers' Company (privately printed).

<sup>b</sup> Letters relating to the Reformation, p. 339.

<sup>c</sup> The Shakespeare Society Papers, vol. iv. p. 126.

<sup>d</sup> On Norton's death it was resolved not to admit another Remembrancer, and Mr. Fletcher was admitted by the name of Secretary to the Lord Mayor, to write and engross all letters sent to any person: nevertheless he was afterwards called Remembrancer, and a deputy was also named.



T. NORTON to Sir F. WALSINGHAM.<sup>a</sup>

"IT MAY PLEASE Y<sup>r</sup> H<sup>h</sup>,—I have sent you the Interrogatories. I humbly thank you for the other contents of y<sup>r</sup> letter, and for the answer therof I will conferre w<sup>th</sup> those whome you have apointed.

"Touching S<sup>r</sup> G. Peckham<sup>b</sup> I wrote unto you twice since, first touching his petition to speake w<sup>th</sup> Mr. Recorder,<sup>c</sup> and yesterday touching three other petitions of his, namely, to have leave to use Mr. Cressey in his businesse, and to write to those that owe him money and to whome he is indetted. Lastly, to have leave to walk an houre or ij in a day upon the leades over his chamber, for his health, the rather bicause he had lately had certaine fittes of an ague. It may please you to have consideraçon herof, as y<sup>r</sup> honorable wisdom shal think good. And so I leave to trouble y<sup>r</sup> h<sup>r</sup>. At London, this x<sup>th</sup> of Januarie, 1580.

"Y<sup>r</sup> H<sup>h</sup> humble

TH. NORTON.

(Indorsed)

"To the Right Honorable Sir Fr. Walsingham, Knight,  
Principall Secretarie to the Q. most excellent Ma<sup>tie</sup>.

"10 Jan. 1580.

"From Mr. Thomas Norton.

"T<sup>is</sup> the ar<sup>les</sup> ministred to the L. Henry Howard."

*Interrogatories inclosed in the letter.*

"1. Have you not seen a treatise, published in English, touching the doinges and troubles of the late Duke y<sup>r</sup> brother, beginning in these wordes: 'Good men and evell,' etc.; and whether you have noted the same treatise to beare two letters, R. G., as for the author's name, in the title?

"2. Have you seen any boke written for answer against the sayd treatise, in defense of the innocencie of the Scottish Q. and of y<sup>r</sup> sayd brother; and how many sortes of such bokes have you seen, either in English, French, or other language, and how do they beginne, or what title beare they?

"3. Were the same bokes of answer or any of them written originally in French, or in English and translated into French?

"4. Whoe was the author of everie of the sayd bokes, and whoe the translator, and were not y<sup>r</sup>self the author of them, and whoe gave you any advise or instruction, and whoe have you made privie therof?

<sup>a</sup> State Paper Office, Domestic, Eliz., 1581, No. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Probably Sir Geo. Peckham, of Denham, Bucks, whose estates were seized into the Queen's hands, for debts due to her. His grandfather, Sir Edmund Peckham, had been Treasurer of the Mint to Henry VIII

<sup>c</sup> Fleetwood was Norton's brother-in-law, and was elected Recorder in 13th Elizabeth, after Wilbraham.

"5. If you were not the author, what conference had you with the author therof, or w<sup>th</sup> any other, touching them, before or after the wryting of them, and what instructions gave you or any other, to y<sup>r</sup> knowledge, for the wryting therof?"

"6. Have you not used at coñion tables,<sup>a</sup> and other publike places and assemblies, to make chalenges and to mainteine disputaçons, in defense of certaine articles of papistrie, against the doctrine published by Her Ma<sup>tes</sup> autorite, and where and with whome have you so done?"

"7. Have you seen the Bull of Pius V. for excoñiunicating the Q. and for deposing her, and assoyling her subjectes from th<sup>r</sup> allegiance; or if you have not seen it, have you so heard of it that you believe that there is such a bull?"

"8. Have you knowen or heard that in the same Bull is conteyned to this effect, that such as from thenseforth continue to yeld obedience to the Q. shold stand likewise accursed?"

"9. Have you knowen or heard that the same bull is revoked or adnulled, or remaineth in force, or is in any point qualified or dispensed for a time or for ever, either touching her self or her subjectes, and specially to dispense w<sup>th</sup> the subjects that they may obey the Q. w<sup>thout</sup> accursing?"

"10. Do you know Gregorie Martine; where is he now, as you have knowen or heard? For what cause did he dept the realme, and what conference had you w<sup>th</sup> him before his deptime? And what warrant had he from you or any other to treate, move, or conclude any thing there for you or any other?"

"11. What do you take to be the cause that the sayd Martine hath wished you to be where he is, and to say that if he were in y<sup>r</sup> case he wold be there? And what letters or messages have passed between you and him?"

Parliament re-assembled a few days afterwards; and on 20th January Sir Walter Mildmay (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) made a motion for securing the kingdom against the Pope, which Norton seconded, and recommended the appointment of a Committee, consisting of all the Members of the Privy Council in the House, and other fit persons "to consult on Bills convenient to be framed for the purpose." The advice was adopted: Norton served on the Committee; and the next document (to which my attention was kindly directed by Mr. John Bruce) is valuable for the precise statement of what took place in the Committee and in the House, on the bills proposed; for the particulars it gives of the opinions of some of the Bishops; and as showing the spirit in which the Act "against seditious words uttered against the Queen's most Excellent Majesty," had been supported in the Commons by Norton and others, who had served on the Committee. The Act

<sup>a</sup> "Dalton at Arundel's."

received the royal assent on the day on which Parliament was prorogued, Saturday, 18th March, 1580-1<sup>a</sup>; the conversation referred to took place therefore on the 20th March, when Norton seems to have been hurried away by the warmth of his feelings, and to have been reported against as having assailed the Bishops.

The document is entitled

“MR. NORTON’S DEFENCE.”<sup>b</sup>

“As I verely think, upon Monday, by reason of the titles of the statutes then had in print and red among us, w<sup>ch</sup> could not be before Monday, I went w<sup>th</sup> my wife to the house of my good neighbor, Mr. William Grice,<sup>c</sup> after supper, as in familiaritie we mutually use to do; where I found Mr. Grice himself, Mr. Calthrop,<sup>d</sup> and Mr. Thomas Onely,<sup>e</sup> all plament men, and young Henrie Grice, Mr. William Grice’s sone, and one Hampton, of Trinitie College in Cambridge, tutor to the said Henrie Grice. There being together iiij<sup>or</sup> plament men, we fell to talk of those matters, and specially how honorably and graciously the Quenes Ma<sup>tie</sup> had dealt with us; whereupon one of them (I think Mr. Calthorp) said merely to me, ‘You were one of them that were excluded out of the Quenes thanks.’<sup>f</sup> ‘Nay (sayd I), that I was not, for there was not in that house, nor is in England, a poore man more hartely affected, nor more obsequious to Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> service, nor more ferefull to offend her, than I, and thereof I reporte me to her counsell.’ He replied, ‘It is true, but you put the addition to the bill of sclanders.’<sup>g</sup> ‘I wrote it (sayd I), but the House put it to, and thereof I repent me not, for as it is Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> greatest honor to have restored true religion, so ther can not be a more dishonorable sclander to Her than to say that the religion Her Ma<sup>tie</sup> mainteineth is false, or that the Romish religion, being contrarie thereunto, is true; yet, as hap was (sayd I), it was not that addition whereby the Bil<sup>l</sup> was overthrown,<sup>h</sup> but the omission of amendments touching astronomie.’ Then sayd one of the companie to me, ‘You have taken great pains this plament, and ther be few of the actes which either you have not drawne, or travailed about penning them at comittes.’ ‘It is true (said I), but ther is none of them that I did draw and offer of my owne first devise, but all that I have done I did by comaundem<sup>t</sup> of

<sup>a</sup> Lords Journals, vol. ii. p. 54.

<sup>b</sup> State Paper Office, Domestic, Eliz. 1581, No. 53 a.

<sup>c</sup> Member for Yarmouth.

<sup>d</sup> Charles Calthorpe, M.P. for Eye; he was an active member of the House.

<sup>e</sup> M.P. for Brackley, co. Northampton.

<sup>f</sup> See her speech on the prorogation of Parliament; “Not yet comprehending within those general thanks such some numbers of the Lower House as have this session dealt more rashly in some things than was fit for them to do.” Com. Journ., vol. i. p. 137.

<sup>g</sup> 1st February.

<sup>h</sup> 13th March.

the House, and specially of the Quenes Counsell there, and my chefest care was in all thinges bothe to be directed by the Counsell, and to move them first to understand Hir Ma<sup>tie</sup> pleasure in every great matter, to avoide offensive speche and proceeding in the House; and for that cause (quod I) have I, besides these peines, written many a bill of articles that the House did not see. But (quod I) if you rede over the titles you shall see in how many I travailled in the service of the House, and therefore I ame sure I ame not out of the Quenes thankes nor favor.' Then they red the titles, and to every one I answered whether I had drawn or penned them, or no. At length they came to the Bill for the Bishop of Coventrie and Lichfeld,<sup>a</sup> to w<sup>ch</sup> I said, 'This is a Bishop's Bill, I medeled not w<sup>th</sup> it. Yet in truth I gave my yea to it in the House, and further cause I had not to medle with it, for it came redie passed from the Lordes, and was a private Bill, and no adverse ptie to be heard against it.'

"After this we fell to talking of the great Bill of Religion, and among other thinges I said that 'for further reformation of many thinges amisse in the order of the Church, the Co<sup>m</sup>ons had the last Session opened their greves by petition to the Quene, specially touching the admission of unlearned and unfitt Ministers, the cōmutacōn of penance into money, and the excesse of pluralities and non-residence, and that Her Ma<sup>tie</sup> had most graciously comaunded the Bishops to take care for spedye remedie to be provided therein, w<sup>ch</sup> (notwithstanding her comaundement) was not fully done; and that yet that litle was done, and set forthe in print by Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> authoritie, the Bishops had so far left unexecuted, that I heard say some of them had forgotten that pt thereof was ever so provided by them, till the printed boke was shewed them.' I said further that 'in this Session of plament the Co<sup>m</sup>ons did in like humble maner make sute to Her Ma<sup>tie</sup> for proceeding w<sup>th</sup> the said redresse, and for that cause did apoint certaine of her Privie Counsell, being of the Co<sup>m</sup>on house, to be suters to Her Ma<sup>tie</sup> in the house's name, w<sup>ch</sup> I did not doubt they had faithfully done, for so they reported in our house w<sup>th</sup> open declaration how Her Ma<sup>tie</sup> had most favorably heard the petition and taken it in most gracious pt,<sup>b</sup> and comaunded certaine of the Bishops to confer with iiij<sup>or</sup> of our house, namely, Mr. Tresorer, her two Secretaries, and Mr. Chancellor of the Escheq<sup>r</sup>, and yet the effect hath not proceeded; in so much as Mr. Chancellor, for himself and the rest of our house,

<sup>a</sup> On the 8th March, 1580-1, a bill for assurance of a rent charge of 82*l.* 10*s.* to the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, was read and committed to a committee, of which Norton was not a member. The Bill was read a third time, and passed the Commons on 13th March. By the *Lords Journals* it appears to have been only a Bill to confirm a private arrangement between the Bishop and Thomas Fisher, Esq.

<sup>b</sup> *Commons Journals*, vol. i. p. 131.



shewed that they of Comittees had not failed in diligence; whereupon the whole house, houlding them assured of the Comittees faithfulness, and acknowledging Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> graciousnesse, did impute the default to the Bishops,<sup>a</sup> and thereupon they requiered the Speker to renewe the petition in his last oration to Her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup> he faithfully did,<sup>b</sup> and Her Ma<sup>tie</sup> by the Lord Chancellor, most graciously answered; whereupon I inferred that ther was no default in Her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, but such default as had ben was among the Bishops, and then I said that 'one in the House had recited this sentence of Tullie—*Si esset in iis fides in quibus summa esse debebat, non laboraremus.*'

"Hereupon Hampton replied, that the default was not in the Bishops, but 'I warrant you (quod he) they made no delaye, nor did anything, but by the Quenes direction, and as the Quene appointed.' Herew<sup>th</sup> I grew offended, sayeing that 'the Quene was most honorable, and did not use to dissemble w<sup>th</sup> her subjectes, to make to them openly a shew of graunting hir people's petition, and under hand to over throw it by contrarie comaundement to Bishops.' Hampton persisted in laying the default to the Quene, and I in defending Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> honor for true dealing with God and her subjectes, and he against me. In the heate of this argument, I, taking impatiently the Quene to be so dishonorably and unthankfully noted, might padventure speke of the Bishops that w<sup>ch</sup> otherwise I wold not, but I ame pswaded that I did not excede the course hereafter declared, viz.—to shew that the default was more likely to be in the Bishops than in the Quene. I recited that even in the conference of the Bill of Religion, six Bishops being Comittees,<sup>c</sup> and bothe the temporall Lordes

<sup>a</sup> The Queen's answer to the address was presented by Sir Walter Mildmay, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who took the same tone as Norton. The answer was—

"That her Highness had, the last Session of Parliament, of her own good consideration, and before any petition or suit thereof made by this House, committed the charge and consideration thereof unto some of her Highness' clergy, who had not performed the same according to her Highness' commandment; so now her Majesty would estoons commit the same unto such others of them, as with all convenient speed, without remissness and slackness, should see the same accomplished accordingly, in such sort as the same shall neither be delayed or undone."

And the Chancellor, in moving the House to rest satisfied, as they did, with the answer, further declared "that the only cause why no due reformation had been already had in the said petition, was only by the negligence and slackness of some others, and not of her Majesty, nor of this House; alleging withal that some of the said bishops had yet done something in those matters, delivered by her Majesty to their charge, as in a more advised care of allowing and making of ministers, but yet, in effect, little or nothing to the purpose."

<sup>b</sup> 18th March.

<sup>c</sup> This conference took place 22nd February, on which day ten bishops were present in the Lords, but the names of the six on the conference are not distinguished in the Lords Journals.



and Coñions of that Coñiittee dealing zealously in religion, the Bishops spake most or onely for jurisdiction, in so much that one great Bishop said that 'rather than he wold yeld that private scholemasters shold acknowlege their conformitie in religion before Justices of Peace in open sessions, he wold say nay to the whole Bill of Religion,' w<sup>ch</sup> sayeing (sayd I) 'was not comparable to the most godly zeal of Her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, nor of the Lordes then present.' Hampton still psisted in transferring the default from the Bishops to the Quene and Her Counsell, in so much as I was enforced to shewe how the Bishops had filled the Church with unlearned and unfitt ministers, whom they had admitted into orders, and further that the number of papestes and the number of the 'Familie of Love' had increased under them by their remissnesse in executing their authorities, being yet both Bishops, Justices of Peace, and Hye Commissioners, and so no lack in the Quene and her Counsell in geving them sufficient power, 'yea,' and I said that 'some Bishops them selves had ben heretikes,' and I named Mr. Gest late of Salisburie<sup>a</sup> and Mr. Cheyne late of Glocester<sup>b</sup>, bothe holden for Pellagians, and infected with the heresie of the reall presence, and so Mr. Parker the late Archbishop of Canterburie told me, and that they were convented or intended to be convented to the convocation for it; and that Mr. Downham late of Chester<sup>c</sup> was suspected of papistrie. Concerning these thre Bishops, Hampton replied nothing, and could not denye. To the rest, viz. for admitting unfitt ministers, and the favoring and sparing of Papistes, he said that 'the fault was not in the Bishops, but in the Quenes Counsell, whoe did so usually write their letters in favor of such naughtie psons, that the Bishops neither could nor durst do justice against them.' Here I could not forbear him, but told him that he was a foole, w<sup>ch</sup>, and more to like effect, I spake of him, and not of the Bishops, saving that I said that, 'whosoever so told him, the more beastes and fooles.' And I said, 'if it were so, is it a vertue of a good Bishop not to dare do justice for letters? And yet (said I) you sclander the Counsell, for you can not shew that ever any of the Counsell wrote for any such naughty man, knowing him so to be; but, if they did (quod I), they wrote not for them all. What have the Bishops done to the rest? But (sayd I) I am, in my service in London, acquainted with the Counsell's honourable doinges in such

<sup>a</sup> Edmund Gheast or Guest, Fell. of King's Coll. Camb. promoted to the Archd. of Canterbury, Oct. 1559; consecrated Bishop of Rochester, 24 Mar. following: translated to Sarum, Dec. 1571; ob. 28 Feb. 1577.

<sup>b</sup> Richard Cheiney, of Pembroke Hall, Camb., deprived by Mary of his Archdeaconry of Hereford for opposing, in convocation, transubstantiation; elected Bishop of Gloucester 9th March, 1561; ob. 25th April, 1579.

<sup>c</sup> William Downham, of Magdalen Coll. Oxon., consecrated 4th May, 1561; ob. Nov. 1577.

cases, for if some tyme, upon information, or at their frendes request, they write to us at London for any thing that, either by orders of o<sup>r</sup> Citie or by the offense of the ptie, is not meete to be graunted, if we write them a comely, true, and reasonable answere of the cause of our refusall, they be satisfied, and take o<sup>r</sup> doinges in noble good pt.' And, for example thereof, I recited that, when one Eden, an attorney, was lately put out of his office in London for mater of Papistrie, and for having a massing prest and massing baggage in his house, and for keping a massing prest certaine monethes in his house, and sending over his sone with that prest to the seminaries and popish places beyond sea, and ther bringing him up under a most famous popish tutor, and for other like thinges; and where the boord of the most honorable Counsell had, by their tres to the Lord Mayo<sup>r</sup> and Aldermen, allowed of this proceeding against Eden, as a note of the Cities fidelitie to God and the Quene; yet afterward Eden, upon testimoniall of his conformitie from the Bishop of London, whoe never examined but half the matter, and upon suggestion to two noble Lordes of the Counsell (whoe were not privie to the said former tres) that the proceeding of the Lord Maio<sup>r</sup> and Aldermen against him was onely of malice, obtained tres from those noble Lordes for his restitution, and, upon like suggestion, other tres from other of the Counsell. Yet afterward, when the Counsell were informed of the truthe of the matter, bothe those two noble Lordes did revoke their said letter that they had written for Eden, sayeing, in a newe letter, in these wordes, that, if they had knowne the truthe, they wold not for their handes have written for Eden, and diverse of the rest of the Counsell wrote againe, to confirme the first tres. 'Therefore (said I), sclander not the Counsell with the Bishops' faltes.' And then I earnestly urged him to shew me one instant or example that ever any of the Counsell had written to any Bishop in favor of any Papist or other offender, and that the Bishop had geven a comely, true, and reasonable answere of refusall, and the Counsell did not take it in good pt, or was displeased with the Bishop for it; which he could not shew. Then we fell into mention of the bill against the 'Familie of Love,'<sup>a</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> matter, I said, 'was co<sup>n</sup>ïended to us of the Common House from the Convoca<sup>ç</sup>on, and diverse preachers so brought it, and the Speker did in the House so declare it, and, in

<sup>a</sup> A bill for the punishment of heretics, called "The Family of Love," was introduced into the Commons, read a second time, and referred to a committee; after which a new bill was introduced, which was read a second time on 27th February, 1580-1, and committed to Mr. Norton and others (*Commons' Journ.* vol. i. p. 130); but no later entry appears on the Journals. For a notice of these "Sectaries out of Holland," see Camden's *Annals*, book ii. p. 109.

favo<sup>r</sup> of the Convoca<sup>ti</sup>on we gave furtherance unto it, that heresie being also most dangerous to the Quene's estate and the realme; and afterward diverse of the Bishops disavowed it, and denyed that they had comended the mater unto us.' Hampton sayd that 'they had don well in so disavowing it.' 'That may be (quod I) if they said therein truly, and had not comended it before, w<sup>ch</sup> I am not bound to beleve, for our Speaker said the contrary, and (as I thinke) upon some tre or information from the Quene's Counsell, whome I beleve afore all the Bishops in England.' 'Nay (said Hampton), the cause was for that you of the Lower House had made heresie felonie, and so layed a temporall paine to a spirituall offense.' I replied that 'that could not be a cause for them to disavow their owne doing, or the doing of the rest of the Convoca<sup>ti</sup>on.' And I said further, that 'he misrepresented the P'lament House; that they had layd the peines of felonie upon heresie, for it was expressed in the bill that the said doctrine was not onely heresie, but also tending to sedition and disturbance of the estate; and yet (sayd I) you can shewe no cause why the P'lament may not decree that an heretike may as well be hanged as burned.' He replied, still urging the absurditie of the judgement of the P'lament House in condemning the Familie of Love for fellows. And there-upon I must confesse that I repeted that he was a foole, and to like effecte; but I did not (saving y<sup>or</sup> honers) call him knave nor did then thinke him. Hampton sayd he wold complaine to the Bishops of me, and I bad him not to spare; and so he hath done, *contra Jovem hospitalem*, to my grefe, and to the grefe of the honest gentleman whome and whoes house he hath so abused; and, to ratifie his slaunders, he hath peured an honest young man, his owne pupill, Mr. Grice's sone, to be sworne, whoe, I suppose, hath not sayd much for hym.

"Thus I have delivered the truthe, and so by the whole dependence of the mater I trust you may see it hath the course and plaine honest face of truthe. I submitt myself to y<sup>or</sup> honorable jugementes, and for my Lordes the Bishops, although in all honor and credit I sett them behinde Her Ma<sup>tie</sup> and her most honorable Counsell, yet I referre me to the Lordes of the Counsell how reverently and honorably I have openly uttered my hart and speche touching them and their degree, and so I humbly beseche their Ll<sup>ds</sup> to thinke of me. And what I have sayd, as is afore, hath not ben to any intent of their defacement, but in comparison, and being by my adversarie opposed to Her Ma<sup>tie</sup> and her Counsell. For the state of religion and the Church no man can charge me that ever I sought inovation, but ever endeavored me to hold that condition of policie and doctrine that we most comfortably enjoye under Her Ma<sup>tie</sup>. If anything be conteyned in Hampton's accusation not before declared, but by me not called to memorie, I am redie therein to

confesse the truthe and what place it ought to have in the order of this my declaration."

(Indorsed)

Mr. Norton's defence against Hampton's false report.

In May, 1581, Norton was one of the Commissioners who took the examination of Alexander Briant, and on the 1st August in the same year he took the examination of Edmund Campion.<sup>a</sup> The next letter shows that he was present when both were put on the rack, and that, like Lord Burghley,<sup>b</sup> he was called upon to defend himself for the mode in which the rack had been used. The complaints against him had been so strong, that Norton, in the early part of the year 1582, was under an injunction to confine himself to his house at the Guildhall, from whence he dated the following justification, which illustrates very curiously the use of the rack and the specious arguments by which it was justified:—

T. NORTON to Sir F. WALSHINGHAM.<sup>c</sup>

27 March, 1581.

"My dutie humbly done to y<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup> thanks for y<sup>r</sup> many goodneses, and prayer for continuance. I have received the late seditious boke, Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> Counsel for persecuters,<sup>d</sup> &c.

"I finde in the whole boke only one place touching myself, fo. ult. pa. i.—

"'One (meaning Briant) whome Mr. Norton the Rackmaister (if he be not misreported) vaunted in the Court to have pulled one good foote longer than ever God made him, and yet in middes of all he semed to care nothing, and therefore out of dout (sayd he) he had a devel within him,' &c.

"Surely I never sayd in that forme, but this, when speache was of the courage of Campion and some other, I sayd truely that there appered more corage of a man's hart in one Briant than in x. Campions, and therefore I lamented that the devel had possessed poore unlearned Briant in so noughtie a cause. For being thretened by those that had comission that (to the intent he might be moved to tell truthe without torment), if he wold not for his dutie to God and the Quene tell truthe, he shold be made a foote longer than God made him, he was

<sup>a</sup> Copies of the warrants for these examinations and for the application of torture are given by Mr. Jardine in the Appendix to his "Reading on the Use of Torture in the Criminal Law of England," pp. 85-78.

<sup>b</sup> See Lord Somers's Tracts, vol. i. p. 209: Norton's statement evidently forms the groundwork of Burghley's apology.

<sup>c</sup> State Paper Office, Domestic, Eliz. 1581, No. 53. By the context and the place from which the letter is written, the date ought to have been 1582. Norton seems to have forgotten the new year.

<sup>d</sup> In the margin is written: "The Print is done in England. It is no translation, but original English."



therew<sup>th</sup> nothing moved. And being, for his apparent obstinacie in maters that he well knew, racked more than any of the rest, yet he stood still w<sup>th</sup> expresse refusal that he wold not tell truthe. Where he setteth out a miracle that Briant was preserved from feling of peine, it is most untrue, for no man of them all after his torture made so grevous complaining, and showed so open signes of peine as he.

"For the racking, let me put y<sup>r</sup> hon<sup>r</sup> in minde of certaine pointes.

"1. For my pt I was not the Rackmaister, but the meanest of all that were in comission, and as it were clerk unto them, and the doing was by the hands only of the Quenes servants, and by Mr. Lieutenant's only direction for much or litle.

"2. None was put to the rack but by the warrant of vj of the most honorable Counsel at the least.

"3. None was put to the rack that was not first by manifest mater knowne to the Counsel to be gylty of treason, so that it was well assured aforehand that there was no innocent tormented. Also none was tormented to know whether he were gylty or no, but for the Quenes safetie to disclose the maner of the treason, and the complices.

"4. No man was tormented for mater of religion, nor asked what he believed of any point of religion, but only to understand of particular practises for setting up their religion by treason or force against the Quene.

"5. If any of them did say that they wold truly answer to such thinges as they were demanded on the Quenes behalf, and wold by othe or without othe seriously and upon his allegiance say that he did know or believe<sup>s</sup> his answeres to be true, he was never racked. Neither was any of them racked that had not bothe obstinately sayd, and did psist in that obstinacie, that he wold not tell truthe though the Quene comānded him.

"You see by these bokes and such other, how dangerously Parsons and the rest still walk abrode. These maters require answer for satisfaction. By litle and litle a multitude of subjectes growe infected. When they finde their number encreased to strength, Her Ma<sup>tie</sup> may finde it dangerous. A late example hath shewed what such consciences dare attempt.

"You know that Parsons, Elye, and other stand endited of hye treason.

"If my L. Chiefe Justice or Mr. Attorney, the Quenes excellent good servant, be asked how farr forward the processe of outlawrie hath proceded for the Q. against them upon those enditements, you shal see that they be nere outlawed. If then (w<sup>ch</sup> may stand w<sup>th</sup> law) they be proclaimed traitors, w<sup>th</sup> a clause that such proclamaçon is made to the intent the Q<sup>e</sup> subjectes shold know their owne danger in receyving or concealing them, knowing them to be traitors, as by the proclamaçon they are done to know, this will help to bring them fourth. For such as receive



them will think that the traitors may one day be taken and examined who receyved them, and, so fynding themselves in peril of treason, they will rather disclose them. Now for myne owne case, it is heavy to myself, and greatly in this one thing, that my name and cause is used to the sclander of Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> honorable justice against traitors. I am not to deale in such cases uncoñianded; but if, for Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> service and for the fame of religion, I be enjoyned to set downe answer and to deliver it to my L. Tresurer to use as pleaseth him, I think I could so satisfie the multitude in so good a cause as shold be to some good use against such seditious persuaders.

“For the rest of my estate, alas, S<sup>r</sup>, *curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent*; I am now undone, I can not speake it; I meane in respect of my poore innocent wife, I feare never or hardly, if not spedily, to be recovered, whereof my Ladie Hopton can tell you, and good Mr. Reynoldes, whome, w<sup>th</sup> Mr. Fox, I have lately used about her. God be mercifull to me! I feare it will be late for her, and so for me and my litle ones.

“All that ever I durst do in the mater of Campion, and which hath lyen a good while by me, I do here send you. Let it not beare my name, I pray you. If you please to communicate it to good Mr. Chancellor,\* it may rubbe up some of his olde charitable thinkinges of me. I can beare that you also shew it Mr. Vicechamberlaine, that noble natured true gentleman,<sup>b</sup> whose knoweth that I know I am bound to him.

“My good L. Tresorer<sup>c</sup> is the only man in whome I have and do lay the course of my relefe. I have found him gracious; he will do me good in time. But if, upon understanding of this extremitie of my wife’s estate, by my Lady Hopton and Mr. Reynoldes, it will please you to use mediation to my Lord for me, I hold me assured that Mr. Vicechamberlaine and Mr. Chancellor will joyne with you in pitie. An arrogant foole upon presumptuous zeale is the worst of me; a perpetual true man to the Q. is the best; and that I believe Her Ma<sup>tie</sup> herself doth not dout is the stay of my feble hart. God long preserve her, that ye all may long serve her!

“From my home preson in the Guildhall, this 27 of March, 1581.

“Yo<sup>r</sup> honor’s verie poore THOS. NORTON.

(Indorsed)

“To the Right Honourable S<sup>r</sup> Fr. Walsingham, Knight, Principal  
Secretarie to the Q. most excellent Ma<sup>tie</sup>.”

Norton was released from his confinement in a few days after; but the next letter, whilst he was still kept to his house, gives another specimen of the controversial spirit which he delighted to exhibit.

\* Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Christopher Hatton.

<sup>c</sup> Lord Burghley.

T. NORTON to Sir F. WALSINGHAM.<sup>a</sup>

11 April, 1582.

"It may please y<sup>r</sup> honor, I have here sent you an other of these toyes, in hope the last did not displease you; and yet I am somewhat afayrd therof, bicause I heare not of y<sup>r</sup> allowance. S<sup>r</sup>, I imagine that y<sup>r</sup> silence doth, as it were, becken to me to be silent; and so I wold gladly, if either you so comāded me, or if I could devise a fitter way to say, in not sayeing. For God's sake remember me, I feare this monethly returne of distemper for my poore wife, toward the change. Alas, a few more will make an habit hopelesse of recoverie; and what shal then become of me and myne, that are allredy wretched, without more encreasem<sup>t</sup>? But this, bothe in mater and tyme, must be left to God, Her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, my L. Tresorer, &c.; and I to woe and prayer! This trifle, and one other of the like lying by me, are the frutes of a meane space between fittes of sorrow and amasednesse of grefe, *Del, and dedly sin!* If I could have been as sorrowfull for offending God as I have ben for displeasing Her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, he wold have preserved me from offending her.<sup>b</sup>

"I pray you (if you like it) impt this toy to my good Mr. Vicechamberlaine and Mr. Chancellor. You nede not deliver my name therein, for, though it be a true begotten and a true man's childe, yet it dare not avow the father, but in place of pitie.

"The Quene shal, with no restraint of her natural mercie, make me to cesse to love her, or not to hate her enemies—*sincero odio*.

"I daily thank God of all y<sup>r</sup> most honorable governances that be of Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> Counsel. I verily hope of good frute of this late proclamation, if the endeavors of inferior officers and subjects do answer y<sup>r</sup> noble provisions. O blessed people, under such a souveraine so ruling, so counselled, and so served!

"S<sup>r</sup>, may I dare to pray y<sup>r</sup> honor to remember that w<sup>th</sup> I beleive you forget not? I will dare, bicause the advise came from a learned grave Christian judge of Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> Benche. Byside the proclamation, let the processe of outlawrie against those that be endited goe on effectually for the Quene. You nede but so signifie to Mr. Attorney, neither I think you nede so, the man<sup>c</sup> is so zelous a true servant to God and Her Ma<sup>tie</sup>. O how his valiance of a Christian true subjectes hart hath delited me!

"I think he will informe you that it were good that more of them that be detected, in a good number, be also endited, and outlawrie procede against them too; for otherwise it may hap to make a question in law, upon the arrainement of a fosterer of such traitors, whether the proclamation suffice. It wold, therefore, be strengthened w<sup>th</sup> enditements and outlawries of the traitors, for ij causes: one,

<sup>a</sup> State Paper Office, Domestic, Eliz. 1582, No. 65.

<sup>b</sup> This expression is very like that put by Shakespeare into the mouth of Wolsey, Hen. VIII. act iii. sc. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Sir Thomas Egerton.

least proclamations wanting effect should lose estimation; the other to stop their mouthes that shal cavill that any extraordinarie proceeding is used toward them, but only according to the usual due course of law and justice. And yet no true man can dout that all that is done by Her Ma<sup>tie</sup> and ye all is honorably and justly done, but I meane to the more confusion of the adversaries.

"I will be silent when you signifie that my boldnesse displeaseth you. I have my old hart, with some more witt, I trust, so dere bought that it hath undone me.

"At my home preson, this xj<sup>th</sup> of April, 1582.

"Yo<sup>r</sup> hon<sup>ors</sup> poore TH. NORTON.

"O how g'adly I wold learne whether Mr. Vicechamberlaine and Mr. Chancellor reteine any charitable thinkings of me; so much I feare that all the world foloweth the prejudice of Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> displeasure to him that wold as faine please her as any to whome she is most gracious; but *spiritus ubi vult spirat*.

"To the Right Honorable Sir Fr. Walsingham, Knight, Principal  
Secretarie to the Quenes most excellent Ma<sup>tie</sup>."

Norton fully recovered the confidence of the Council, and retained it till his death in 1584. Documents in the State Paper Office show that he was employed in 1583 with Thomas Wylkes in the examinations of Mr. and Mrs. George Throgmorton,<sup>a</sup> as to the escape of John Throgmorton; of John Halter, of Arundel, for bringing over papists to Sussex;<sup>b</sup> of William Warde, as to the escape of Paget to France;<sup>c</sup> of Hugh Hall, relating to Sir Thomas Cornwallis;<sup>d</sup> and of George Breton, as to a priest called Cotton;<sup>e</sup> whilst on 18th November, 1583, Wylkes was directed by Walsingham to bring Mr. Norton with him to the Tower "to-morrow morning," to be present at the racking of Francis Throgmorton,<sup>f</sup> who (it was declared on 20th December) had "been often racked, and confessed nothing." There are, besides, other communications from Norton to Walsingham, in reference to the disputes between some members of the Stationers' Company and the patentees privileged in printing, and to the opinion of the Russian merchants on the treaty with the Emperor, which were matters more immediately within his offices of Counsel to the Stationers' Company and of City Remembrancer, though, possibly, not quite so congenial to the strong religious feelings of Wood's "forward and busy Calvinist and noted zealot."

<sup>a</sup> Domestic (1583) 393. <sup>b</sup> Ibid. 405.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. 406. For the answers of Lord H. Howard to Paget, given on 11th Dec. 1583, and January, 1583-4, see Cotton MSS. Caligula, C. vii. pp. 261, 269.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. 486. <sup>e</sup> Ibid. (1584), 1.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. (1583), 329. No warrants for these rackings of F. Throgmorton appear in Mr. Jardine's "Reading," nor does he notice the case.

XIV. *An Account of Excavations on the Site of Roman Buildings at Keston, near Bromley, Kent: in a Letter to Rear-Admiral W. H. SMYTH, F.R.S., V.P. By GEORGE R. CORNER, Esq., F.S.A.*

Read November 30, 1854.

3, Paragon, New Kent Road,

27 November, 1854.

DEAR SIR,

In the twenty-second volume of *Archæologia*, Mr. A. J. Kempe has given an account of some then recent discoveries, by himself and Mr. Thomas Crofton Croker, near the ancient entrenchment called Cæsar's Camp, at Holwood Hill, Keston, near Bromley, Kent. Those discoveries consisted of the foundation of a circular Roman building, supposed to be a temple or tomb, with a square tomb, and two graves, in one of which was a stone coffin, and from the other a stone coffin had been several years previously removed to Wickham Court.

The foundations described by Mr. Kempe are situate in a field on Keston Court Farm, the property of the Rev. Sir Charles Francis Farnaby, Bart., of Wickham Court, which field bears the significant name of the Lower War Bank, being situate on a bold declivity, the upper part of which is called the Upper War Bank—a name which Mr. Kempe observes seems to denote “some scathe or havoc done within its limits.” He remarks that two or three fields about the spot are full of the vestigia of human residence—tiles, scored bricks, pottery, the bones of men and animals: and he goes on to say, “it may be no violent stretch of fancy to suppose that the town here, abandoned by the Romans, was destroyed in the wars between the Saxons and Britons; and that in the name War Bank,<sup>a</sup> or the Hill of Battle, we have the brief record of a sanguinary conflict.” Mr. Kempe tells us, “it has constantly been the current tradition of the neighbourhood, that about this spot was a large town,” and he says “I have always indeed suspected that this beautiful little valley south-west of Holwood Hill was the site of a Roman colony, and that the entrenchments on the northern side of that eminence might be the *Castrum Æstivum*, and retiring citadel, of the Roman forces stationed here. The cultivators of Keston Court Farm had uniformly asserted the existence of old

<sup>a</sup> More likely Weard or Ward Bank. Here was probably the weard setle (watch seat, settle, bench, or bank) mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon charter referred to at p. 125; and, as one of the significations of weard setle is a watch tower (*Bosworth's A.-S. Dictionary*), I should be inclined to suppose that the foundation of the circular building described by Mr. Kempe was that of a watch tower, but that its situation so far down the Bank does not seem to favour that conjecture.



foundations, scattered over the whole extent of War Bank Field and the two fields contiguous on either hand:" and Mr. Kempe discovered "masses of ruinous walls, and especially near the hedge, the foundation wall of a Roman building, two feet and a half in breadth, and thirty feet long, with two projecting walls about a foot asunder, on the north side (probably the walls of a flue), which ran under the hedge." But Mr. Kempe could not pursue this interesting part of his inquiry as far as he wished, the field being sowed for a crop of wheat as soon as ploughed.

Having obtained the permission of Sir Charles Francis Farnaby, and Mr. Abraham Smith, his tenant of Keston Court Farm, to make some further researches on this spot, I have this autumn, in company with Robert Lemon, Esq. F.S.A., John Richards, Esq. F.S.A., and other Fellows of our Society, been enabled to lay open some foundations of buildings in the Lower War Bank Field and the field adjoining, now known as the Eight Acres; and I have the honour to request you will lay before the Society of Antiquaries the result of our discoveries, which, without entering into the long-disputed question of the site of *Noviomagus*, at least prove that the remains of Roman buildings of considerable extent lie buried under the surface of two arable fields at Keston, the tracing of which, although only commenced, cannot, I think, but prove a work highly interesting to the Society.

We commenced our labours on Thursday, the 12th of October, and proceeded for three days of that week and four days of the week following, having, during the latter period, the kind and valuable assistance of John Yonge Akerman, Esq. F.S.A., Secretary of this Society.

We first opened the foundations denoted by Mr. Kempe on the plan accompanying his paper, near to the hedge which divides the Lower War Bank Field from the Eight Acres, and we found there the foundation of a wall composed of flints (the building material of the country) strongly set in mortar, but without tiles. This wall was about three feet thick and twenty-eight feet long, bearing north-east and south-west; and on the north-west side was a wall projecting from it at right angles, north-westward, and extending under the hedge into the adjoining field. This was evidently the foundation alluded to by Mr. Kempe.

Eighteen feet south-west from the end of this wall, we came upon another, at right angles to it, towards the south-east. This wall was of similar construction, but four feet thick, and twelve feet in length. Beyond this, towards the south-east, lay three detached portions of wall, one of which appeared to have slipped from its original position, and with the two other detached portions seemed to have formed a slight curve towards the east.



On the north side of this wall, and not far from the hedge, we discovered part of a pavement of flints laid on cement; the portion we laid open was about six or seven feet square: near it was a recess in the wall, which I could not but think looked as if intended for a gate. This wall also goes through the hedge into the Eight Acre Field. On the south-west side, at the end of the wall near to the hedge, we found a narrow opening or cavity in the wall, like a grave, but very small, being only three feet in length by one foot wide. South-eastward from this we came to a floor of concrete in the line of the first-mentioned wall, and occupying about six feet of it, beyond which the wall was traced about eighteen feet further south-westward, making the whole length of that wall, if it were continuous, about seventy-eight feet.

All these walls were within two feet from the surface of the ground, and communicated with other foundations in the Eight Acre Field adjoining; but about two years since, Mr. Smith, the farmer, grubbed up a narrow shaw which extended along the hedge, and took the opportunity of removing the foundations which were met with, out of the ground.

We however discovered in the Eight Acre Field, at a distance of about twelve feet from the hedge, the foundations of two parallel walls, extending at right angles to the principal wall in the War Bank Field; and, from the information we obtained through the labourers who had been employed by Mr. Smith to remove the foundations, I have been enabled to mark their position on the accompanying plan, by dotted lines, the foundations which we actually opened being shaded. I am inclined to think that these foundations formed part of an edifice of a public character, but further researches may afford better grounds than now are apparent for forming an opinion as to its use.

We were induced to leave for a time this portion of the field, in order to explore another part, where the farmer informed us his corn was thinner, and always turned yellow before other parts of the produce of the same field, and where the plough was most frequently obstructed by obdurate substances beneath the surface of the ground.

The point indicated by Mr. Smith was about a hundred feet south from the other foundations, and nearer to the middle of the Lower War Bank Field. Here we came, at about eighteen inches only below the surface, to the foundation of a wall running in a direction north-west and south-east, and which we opened for a length of forty-nine feet, together with a wall extending at a right angle from it at the north-west end, for a length of twelve feet six inches. These walls were two feet thick, and at the highest about four feet from the foundation. They were composed of flints and mortar, with a single course of Roman bonding-tiles,

laid along the whole length of the wall, upon a foundation of about six inches of flint-work, resting on the chalk; the superstructure above the tiles being composed of flint work, except that at the angle formed by the two walls, seven inches above the long course of tiles, there were two layers of tiles as a quoin.

The bonding-tiles were eleven inches wide, and had been sixteen inches long; but, as the thickness of the wall required more than one tile, and the length of two would have been too much, they were all broken at the side where they met in the centre of the wall.

We traced and laid open these walls and other foundations connected with them, until we developed what appears to be the almost complete foundation of a small Roman villa, being sixty feet six inches in length, by thirty-two feet eight inches in width; of which, as well as the foundations first mentioned, I submit a plan.

We were not fortunate enough to meet with anything like a tessellated pavement; but, as Mr. Kempe found in the temple or tomb, whatever flooring the buildings may have had seemed to have been completely destroyed; nor did we find any inscribed stone, nor even a potter's mark, nor any sculptured or carved stone of any kind: the only coin found was a small brass one of Valens; but Mr. Smith of Keston Court Farm has in his possession a few Roman coins which have been found on this spot: viz.

1. Clodius Albinus. Second-brass. Legend, *SAECVLI FRVGIFERO COS II.* Genius standing. A scarce type. (See Mr. Akerman's Descriptive Catalogue.)
2. Carausius. Third-brass. *PAX AVG.* Peace standing. (Two coins.)
3. Allectus. Third-brass. Galley type. Legend obliterated.
4. Claudius Gothicus. Third-brass. *AEQVITAS AVG.* Equity standing.
5. Victorinus? Much defaced.
6. Constantinus Magnus. Second-brass. *SOLI INVICTO COMITL.* In the exergue *PLN.*
7. Ditto. Third-brass. The labarum between two soldiers. Legend left out from want of metal.

The ground however was full of fragments of Roman tiles of all sorts, as ridge-tiles, flue-tiles, and drain-tiles, some of them ornamented with various patterns. Numerous fragments of pottery, chiefly of black or dark grey earth, and some, but not much, of Samian ware, and that unornamented; perhaps the most remarkable was part of a colander of Samian ware. Some of the coarser pottery was studded on the inside with small silicious particles, as mentioned by Mr. Kempe, and we found also many pieces of stucco covered with a red pigment similar to that described by him as having covered the exterior of the circular building.

Indications of the action of fire were frequently apparent, and pieces of charcoal and scorizæ of iron and copper were found.

We found also bones and horns of animals and tusks of hogs, but no bones that we could recognise as having belonged to the human species.

Of metal substances, we found nails, a knife, and a thin flat piece of iron in shape of a crescent or gorget.

It was getting too late in the season to prosecute these researches any further this year, but I venture to express a hope that after harvest in the ensuing year further excavations may be made in these fields, which will doubtless lead to the discovery of other remains of the ancient state of this place, which appears to have realised the denunciations of Jeremiah and Micah against Zion—that they should be ploughed as a field.

I am indebted to my friend F. W. Fairholt, Esq. F.S.A., for a very faithful sketch of the scene of these discoveries, including the temple or tomb described by Mr. Kempe and the Upper War Bank Field, and shewing the position of the present discoveries with respect to those of Mr. Croker and Mr. Kempe.

I must not omit to mention, that in a field at a short distance from Keston Court Farm, near Baston Court, an ancient manorial residence in Hayes, now the property of James Thomas Fry, Esq. Master of the Reports and Entries in Chancery, there exist, about four feet below the surface, the foundations of a building which we found by probing the ground, having had the spot pointed out to us by an old inhabitant of the place; but we were obliged to defer further research until some future period.

The name of this place, Keston, has a very significant reference to the sepulchral remains which have been found here.

This name is not, as Hasted supposes, derived from the Camp at Holwood Hill, quasi "Casterton," nor is it, as the same author observes, from Cæsar's or Kæsar's Town, according to the fancy of some ingenious etymologists; but I believe I have found the true derivation of the name in some Anglo-Saxon charters, the first of which is one of Æthelberht, King of Wessex, dated A.D. 862, whereby he gave and granted to Dryhtwald his minister ten carucates of land in a place called Bromleag, and the boundaries of the grant are thus described:

"Sunt etenim termini p̃dicti agelli circūjacentia. An norðan frā Ceddaneleage to Langanleage,<sup>b</sup> Bromleaginga Meare<sup>c</sup> 7 Liofshema.<sup>d</sup> 8anne fram Langanleage to

<sup>a</sup> Ceddaneleage I take to be Kengley Bridge, at Southend, on the road from Lewisham to Bromley.

<sup>b</sup> Langanleage—Langley in Beckenham.

<sup>c</sup> Bromley Mark.

<sup>d</sup> Lewisham.

ðam Wōnstocce.<sup>a</sup> ðanne fram ðam Wōnstocce, be Modingahema Mearce,<sup>f</sup> to Cinta Stiogole.<sup>g</sup> ðanne fram Cinta Stiogole, be Modingahema Mearce, to Earnes beame.<sup>h</sup> ðanne fram Earnes beame Cregsetna haga<sup>i</sup> an east halfe, secd hit to Liowsandene.<sup>j</sup> ðanne fram Liowsandene to Swelgende.<sup>k</sup> ðanne fram Swelgende, Cregsetna haga to Sioxslihtre.<sup>l</sup> ðanne fram Sioxslihtre to Fearnbiorginga Mearce.<sup>m</sup> Fearnbiorging<sup>n</sup> Mearce, hit secd to Cystanunga Mearce,<sup>n</sup> Cystanunga Mearc, hit secd suðan to Weardsetle,<sup>o</sup> ðanne fram Weardsetle, Cystanunga Meare to Wichæma Mearce. ðanne sio West Mearc,<sup>a</sup> be Wichæma Mearce, ut to Bipplestyde.<sup>r</sup> ðanne fram Bipplestyde to Acustyde,<sup>s</sup> to Biohahema Mearse,<sup>t</sup> fram Acustyde to Ceddanleage . . . . . ðanne belimpoð ðer to ðam londe fif denn<sup>u</sup> au uhvalda Broccesham ðesdennes nama ðes oðres dennes nama' sænget hryg' billan ora is ðes ðriddan nama ðanne hoa denn in gleppan felda."

There are two other Anglo-Saxon charters, being grants of this land of Bromley, the one by Ædgar, King of the English and other people, in 966, to St. Andrew, and Ælfstan prior of the Church of Rochester; and the other by Ældred, in 987, to Aðelsige, his faithful minister; in both of which the boundaries are nearly similarly described as in the charter of Æthelberht which I have

<sup>a</sup> The Wonstock, a fixed post or stulp, possibly at Stumps Hill, between Southend and Beckenham. Mr. Kemble conjectures that this word may have some reference to Wodin.

<sup>f</sup> Mottingham Mark.

<sup>g</sup> Cinta Stiogole, or Kent Style, I take to be Kent Gate, on the boundary of the county between Wickham and Addington.

<sup>h</sup> Earnes beame signifies the Eagles Home or Tree, but Mr. Kemble supposes the Earnes beame to be a tree marked with the figure of an eagle, not a tree in which the eagle built.

<sup>i</sup> The hedge or boundary of the settlers on the Crecca or River Cray.

<sup>j</sup> Perhaps Leaves Green, Bromley Common.

<sup>k</sup> Swelgende. The Swallow or Gulph.

<sup>l</sup> Query, Six Slaughters or Murders.

<sup>m</sup> Farnborough Mark.

<sup>n</sup> Keston Mark, still known by that name.

<sup>o</sup> The Watch Seat or Station, being south from Keston Mark, was most probably the Weard, Ward, or Watch Bank, now called "The War Bank," the situation of which with respect to Keston Mark corresponds with the Charter.

<sup>p</sup> Wickham Mark.

<sup>q</sup> Perhaps Westmore Green.

<sup>r</sup> Bipplestyde is probably Beddlestead in Surrey, on the border of Kent.

<sup>s</sup> I do not know where this place can be; there is a farm called Lustead near Westmore Green.

<sup>t</sup> Biohahema might mean the Bee inclosure or Apiary.

<sup>u</sup> A denne was a certain allotment of woodland in the weald.



quoted; and in all of them Cystaning Mearce is one of the boundaries. This name of Cystaning seem to be composed of cyst, "a chest or coffin," stane, "stone," and ing, "a field." It would thus mean, "The Field of Stone Coffins," a name singularly applicable to a spot where sepulchral remains, including stone coffins of a date anterior to the Anglo-Saxon name of the place, have been found at so recent a period.

The conversion of Cystaning into Keston is elucidated by Domesday Book, in which the place is called "Chestan." The "ch" being pronounced hard gives the modern name of the place.

The word "mearce," so frequently mentioned in the description of the boundary of the above mentioned grant, seems to require some notice: its obvious signification is "a boundary," but it is to be observed that the Anglo-Saxon tribes appear to have had as a boundary between each other a district of waste or unclosed and uncultivated land, as in the Marches of Wales, called "marks," with which some sacred or superstitious ideas were connected. My friend Mr. Akerman has directed my attention to a passage in Kemble's Saxons in England, illustrative of this peculiarity,\* and we may suppose that some superstition

\* It is as follows:—"Let us first take into consideration the Mark in its restricted and proper sense of a boundary. Its most general characteristic is, that it should not be distributed in arable, but remain in heath, forest, fen and pasture. In it the Markmen—called in Germany, Markgenossen, and perhaps by the Anglo-Saxons Mearegeneatas—had commonable rights; but there could be no private estate in it, no lúd or hlot, κλήρος or *haeredium*. Even if under peculiar circumstances any markman obtained a right to essart or clear a portion of the forest, the portion so subjected to the immediate law of property ceased to be mark. It was undoubtedly under the protection of the gods; and it is probable that within its woods were those sacred shades especially consecrated to the habitation and service of the deity.

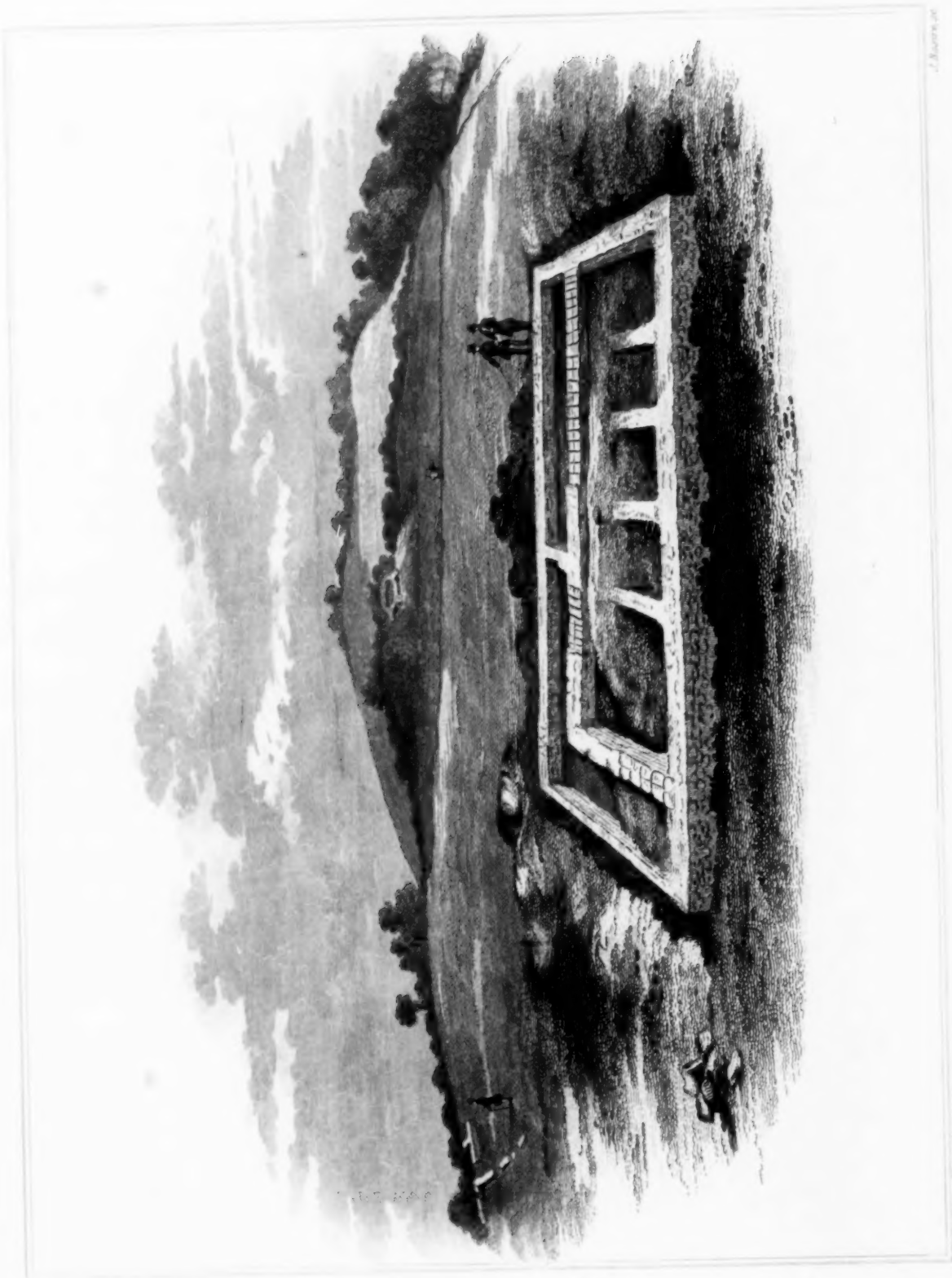
"If the nature of an early Teutonic settlement, which has nothing in common with a city, be duly considered, there will appear an obvious necessity for the existence of a mark, and for its being maintained inviolate. Every community, not sheltered by walls, or the still firmer defences of public law, must have one, to separate it from neighbours, and protect it from rivals: it is like the outer pulp that surrounds and defends the kernel. No matter how small or how large the community—it may be only a village, even a single household, or a whole state—it will still have a mark, a space, or boundary, by which its own rights of jurisdiction are limited, and the encroachments of others are kept off. The more extensive the community which is interested in the mark, the more solemn and sacred the formalities by which it is consecrated and defended; but even the boundary of the private man's estate is under the protection of the gods and of the law. 'Accursed,' in all ages and all legislations, 'is he that removeth his neighbour's landmark. Even the owner of a private estate is not allowed to build or cultivate to the extremity of his own possession, but must leave a space for eaves. Nor is the general rule abrogated by changes in the original compass of the communities; as smaller districts coalesce and become, as it were, compressed into one body, the smaller and original marks may become obliterated and converted merely into commons, but the public mark will have been increased upon the new and extended frontier. Villages tenanted by Heardingas or











REMAINS OF THE ROMAN VILLA FOUND AT KESTON.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 18th April 1855*

*J. B. Forthwell del.*

prevailed in the neighbourhood respecting Keston Mark (which is situate between Holwood Hill and the high road from Bromley to Farnborough, and was until a recent period an open common), from the fact that in the church, the communion table of oak is inlaid with a device formed of different woods, in the form of a cross *bottonée*; underneath which is written "The Keston Mark," and "In hoc signo vinces."

The table is of the seventeenth century, and the device upon it seems to indicate that the clergy of that day sought to divert the thoughts of the people from a superstitious notion about the Keston Mark, to the Christian mark of the Cross.

Mr. Akerman suggests that this cross is a *reproduction of a very early cross* set up on the establishment of Christianity in this part of England, the earliest

Módingas may cease to be separated, but the larger divisions which have grown up by their union—Meanwaras, Mægsetan, or Hwiccas will still have a boundary of their own; these again may be lost in the extending circuit of Wessex or Mercia; till, a yet greater obliteration of the marks having been produced through increasing population, internal conquest, or the ravages of foreign invaders, the great kingdom of England at length arises, having wood and desolate moorland or mountain as its mark against Scots, Cumbrians, and Britons, and the eternal sea itself as a bulwark against Frankish and Frisian pirates.

"But, although the mark is waste, it is yet the property of the community: it belongs to the freemen as a whole, not as a partible possession: it may as little be profaned by the stranger, as the arable land itself which it defends. It is under the safeguard of the public law long after it has ceased to be under the immediate protection of the gods: it is unsafe, full of danger; death lurks in its shades and awaits the incautious or hostile visitant:

all the markland was  
with death surrounded,  
the snares of the foe:

punishments of the most frightful character are denounced against him who violates it; and though, in historical times, these can only be looked upon as comminatory and symbolical, it is very possible that they may be the records of savage sacrifices believed due, and even offered, to the gods of the violated sanctuary. I can well believe that we, too, had once our Diana Taurica. The marks are called accursed; that is, accursed to man, accursed to him that does not respect their sanctity; but they are sacred, for on their maintenance depend the safety of the community, and the service of the deities whom that community honours. And even when the gods have abdicated their ancient power, even to the very last, the terrors of superstition come in aid of the enactments of law; the deep forests and marshes are the abodes of monsters and dragons; wood-spirits bewilder and decoy the wanderer to destruction: the Nicors house at the side of lakes and marshes: Grendel, the man-eater, is a 'mighty stepper over the mark;' the chosen home of the fire-drake is a fen.

"The natural tendency, however, of this state of isolation is to give way; population is an ever-active element of social well-being: and when once the surface of a country has become thickly studded with communities settled between the marks, and daily finding the several clearings grow less and less sufficient for their support, the next step is the destruction of the marks themselves, and the union of the settlers in larger bodies, and under altered circumstances."—Kemble's *Saxons in England*, vol. i. book i. ch. 2.—"The Mark."



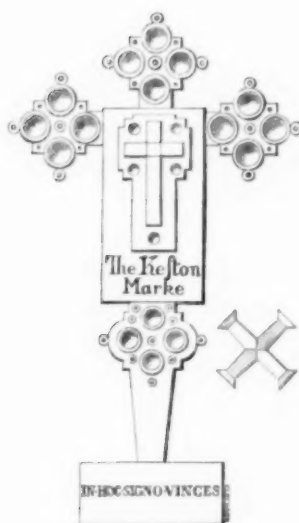
portion of the island converted, and he observes: "This seems the more probable from the circumstance of the Marc containing the cwealm-stow, or place of execution, where criminals were sacrificed, as Kemble shows in the note cited."

I send you a drawing by Mr. Fairholt of the cross on the communion table, in illustration of this remark, and I beg to refer to Mr. Kemble's observations on the Anglo-Saxon mearge in further illustration of the curious details of Æthelberht's grant.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

Your very faithful servant,

GEO. R. CORNER.



XV. *The Graves of the Alemanni at Oberflacht in Suabia.* By W. M. WYLIE,  
Esq. B.A. F.S.A.

Read February 22 and March 1, 1855.

IT is pleasant to refer to the archaeological opinions of the last century in England, when antiquarian alchymy could transpose the ornamental beads of the Saxon tomb into "Druid snake-eggs," and throw a Roman halo round relics it was too impossible to ascribe to the Celts. Nor were matters better in France. Every sepulchral discovery was classed as Gaulish, or Gallo-Roman; and even Montfaucon could assume the ponderous belt-buckle of a Merovingian warrior to belong to female head-gear.<sup>a</sup> At this time, indeed, the Saxon and Frankish periods seem to have been altogether ignored; but archaeology has at length cast off such erring traditions.

Thanks to Douglas<sup>b</sup> and his modern followers, we have arrived at a more correct apprehension of our own national antiquities. Not content with this, our more zealous antiquaries are ever seeking to increase our still scanty stock of information on this all-important subject, by such comparison with the remains of the cognate races of continental Europe as the isolated efforts of individuals may effect. The zealous writings of the Abbé Cochet,<sup>c</sup> and Dr. Rigollot,<sup>d</sup> in France, and of Herr Lindenschmit,<sup>e</sup> in Germany, have rendered infinite service, by setting vividly before us, in detail, their discoveries of the remains respectively of the Salic and the Ripuarian Franks.<sup>f</sup>

I would now, then, solicit the attention of the Society to some remarkable relics

<sup>a</sup> Antiquité Expliquée, tom. v. p. 192, planche 137.

<sup>b</sup> Nenia Britannica.

<sup>c</sup> Normandie Souterraine, 2<sup>e</sup> édition, Paris, 1855.

<sup>d</sup> "Recherches Historiques sur les Peuples de la Race Teutonique," in vol. x. of the Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie.

<sup>e</sup> Das Germanische Todtenlager bei Selzen, Mainz, 1848.

<sup>f</sup> To our learned colleague Mr. Roach Smith we owe a valuable commentary on these works in the second volume of his Collectanea Antiqua.

from a source altogether new to us—the Alemannic. In these vestiges of the inhabitants of a remote valley of the Black Forest, near the sources of the Danube, we may trace the same salient peculiarities which pourtray the habits and customs of the conquerors of Gaul and Britain. It is indeed very probable that the same family assimilation will ever be found to exist in all Teutonic remains assignable to the Heathen period. At this moment, when the fearful struggle for mastery between the rival races of Teuton and Slave seems about to convulse the world, such retrospective inquiry as may recall the primæval kindred ties and brotherhood of Frank, German, and Saxon, may not be altogether useless or uninteresting.

When at Stuttgart, during the past summer, I had an opportunity of examining these Alemannic relics with Captain von Dürrieh, of the Württemberg Engineers, to whom we are indebted for their discovery. This took place at Oberflacht, in Suabia, so far back as 1846, and an account appeared in the yearly memoirs of the Antiquarian Society of Stuttgart. Beyond a passing allusion to the fact in the preface to the English edition of Worsaae's "*Primæval Antiquities*," I believe we have hitherto remained without notice of these exceedingly remarkable Teutonic remains.

Oberflacht is a village about two leagues distant from Tutlingen, a small town on the confines of Württemberg and Baden, not far distant from the sources of the Danube at Donaueschingen. On one side of the Oberflacht valley rises the lofty hill of Lupfen, with a fir wood on its summit; on the opposite side is another hill, termed the Karpfen. When the Alemannic tribe were in possession of the valley, it would seem to have been a sylvan region, abounding with large oaks; but, with the exception of the firs on the Lupfen, the spot is now totally void of forest trees. The valley is all meadow ground, through which the brook Elda<sup>a</sup> winds its way, and, after uniting its waters with the Faulbach, enters the Danube below at Tutlingen.

Just out of Oberflacht is a hillock,<sup>b</sup> marked by a wooden cross, which from time immemorial has borne the name of "*Kreuzbühel*." It was here that a neighbouring brickmaker, searching the ground for clay, made the original discovery

<sup>a</sup> It is quite worthy of attention how frequently the vicinity of water has been selected for the sites of Teutonic burial-places. We notice the fact at Selzen; at Envermeu, Londinières, Douvrend, in France; and in England, at Wilbraham, Fairford, Harnham, and Wingham. Further inquiry would, perhaps, enable us to cite many other spots.

<sup>b</sup> This swelling hillock was once probably very much higher. It seems to resemble that at Linton Heath, opened by the Hon. R. C. Neville, and found to contain so many Saxon interments. (*Journal of Archæol. Institute*, vol. xi. p. 95.)

of these Alemannic remains. No record exists which hints at the application of this spot to sepulchral uses; nor does any such tradition linger among the village peasants, who for ages have buried their dead in the parish cemetery on the side of the opposite hill of Karpfen. The discovery, therefore, took all parties by surprise; but as the brickmaker, after breaking up several interments, desisted from the troublesome task, it seems to have excited little attention, and so remained for some years in abeyance.

In the autumn of 1846, circumstances led Captain von Dürrieh and Dr. Wolfgang Menzel to make a prolonged and scientific examination, which, it will be seen, was conducted in the most satisfactory manner. We owe much to these gentlemen for their records and drawings *in situ*, ever the most valuable. Many of the most remarkable objects were of wood, which, though perfect when discovered, rapidly became disorganised on exposure to the air, and were only saved at all by skilful chemical appliances.

The mode of burial pursued by this tribe of Alemanni is most remarkable. We find no traces of cremation. The right of inhumation was pursued in two ways, both having singular regard to the preservation of the corpse. The more prevailing mode seems to have been, to fell a massive oak, cleave the bole into nearly equal parts, and hollow out the interior to serve for a sarcophagus (Pl. XIII. fig. 6). After the body and the various accompanying relics were placed in this tree-coffin (*todtenbaum*) the two parts were refitted, and firmly pegged together. In the whole of this process no trace of the saw appears. It was managed with the axe or adze alone, and hence it follows that the stems are frequently found unevenly divided. On the outside the bark was merely removed, and the inequalities smoothed off. On the upper part, or lid, of such coffins as contained the corpses of *men*, the crested forms of snakes are rudely carved on the whole length in full relief (Pl. XII.). The heads of these reptiles, which are furnished with teeth, and horns, or ears, project at either end, and serve for handles:

“ — adytis cum lubricus anguis ab imis  
Septem ingens gyros, septena volumina traxit,  
Amplexus placidè tumulum.”<sup>a</sup>

In some cases the stems of pear-trees have been used, and have always been found in a very decayed state. These tree-coffins were mostly found at a depth of from four to five feet. Those of the men were about nine feet long; those of women and children were shorter.

<sup>a</sup> Virgil. *Æneid.* iv. l. 242.

The other description of interment was on a couch or crib (*totten-bettstatt*), the framework of which consisted of four posts, connected by a tastily-carved wooden rail (Pl. XI. fig. 2).

On one occasion, this death-couch was divided horizontally into two stories (Pl. XI. fig. 3); while another, not less than eleven feet and a-half in length, was found to be divided into three compartments.

Another again was furnished with a covering like a gable roof (Pl. XII. fig. 3), on the ridge of which the usual guardian snakes were carved. The bodies lay with the heads to the west, and the variations from this direction were very trifling.

The smaller coffins were found merely lying in the clay, and were generally in a state of decay. Those of a better class, however, were protected from the incumbent soil by a covering of massive oaken planks placed sometimes lengthways, sometimes across the grave. In the latter case the cross beams were occasionally found in two layers; the upper layer being so arranged as to overlap the divisions of the lower. The richer interments again were completely cased, as though in a chest, with massive oak trees. In several graves the roofing was higher at the extremities of the interments than at the middle, apparently for the purpose of more effectually protecting the serpents' heads carved on the coffin lids.

The wood has generally become hard and black like ebony, and is admirably adapted for the purposes of the cabinet maker.

This extraordinary state of preservation of the coffins, as also of the relics of wood they contained, is most probably to be attributed to the tenacious nature of the clay in which they were embedded, and, as it were, hermetically sealed up. The water, too, which had penetrated at the junctions, had deposited a slimy coating of clay, which insinuated itself everywhere. The tannin and gallic acid contained in the green oak stems must also have contributed a powerful antiseptic principle. Such at least was Dr. Buckland's opinion respecting a similar British interment found near Gristhorpe, in Yorkshire, and now preserved in the Scarborough Museum. A careful analysis of the soil and water might perhaps further assist us in explaining the remarkable preservation of objects so naturally liable to decay.

Not to weary the Society, I have endeavoured to be as concise as possible in the foregoing introduction of our subject. The account of the individual graves and their contents will, I am sure, be far more useful and acceptable if given at full in the able words of Dr. Menzel, who was present at their examination. The translation has, therefore, purposely been made as literal as possible:—

“ It must be first remarked that we opened possibly a dozen graves in which no relic was met with, none at least possessing any characteristic value. Such graves



we have not noticed. It will also be borne in mind that all the coffins were of oak, when it is not otherwise expressly mentioned.

"The grave No. 1, under the way-side cross, was opened by Mr. Baader, post-master of Tutlingen, and contained a tree-coffin (*todten-baum*), with the snakes' heads; also an oval-shaped wooden bowl, and an exceedingly well preserved bow, six feet long (Pl. XIII. fig. 5).

"No. 2 was opened by Judge Hartmann, of Spaichingen, and also contained a tree-coffin with snakes' heads. In this lay a male skeleton, which we received entire; a piece of the skull had been cleft out by a powerful blow; it still retained a strongly offensive smell of corruption. On the right of the skeleton lay a stout rusted iron sword, in a wooden scabbard, bound about in the upper part with birch-bast. All the swords we met with afterwards were, like this, two feet and a half long, one inch and a quarter broad, and two-edged; there was also a strong bow, seven feet long, like all those last found, with the remains of arrows, so withered up that we at first took them for bowstrings. Between the leg bones lay a gourd, with its round form still preserved, of four inches diameter, a walnut, and fifteen hazel-nuts. The feet were in handsome leather sandals (Pl. XIII. fig. 4). The leather, like all the rest found in the graves, was very thin and flabby, but manifestly only rendered so by time.

"No. 3 and the rest of the graves were opened by the editors. This grave, with the two next, were opened in the spring of 1846. It contained a very decayed tree-coffin of pear wood. Embedded in leaves and moss within it lay an equally decayed female skeleton. In the middle of it, in the mire, we found a remarkable comb of black horn (Pl. XIII. fig. 1), ornamented with white rings, in a case of the same material similarly ornamented. By it lay an almost entirely oxydised iron buckle, with four purple glass studs at the corners (Pl. XIV. fig. 9). Lastly, a massive bronze ring of two inches in diameter.

"No. 4. Decayed tree-coffin of pear wood. It contained an equally decayed male skeleton, with a dark woollen cloth round the middle. The texture is close, with a lozenge-shaped pattern.

"No. 5. In an inclosure of thick planks was a large death-couch (*todten-bettstatt*), neatly constructed in two stories (Pl. XI. fig. 3). A thick pole lay crossways in the upper chamber from south-east to north-west; at the feet was a handsome wooden bottle (Pl. XIV. figs. 2 and 3). In the lower division was a tolerably decayed but still distinguishable skeleton, with arms and legs crossed, and a white, barked, hazel-rod placed between the legs. On either side of the head were two very remarkable shoes, most beautifully carved in wood. On the hips were found rags of the same dark

cloth as in grave 4. Between the legs, also, was a large wooden bowl, on which a smaller one was still standing, covered with the same cloth. On the left of the dead was the shell of a large gourd, but it had not retained its round form; and in the right hand was a cherry-stone. Crossways, before the feet, was a piece of wood, carved like bamboo.

"No. 6, with all the following graves, was opened by us in the autumn of 1846, and contained in its inclosure of thick boards a tree-coffin with the snakes' heads. On the foot of the coffin stood a deep large wooden bowl, on the which lay a second one, but shallower, which formed the cover. Inside was a bow and three arrows. The arrows in all the coffins were alike—two feet long, thicker above than below. The remains of the cement, with which the feathers had been fastened, was still visible. No metal points were found; only sometimes the small rivets with which the missing points had been fastened. The blunted end, on which the point had been, was on some arrows stained of a cinnabar-red colour.

"No. 7, beneath a double covering of boards, but without the side-walls, contained a tree-coffin, on the upper snake-head of which the horns and fangs were preserved. Outside the tree, on the right of the feet, lay an iron lance-head, thrust through a delicately turned little wooden bowl; near was an earthen jug. Within was a well-preserved male skeleton, which we brought away with us, together with the tree. On its right lay a well-preserved iron sword. On the left were two iron swords still sharp; a horizontal piece of bronze, ornamented with snakes' heads, whereon probably a pouch had hung; bronze tweezers; a stylus of the same metal; a remarkable piece of wood; an iron buckle with inlaid purple glass studs, as in No. 3; two flints; some felt; and a little rag of dark cloth. At the feet was a wooden bowl.

"No. 8 contained a tree-coffin. Outside, at the feet, was a well-preserved wooden bowl. Inside was a broken bowl of pottery; a large wooden bowl, with some remains of a dark thick porridge, and on it a well-preserved wooden bottle; near this was a small wooden bowl. On the right side again were three arrows. The long bow lay athwart the body. In the middle of the coffin, at the very bottom, lay two flat pieces of wood in the form of hands (Pl. XIII. fig. 2), and of natural size, near a handsome pair of bronze tweezers.

"No. 9, a tree-coffin (Pl. XIII. fig. 6). At the foot, on the left, a great earthen jug. On the right was a wooden candlestick, just like those still in use in this place. On the right side was again a bow, and three arrows.

"No. 10, a skeleton in a decayed coffin. The neck was standing straight up, while the head rested between the two feet, with the face turned to the body. The

neck joints were not cut through, but the first was wanting. On the right side a bow was lying, cut into three equally divided pieces. Near this were three arrows and a long rod lying lengthwise on the skeleton. Could this have been the grave of some person who died by the hand of the executioner? and could the bow have been thus cut up as a mark of infamy?

"No. 11, very shattered, but containing at the right of the feet a well-preserved earthen jug with a spout, and blackened on one side, perhaps by its long service at the fire on the hearth. Also the remains of bows and arrows, with cinnabar-red points, and of two wooden bowls. In the very middle of the coffin lay fifty-eight cherry-stones in a heap in the mire.

"No. 12 was deep, and contained the small coffin of a child, almost entirely decayed. We only found in it six staves of a little tub, and the remains of a wooden bowl.

"No. 13 had gone to pieces, and was empty. It only merits mention because flat stones lay over it instead of wooden beams.

"No. 14 had a boarded roofing, forming, as usual, a long quadrangle, with the corners unusually rounded off. Beneath it lay a smoothed and perfectly round tree-coffin, without the snakes' heads, which contained female remains covered with water, in which seven pears were swimming about. These were brown and shrivelled, but the rind, the insides, and stems, of an inch to one and a half in length, were very distinguishable. By the remains were a tattered rag, as in No. 4, and of lighter and browner texture; a cloth like that of No. 7; and a fine bordered riband, two inches long, that we at first took for linen, but afterwards found to be silk. It is strongly woven, and of brown colour. Also two little wooden instruments, which doubtless appertained to female occupations.

"No. 15, very decomposed, but in it was a well-preserved bow, an arrow, and a rusted knife, with a small whetstone much used. A little key was found in the ground outside, quite close to the coffin.

"No. 16, a little child's couch, resting on pillars. Within, on the right, was a little black earthen vessel, and the remains of a large wooden bowl. Crossways, over the feet, was a wooden stool. About the middle of the body was a bronze finger ring, and a stone spindle-twirl. On the neck were seven large glass beads. Near the body, on the left, lay a large, sceptre-formed, piece of wood.

"No. 17 contained a couch. In it were a singular pair of leather gloves, strongly laced on the back of the hand, and lined in the inside with a soft cloth, almost perished. On the right was a little vessel, neatly turned out of a single piece of oak. At the feet were two large and one small wooden bowls.

"No 18, entirely in decay. It contained a large knife, with a bronze handle, unfortunately almost entirely perished; the rich ornamentation upon it was scarcely recognisable.

"No 19, a decayed tree-coffin. Within, at the feet, was a large black earthen jug, set on a broad wooden platter, in the which some thick brown porridge yet remained. A thick bed of well-preserved moss, which we brought away with us, filled up the whole coffin. Upon it was lying a female body; the red hair was still in good preservation; but, on exposure to the air, it turned brown. A hair-pin was still fastened in it, and close by were the remains of a little leathern hood, and a kind of slag-ashes. Round the neck were twenty small variegated glass beads. By these was also a lot of pears, with long stems.

"No. 20, decayed. A single yellow glass bead was where the neck had been; on the feet two leathern sandals; and a wooden bowl.

"No. 21, quite perished. It only contained a broken wooden bowl of the bellying-out pitcher form.

"No. 22, quite perished, and full of a sticky, almost dry clay, out of which we extracted twenty-nine glass beads, fourteen of amber, and a peach stone furnished with a shank. This last lay with the glass beads, and belonged to the necklace.

"No. 23, quite perished. It only contained two grooved pieces of wood, with a button and a hazel-nut.

"No. 24. Tree-coffin, with snakes' heads. Outside, on the right of the feet, was a wooden candlestick (Pl. XIII. fig. 3); inside, at the feet, was a decayed wooden bottle, and a small wooden bowl within a large one, with a buckle, and a wand seven feet long.

"No. 25 was quite perished. Out of the thick clay we extracted twenty-three glass beads, five of amber, and an oval one of amethyst.

"No. 26, perished; with the coffin, probably, of a boy. At the feet, a very neat earthenware bowl, black, with ornamentation in silver or lead glaze; a well-preserved tub; the remains of a wooden platter; and a solitary cherry-stone in the middle of the coffin.

"No. 27, very perished. At the feet, on the left, was a set of weaving implements in perfect preservation. Between two thin boards, of an oval and somewhat pointed form, one foot five and a half inches long, were eight very thin boards, two spindles or knitting-pins, and a very pretty reed, which closely corresponds to the measure of a Würtemberg foot. The very perished skeleton of a female lay embedded in straw, tolerably well preserved; near it was a handsome wooden bowl.



"No. 28. A tree-coffin, with snakes' heads, within a well-constructed railed inclosure (Pl. XII. figs. 1 and 2). Outside, on the right, was a handsome iron lance-head, fastened to the shaft with gilt nails, which was bound round with a thin leather strap spiral-wise. On the left were the remains of an oval wooden shield, covered with some white material, and this again with leather, two feet and a half long, and one foot and a half broad. Below the tree lay two long thin hazel rods, probably of a mystic import, for they would have been too weak for staves. Inside was a decomposed male skeleton of unusual size, (a still preserved thigh-bone measures nineteen inches,) also a little black hair, an iron sword, which this time exceptionally lay on the left side, high up towards the head, in a wooden scabbard covered with leather, and bound round with birch-bast. Also a thick bronze buckle, and a small one, a wooden bottle, a single cherry-stone, and several pear-pips. At the feet was a handsome black jug, with fifty-five hazel nuts.

"No. 29 contained a coffin with snakes' heads, in which, contrary to the usual rule, there lay, not a man's, but a woman's skeleton. This skeleton we brought away with us; with the exception of the upper jaw, it is in a good state of preservation. Round the neck were twenty-one beads of glass, and nineteen of amber; also two bronze fibulæ, ornamented with purple glass (Pl. XIV. figs. 5 and 8), to hold the dress together, and a bronze ring; also two more wooden implements of work like those mentioned in No. 14; near them was a wooden spindle-twirl. At the feet was a handsome wooden dish. In this interment, too, were found three well-preserved walnuts, and a plum-stone.

"No. 30. A very wide couch, unfortunately almost entirely perished. We got out of the soft clay a superb fibula (Pl. XIV. figs. 4 and 7). The plate of thin gilding, laid on a strong cement, is covered with filigree ornament. The central cross-formed relieve ornamentation, in red glass, bears three very small glass studs at each of its four corners. The other side is plated, and has some marks scratched on it, the meaning of which is not distinguishable. Here, also, was further found a small bronze buckle, and two large beads.

"No. 31, the largest grave we have met with. At the depth of seven feet it contained a couch eleven feet and a half long, and three and a half broad. Its length was divided into three chambers; in the first chamber, seven feet long, was a male skeleton, probably of a youth, from the disproportioned stature. The head was bent to the right and reclined on a handsome iron sword, the double-guard and pommel of which still remained, and on a kind of stringed instrument of wood; both of these were lying on the right arm. About the middle of the body



was found a very wide belt-buckle with two broad gilt studs, and a large pointed knife in a superb sheath. The knife is eleven inches long, and single-edged; it has a broad back, and is slightly curved underneath. The sheath is double the width of the knife; the wooden or leather frame with which it must have been furnished was gone, but its form was to be made out from the three gilt bands, and the gilt and richly ornamented scabbard point, which clearly is of some amalgam like pinchbeck. In this division of the tomb there was also found a small knife, and a hundred and seventy-two hazel nuts. In the second chamber lay a well preserved iron horse-bit, with rosettes also of iron; the very richly-designed ornamentations of these are inlaid with fine silver wire. With these was also a number of clasps and buckles of perished straps, all of very skilful workmanship, either embossed, or of iron inlaid with silver wire. The third chamber had two subdivisions; in the left were the remains of a wooden saddle, and a horse breast-belt of bronze with escutcheons. On the right was a wooden candlestick, with two flint-stones; a large wooden bowl with four circles round it; a mystic wooden shoe, not like the ornamented ones in No. 5, but simply a form cut and well modelled to the shape of the foot; also a wooden slab with devices carved upon it. Close by, outside the chamber, on the right, was an iron lance-head, much oxydised.

"No. 32, much perished. It contained a necklace of fifty-five handsome glass beads, the half of a hollow bronze ring, the remains of a bronze border, some fragments of leather, and some hazel nuts.

"No. 33, much decayed. It contained a finger-ring, and a small bronze buckle, a mysterious little dark grey stone, and a stud.

"No. 34, very shattered. Within was a sword entirely oxydised, but on which the very remarkable wooden scabbard still adhered. At the right side a bow with three arrows; in the middle a large iron buckle; and at the feet a well preserved pail, with a wooden jug, turned in the most skilful manner, and an elegant wooden bowl. In the last was a dark mass of spoon-meat, and by it two curious transparent skins, one round as a bladder, the other long-shaped, giving the idea of a sausage.

"No. 35, much perished. It contained a wooden cup, and five flints.

"No. 36 only had a bronze buckle, with two flints.

"No. 37 only contained some pieces of leather, and a singular piece of wood, a foot long.

"No. 38, also sadly perished. Above appeared a straight comb with two rows of teeth. By it was some black hair, and fragments of cloth, as in No. 7. A sort

of spindle twirl-stone seemed to betoken a woman's corpse, but we must take it to be the pommel of a sword,\* as we found the sword by it. A long rod in the coffin also pointed out a male interment. The comb also belonged to a man's head-dress. Outside also was a knife, and a bronze stud. Between the feet was a large wooden bowl, with spoon-meat, and remains of bones; also a small wooden bowl. At the feet, on the right, was an earthen pot, wherein also were remains of spoon-meat, and bones.

"No. 39, very perished. It contained a long hazel wand, some tattered leather sandals, a bronze buckle, a flint stone, a hazel nut, and some straw.

"No. 40 disclosed itself in the form of a death-couch, with a regular gable roof (Pl. XII. fig. 3), on the top of which lay the two snakes. The inside, unfortunately, was much destroyed. Besides thirty hazel nuts, we found several interesting objects at the feet of the dead, a very thin round piece of brass, a long plate with a small escutcheon, a tall thin glass (Pl. XIV. fig. 1), with white ornamentation burnt in, unfortunately broken; a small but still elastic strap of leather, a wooden platter, a broken wooden bottle, two wooden shoes, and some hog's bristles. On the coffin were some pieces of resin. In the surrounding earth was also a rusted knife."—*Jahreshefte des Württembergischen Alterthums Vereins*, iii.

After hearing Dr. Menzel's interesting and minute account of the result of the Oberflacht excavations, we can have but little doubt as to the general Teutonic character of these graves. With the remains of the Celts there is manifestly nothing in common, while they differ from those purely Scandinavian, or the more hybridised memorials of Livonia, Courland, or Esthonia. On the other hand, they strongly assimilate with the remains found throughout Rhenish Germany, Belgium, and France, which we distinguish by the term of Frankish. Assuming these graves then to be Teutonic, to which branch of this large family may they correctly be assigned? Dr. Menzel, apparently with great reason, considers them Alemannic. On the *Völkerwanderung*, or general migration of the German nations, which overthrew the Roman power, this country became peopled by the Alemanni. This name probably represents the union of many tribes, like the Frankish and Saxon confederations. Dr. Menzel further considers these Alemanni to have been the direct progenitors of the present inhabitants. This again appears probable enough from the following inferential evidence deduced from archaeology. In the Lupfen neighbourhood, the coffins of common use still bear the old appellation of *todten-bäume*—literally, "trees of the dead." It is even now not unfrequently the custom to inter the dead in their usual attire, and, till very lately,

\* It was probably one of the amuletic beads we find in Anglo-Saxon graves under similar circumstances.

with many a favourite object of their household stuff. So long will old heathen observances linger on in a rustic district! Lastly, the inhabitants of the Black Forest itself still greatly affect the use of wooden bowls and platters, and maintain their reputation as expert carvers and turners in wood.

When coins and inscriptions are altogether wanting, it is always difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at the date of such sepulchral remains. The unusual absence, however, of Roman pottery, or other relics, the well finished sword-blades, and the frequent occurrence of this weapon, the richness of the *damasquinure* work, the peculiar style of the fibulæ, perhaps, also, the fashion of the wooden utensils, especially of the bottles, all seem to concur in leading us to assign the late Carolingian period as the probable date of these graves. Such an opinion is at least fortified by the experienced authority of Herr Lindenschmit. Further evidence to this effect also exists in the very deteriorated state of the composition of the bronze, which is always found to be the result of a late debased period of the arts. Professor Fehling, of Stutgard, who analysed the Oberflacht bronze, gives a result of—

87·68 Copper.  
6·94 Tin.  
1·15 Lead.  
4·13 Zinc, mixed with a little Iron.

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99·90

The same deterioration in the bronze of the late Merovingian period is shown by the skilful analysis of Professor Girardin, of Rouen.\* A mirror of the rich bronze period, from the Gallo-Roman cemetery of Cany, gives a very different result:

Copper, 78·5.  
Tin, 21·5.

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100·0\*

It is, however, but right to state that Dr. Grimm is disposed to assign a far earlier date to these remains, to which he twice alludes in his *Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache*.<sup>b</sup>

The great novelty we meet with, in these singularly preserved witnesses of the domestic requirements of a thousand years ago, undoubtedly consists in the many

\* Analyses de plusieurs produits d'art d'une haute Antiquité. 2<sup>e</sup> Mémoire, par J. Girardin, Professeur de Chimie, de la Ville de Rouen.

<sup>b</sup> Pages 5 and 499.

articles of wood which we thus see formed so essential a part of a Teutonic ménage.\* One is almost led to think that, but for "decay's effacing fingers," we should frequently meet with such wooden vessels in other graves of cognate nations; but never before have remains, so singularly preserved, been submitted to our examination.

With regard to the facts before us of interments in the hollowed-out stems of trees, it is not improbable that this custom was tolerably general among the Teuton tribes of the continent at a very early period, especially in the wooded districts. Some little inquiry into this part of our subject may not be without interest. Among the Anglo-Saxons, indeed, such tribes as practised the rite of inhumation seem, for the most part, to have committed their dead to the earth in the very simplest form, unprotected by coffin, or aught that could delay the work of decay. The sole example of a *todten-baum* in our own country, therefore, is that of Gristhorpe, in Yorkshire, and this belongs to the Celtic period. But it was not so with the Franks. Round Merovingian graves a black residuum will often be noticed, as I have myself witnessed, which might easily be taken for charcoal, but which has been shown by chemical analysis<sup>b</sup> to be formed by decomposition of wood. This residuum is very solid, and, as nails do not appear to be met with, it is most probable that these old Frankish *noffi*, *naufi*, or *sarcophagi*,<sup>c</sup> were in fact formed from solid trunks of trees. In a Merovingian cemetery, discovered just outside the gates of Metz, M. Victor Simon found the marble column of some Roman edifice, which had been sawn asunder and hollowed out to receive the remains of a Frankish chieftain, in lieu, perchance, of the more perishable *todten-baum*. Herr Lindenschmit also has met with the same circumstance at Mayence. The opinion too finds further confirmation in a remarkable passage in Gregory of Tours,<sup>d</sup> relating the cruelty of Rauchingus, a Merovingian noble, who caused two of his slaves to be interred alive for marrying without his consent. It is stated that a tree was cut down for the purpose; the bole was cleft with wedges, and hollowed out to receive the offending lovers. The words "*ibique puellam ut mortuam componens*" is very significative of the accustomed funeral employment of such a *noffus*. This was about the middle of the sixth century, and the

<sup>a</sup> "Die, wegen ihres wohlerhaltenen Holzwerkes, so merkwürdigen Gräber von Oberflacht." Lindenschmit, Germ. Todtenlager.

<sup>b</sup> Cochet's Normandie Souterraine, p. 227.

<sup>c</sup> Leg. Salic. Tit. xvii.—"In noffo, aut in petra, quæ vasa ex usu sarcophagi dicuntur."

<sup>d</sup> Hist. l. v. c. iii. M. Victor Simon is strongly of opinion that this mode of burial was common among the Franks at a very early period, in confirmation of which he pointed out to me this passage in Gregory of Tours.



Christian priest had the coffin exhumed, but too late to save the woman.<sup>a</sup> The word *naufus*, or *noffus*, with its many readings and corruptions,<sup>b</sup> which in its primary sense represents tree-burial, appears to be derived from a very ancient Frankish word, *nau*, meaning a small boat.<sup>c</sup>

In the old Gothic the word *naus* means a corpse. The Sanscrit, again, has the word *nau*, so used in its uninflected form in composition, but which, when inflected, becomes in the nominative before certain letters, *nau-h*, or *nau-s*, sometimes *nau-r*, and means a *boat* or *ship*. This ancient derivation of *naufus*, and its close correspondence with what we learn of the old Scandinavian sepulchral rites, is very striking.

This derivation stands remarkably in relation with the mysterious fancies of Teuton heathenism, as to the wanderings of the soul after death, and its passage over the dark waters which encircled the land of spirits.<sup>d</sup> The Scandinavian rovers too seem to have frequently been buried in their vessels,<sup>e</sup> and in the old poem of Beowulf, indeed, we find a hero's corpse placed with all honours in his ship, and so abandoned to the will of the winds and the waves. So too, in the Vilkina Saga, Wieland hollows out the stem of a tree, in which he incloses himself and his mystic treasures, and is floated over the sea to another land.

Going still further north, we learn from Scheffer<sup>f</sup> that the Laplanders thus buried their dead in the trunks of trees, or, these failing, *in their sledges*. Such interments too were similarly fenced in with wooden planks, the better to protect the body from the assaults of beasts of prey and from decay. Scheffer's account

<sup>a</sup> In a letter of Maurice, Archbishop of Rouen, in 1238 (D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, tom. 11, p. 522), we may observe a reminiscence of the old custom. His words are, "Sepeliri vel in terra, vel super terram, in plastro, vel in *trunco*, vel alioquinque modo." *Truncus*, taken here for any wooden coffin, undoubtedly had its origin in the old mode of tree-burial.

<sup>b</sup> Ducange, *Gloss. Pithœi*.—*Naufa*, *Sarcophago ligneo*, quibusdam quod *navis* formam referat, quæ Francis nostris olim *nau* dicta.

<sup>c</sup> *Nau*, biere, cercueil. C'est ainsi que nos anciens appellaient un bateau. Ménage, *Dict. Etymologique*.

Mr. Akerman has directed my attention to a parallel instance in our own language. He observes that in the south and west of England a *trough* is called a *trow* = A. S. *treop* (a *tree*) from which a trough was made by cutting the trunk in halves and hollowing them out. Such were the canoes of the primitive inhabitants of these islands, of which more than one example is known. There is one in the British Museum—and the long, attenuated barges on our canals are still called *Trows*.

<sup>d</sup> *Deutsche Myth.* p. 790, *Überfahrt*. Compare Dante, *Purgatorio*, Canto ii. l. 16.

<sup>e</sup> *Gisla Surssonar Saga*. The custom of boat-burial is said to still exist among the Greenlanders.

<sup>f</sup> *Lapponia*, c. xxvii. p. 314, ed. Franc. M.DC.LXXIII. Compare also account of the barrow of Thyre Danebrod, in Jutland, with its sepulchral chamber of wood. Worsaae's *Primeval Antiquities*, p. 163: also, see *Gretla Saga*.



indeed wonderfully coincides with these discoveries at Oberflacht, and the sledge mode of burial stands especially in remarkable apposition with that in the couches (*totten-bettstatt*). Guichard, an old French writer of the sixteenth century, gives also a strikingly similar description of the mode of interment among the Circassians.<sup>a</sup>

The serpent forms sculptured on the coffin lids would alone suffice to convince us of the Heathen-Teutonic character of these graves, even if all further evidence were wanting. In the old legends and superstitions of Germany and Scandinavia, the serpent or dragon is a very favourite myth, and passes for the guardian of hidden treasures.<sup>b</sup> Such an interpretation would not be out of place in the present instance, but there may be yet a deeper and more mystic symbolism.

The serpent was sacred to Odin, and Scandinavian mythology has assigned the names of Ofnir and Sfenir<sup>c</sup> to the two serpents of this god, who guard the nether world. In this, perhaps, we have a clue to the serpent-ornamentation of the Bauta and Runic stones;<sup>d</sup> of the old Scandinavian ships; and of articles of dress.

Again, the serpent was known to the German nations as the emblem of the soul; that is, of life, health, and immortality. In this light indeed it was of old sacred to Æsculapius among the Greeks and Romans.<sup>e</sup> Under the image of a golden serpent the Lombards,<sup>f</sup> who came from the north of Germany, appear to have worshipped Odin himself. The Lithuanians too seem to have worshipped the serpent.<sup>g</sup> In fact, it would appear that the tribes of Northern Germany and Slavonia generally regarded the serpent with feelings of superstitious reverence

<sup>a</sup> Ils vous prennent un gros arbre, et du tronc le plus gros et massif; ils en taillent une piece capable pour la longueur, puis la fendent en deux, creusans tant que le corps y puisse entrer à l'aise avec une partie des dons que les parens et autres luy auront fait: et, ayant mis le corps dedans le creux de bois, le posent au lieu ordonné pour la sepulture, où se trouve grande multitude de gents, qui luy dressent la tombe, à scavoir un grand môceau de terre côme un haut tetre." *Funerailles, et diverses manieres d'ensevelir*, descrites par Charles Guichard, Lyon, 1515. LXXXI. Livre iii. pp. 408-9.

<sup>b</sup> Saxo Gram. lib. ii. and vi. *Beowulf*, passim.

"Pinge duos angues, pueri, sacer est locus."

Persii sat. i. ver. 113.

From this line of Persius we gather that it was the custom at Rome to paint two snakes on any wall it was wished to preserve from defilement, just as the modern Romans paint a cross with the same intent, and, probably, the same success.

<sup>c</sup> W. Müller's *Geschichte und System der altdeutschen Religion*, Göttingen, 1844, p. 206.

<sup>d</sup> Keysler, *Ant.* Sept. 136-8.

<sup>e</sup> Macrobius, *Saturnal.* lib. i. c. 20.

<sup>f</sup> "Langobardi qui viperam auream et quasdam arbores adorabant." *Cronica di Milano*, in vol. xvi of *Rer. Ital. Scriptores of Muratori*; also see *Vita di S. Barbato*, in *Acta Sanct.* 19 Febr. p. 139.

<sup>g</sup> "Dracones adorant cum volucibus." *Adam. Bremen.* lib. iv. 17.

and awe, which in heathen minds would readily induce actual worship (*schlangendienst*). On this subject Dr. Grimm, in a reply with which he has favoured me to inquiries on this subject, observes, "It would be desirable to collect all the notices of the serpent forms (*schlangenbildungen*) of antiquity, for the purpose of establishing inductions."

In strong relation too with these sculptured guardians of the Oberflacht tombs stands the serpent Caduceus of Mercury :

"Hæc animas ille evocat Orco  
Pallentes, alios sub tristia Tartara mittit."<sup>a</sup>

But the serpent-myth of Greeks, Romans, and Scandinavians, was possibly derived from one primeval Eastern source.<sup>b</sup>

In a review of the contents of the interments, the arms, perhaps, first claim our attention, and it will be seen that these differ very considerably from the weapons we are accustomed to meet with. Of the lance, above all others the Teuton weapon, we find but three examples here, while the sword, elsewhere usually so rare, occurs no less than six times in not more than twenty-five graves, which may be assigned to males of every degree.<sup>c</sup> The wooden scabbards, bound about with birch-bast, remind us of those of Selzen. One of the lances presents the peculiarity of a quadrilateral haft, such as we occasionally see in examples of the Angon. This lance was pointing upwards, by the head of the skeleton, as we find in Anglo-Saxon graves. (Pl. XII. fig. 1). The solitary shield enumerated is not furnished with a boss, but is merely a plain wooden targe of oval form, covered with leather. It will be remarked that the wood used in its construction is linden, which coincides with a passage in *Beowulf*,<sup>d</sup> and leads us to suppose this was the favourite material of the shield-wright. No spicula present themselves, and the

<sup>a</sup> *Æneid*. l. iv. 242.    <sup>b</sup> The serpent indeed was formerly an object of worship in some parts of India.

Dr. Menzel's remarks on some of the German superstitions in connection with our subject are very interesting. "A white crowned snake, dwelling beneath a hazel-bush, plays its part in German superstition under the name of the hazel-worm. But it elsewhere appears under the same tree in human form clothed with white, like a beneficent fairy which favours the sleeper beneath the hazel-tree with prophetic dreams, &c. Compare Prætorius's *Glückstopf*, 21; Bechstein's *Thüringischer Sagenschatz*, ii. 108; Gödsche's *Schlesischer Sagenschatz*, 103. The pagan fairy beneath the hazel-bough was changed in the popular tradition of the later period into the Christian Madonna. Compare *Curiositäten*, vi. 41; Gumpenberg's *Marianischer Atlas*, i. 47. The numerous hazel staves, and hazel nuts, are possibly in relation with this serpent symbol." *Jahreshefte des Württembergischen Alt. Vereins*. iii.

The hazel staves had some mystic import. In the *Egil Saga* we find the judges at a solemn trial fenced in from the crowd by a circle of hazel rods, or staves.

<sup>c</sup> The hilt of the sword from grave 31 resembles in its construction that found in Kent, figured in *Akerman's Pagan Saxondom*, Pl. xxiv.

<sup>d</sup> See also the *Rigsmål-Saga*.

absence of the francisca, and the scramasax would at once certify these are not the graves of Franks. On the other hand, in the bows of yew we have a weapon of this early period quite new to us. Probably this is the first time bows have been exhumed from a Teuton grave. Of these there are no less than eight examples. The most perfect strongly resemble the English long bow, and are so well preserved as to appear fit for use, though the force of the internal wood-fibre, no doubt, has perished. Dwellers in deep forests, as this tribe were, the bow must have been an important weapon of the chase. It would not be easy to recognise the arrows in their present withered state. When first discovered they bore a different appearance. The place of the feathers, which Captain von Dürrieh pointed out, would have been plainer, and the red stains on the points brighter. We all know how rapidly objects long buried in the earth lose their colour and consistency of form on exposure to the external air. How we are to interpret the circumstance of the arrows being deposited headless in the tomb, or account for the ruddy stains upon them, archæologists will, perhaps, be able to determine. Captain von Dürrieh is disposed to consider the latter circumstance caused by the arrow points having been dipped in some poisonous mixture. Ovid, indeed, alludes to such a cruel custom among the savage Sarmatians<sup>a</sup> of the Euxine, though we might have doubted its existence among a German tribe of the ninth century. Yet we find an old law of the Bavarians<sup>b</sup> imposes a fine on wounding with poisoned arrows. There is also an old Salic law<sup>c</sup> to the same effect. The same detrimental effects of atmosphere are also visible in the curious relic from grave 31, which Doctor Menzel conceives to be the frame-work of a musical instrument. Probably it was a kind of rebee, or perhaps a rude guitar or lute.

Others of the wooden vessels again are in admirable preservation, and afford evidence of the skilful application of the turner's art at this early period. Several of the articles, especially a long-shaped keg, such as agricultural labourers carry, are turned out of a solid block of wood. The number of these domestic vessels for various uses sufficiently disproves the idea of their being placed in the graves as articles of value. The manufacture of such wares must have been very common, for of the mere household vessels, as bowls, platters, &c. we count at least thirty,

<sup>a</sup> *Aspicias et mitti sub adunco toxica ferro,  
Et telum causas mortis habere duas.*

*Ovid. ex Ponto, l. iv. ep. 7, v. 7.*

<sup>b</sup> *Siquis cum toxicata sagitta alicui sanguinem fuderit, cum xii. solid. componat.—Tit. xxi. Leg. Baiorum.*

<sup>c</sup> *Tit. xx. 2.*

besides broken ones. The scanty chronicles of those gloomy ages are little likely to furnish details of wooden cups and platters, yet a passage in Gregory of Tours <sup>a</sup> points to their use by the Franks. Among the presents sent into Spain by Queen Brunichilde, we find enumerated two wooden pateræ—"quas vulgo Bacchinon vocant"—inlaid with gems and golden ornamentation. The marginal note explains *Bacchinon* to be the German *Becken*, or French *Bassin*. This was in the latter part of the sixth century.

The wooden candlesticks are also well preserved, and render us aware of another curious fact in Heathen interments. The flints deposited by the candlestick in grave 31 point out its intended use. The early councils, <sup>b</sup> and late capitularies, <sup>c</sup> afford sufficient evidence of the idolatrous use of candles and torches at spots which Heathenism had consecrated, as at certain trees, rocks, fountains, and the cross roads. It is not improbable, therefore, that lighted candles may have been placed in these tombs after the manner of the lamps of the Romans.

In Teuton belief, the warrior rode his steed to Valhalla; <sup>d</sup> hence in their graves the remains of horses are found.

"Quorundam igni et equus adjicitur," observes Tacitus <sup>e</sup> of old. In the present case decay has probably removed such remains, which we may suppose were once placed here, since we find the fragments of a saddle, with a bit, and the richly-worked bronze and *damasquinure* ornamentations of horse trappings, in grave 31. The remains of horses, however, occur sufficiently rarely to lead us to suppose that they were only sacrificed on the decease of some noble, whose renown or wealth procured this mark of distinction. The grave in question, indeed, would appear,

<sup>a</sup> Greg. Turon. Hist. l. ix. c. 28.

<sup>b</sup> Concil. Arelatense II. A.D. 452.

<sup>c</sup> Baluze, Capit. L. vii. 316.

<sup>d</sup> Worsaae's Primeval Antiquities, p. 100—"König Ring liess den König Harold in einem grossen hügel beisetzen, das pferd tödten, auf dem er in Brävaschlacht geritten hatte, und den *sattel* mit begraben, dass er nach Walhalla reiten könne."—Grimm, D. Myth, p. 796.

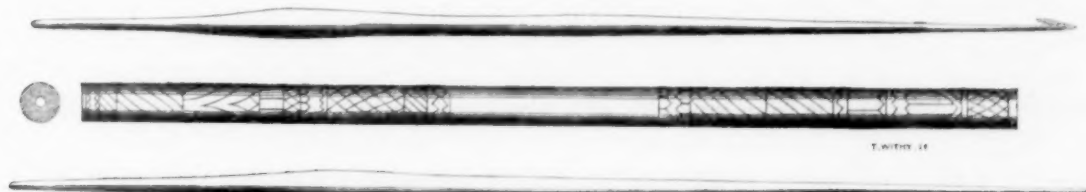
<sup>e</sup> De Mor. Germ. 27. This fact is remarkably exemplified in the interments of a Teutonic tribe which settled themselves on what is now the Würtemberg shore of the Lake of Constance. Their large tumuli are found to contain skeletons, buried in the plain earth after the manner of the Anglo-Saxons; long and broad iron swords, spear heads, iron finger-rings, umbones of shields in unusual number, spurs occasionally, and ordinarily bridle ornaments, with other parts of horse-trappings in bronze.

Compare also Marco Polo's account of Tartar usages, p. 127 (Bohn's edit.); Tooke's account of ancient Tartar burial-places, Archæologia, vol. vii. p. 224; Cochet's Normandie Souterraine, p. 375. For instances of the custom in England, see Journal of Arch. Inst. vol. vii. p. 36: and Archæologia, vol. xxxiii. p. 334. Lindenschmit's valuable work furnishes many instances of the occurrence of remains of horses, or their trappings, during sepulchral researches in Germany.—Germ. Todtenlager, p. 28.



from the whole of the equipments to have been that of a chieftain of the tribe.<sup>a</sup> The musical instrument tells us of the milder taste of this young warrior, who, perhaps, like another Sintram, could sound his lute in these wild scenes to softer themes than war and bloodshed. It is an early record of knighthood and minstrelsy.

For the first time in the annals of archaeology have we had the early implements of the important operations of spinning and weaving presented to our inspection; yet such, as we have just heard, does Dr. Menzel conceive the remains from grave 27 and others to be. The weaving apparatus would seem to be about  $16\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length (Württemberg measure). The distaff does not appear, but the so-designated spindle-pins are about twelve and thirteen inches long (E. m.)



SPINDLES, OR KNITTING PINS, AND CARVED REED, FROM GRAVE 29.

There are also the perforated rounds of stone which were probably affixed to the ends of the spindles, to cause them to revolve more rapidly by their weight, obedient to the twirl of the industrious housewife.<sup>b</sup>

This manual operation, so indispensable in early times, furnished the jurisprudence of Germany and England with a term to distinguish the female line, *fusus*; and a memento of its former importance still remains in the appellation of *spinster*. Alfred, in his will,<sup>c</sup> speaks of his male and female descendants by the

<sup>a</sup> "Horses ornamented on the cheek . . . on one of which stood a saddle variegated with work, and rich with treasure: that was the war-seat of a lofty king."—Kemble's *Beowulf*, l. 2066.

<sup>b</sup> "And turn the adamantine spindle round."

Milton's *Arcades*.

— teretem versabat pollice fusum.

Ovid. *Met.* vi. 22.

<sup>c</sup> *Codex Diplom. Ævi Saxon.* vol. ii. p. 116.

"Hæreditas ad fusum a lancea transeat."

In *lege Angliorum et Werinorum.* Tit. vi. 8.



terms of the spear-side and spindle-side, with which the *gladius* and *fuscus* of the Germans<sup>a</sup> are in remarkable apposition.

We notice here the bronze tweezers and the combs so generally found in all graves of the class, and which give us the idea of great personal cleanliness as among the virtues of these people. The peculiarity in the comb from grave 3 consists in its ornamental case. Among the articles of dress are some iron buckles, probably once plated, set with coloured glass, which resemble those found in the Frankish cemetery of Envermeu by the Abbé Cochet. The most beautiful of the fibulae is that from grave 30, gilt on the face, and silvered on the back, which exhibits a greatly advanced state of art and taste in its workmanship. The raised twisted thread, winding among the red glass ornamentations, possesses no inconsiderable degree of elegance. To the figure of the cross upon it we can attach no importance. It may have been adopted as a mere ornamental device, as often seems to have been done elsewhere; or the fibula may originally have been in Christian hands. These graves of Oberflacht are unmistakeably of the Heathen period. The buckle from grave 35, of a somewhat unusual form, closely resembles one found at Sittingbourne, Kent.<sup>b</sup>

Another ornamental appendage from Oberflacht is the suspensory bronze rod of the purse or pouch worn at the girdle. The re-curved ends are fashioned in the forms of birds' or serpents' heads. This object varies little from those worn at a far later period. The buckle, by which it was once attached to the girdle, is still fixed on it.

The use of beads, inlaid with various coloured substances, for the purpose of ornament, seems to have been common to all the Northern nations. Among these found at Oberflacht are some plain red ones of remarkable brilliancy of colour, and in such perfect preservation, that it would be desirable to ascertain by chemical analysis what so enduring element has been employed in their construction. I have observed these beads in other Alemannic graves, but in no others. The beautiful crystal bead, spirally striated, may possibly be a reminiscence of Roman times. The inlaid ornamentation of beads is often so pleasing and artistic, both in colour and design,<sup>c</sup> that it is manifest the Teuton ladies exercised the taste natural to their sex in the selection of such embellishments of their toilettes. Hence it may be inferred that the rude unseemly pieces of pierced amber found here, as in all such graves, were worn, not as decorations of the person, but in a

<sup>a</sup> Speculum Saxonicum, lib. iii. art. 15, sec. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Collectanea Antiqua, vol. i. pl. xxxvi. fig. 6.

<sup>c</sup> Pagan Saxondom, pl. xii. and xxi. Saxon Obsequies, pl. xviii. to xxi.

superstitious faith in some in-dwelling amuletic virtue.<sup>a</sup> We have no positive information on this point; but, among the many remains of heathen superstitions enumerated by Saint Eloy early in the seventh century, is the use of amber necklaces by the women. It must be remarked too that Saint Eloy, in his celebrated homily, not merely forbids this practice, but classes it with the invocation of Minerva and other heathen deities (*infaustas personas*) during the operations of weaving, &c.<sup>b</sup> We shall therefore perhaps not greatly err in supposing these strings of amber beads to be included among those amuletic devices termed *ligaturæ*, which we find prohibited by the early Councils of France and Germany.<sup>c</sup>

Beowulf furnishes us with an apt illustration of the early Teuton belief in amulets. "About the crest of the helm, the defence of the head, it held an amulet fastened without with wires, that the sword, hardened with scouring, might not violently injure him when the shield-bearing warrior should go against his foes." In supposing this amulet to have been a bead of some description, we are borne out by a handsome fibula in the Wiesbaden Museum, to which a ball of dusky quartz crystal is attached by wire loops. This fancy was handed down to later times, when it obtained the name of *blut-stein*, and was supposed to prevent effusion of blood. The Kormak Saga also speaks of the amuletic life-stone. The amethystine bead from grave 25 not unfrequently occurs in England, chiefly in Kent.<sup>d</sup>

A number of fire-flints were found in these graves, as might have been expected. This symbolic representation of the power of light over darkness, immediately derived from the worship of Thor and Odin, is an essential superstition of Northern heathenism. With the abstract belief in the protection from evil spirits,<sup>e</sup> rendered by the fiery element, was probably mingled the grosser fancy of the need of light amidst the legendary gloom of the northern Hades.<sup>f</sup> Still the traditions quoted by Grimm,<sup>g</sup> of the efficacy of the hearth-fire in preserving the house from lightning,—and again, that "the hearth-fire must be kept burning till the new-born child is baptized," would tell us of a faith in the preservative sanctity of fire, which, perhaps, had its origin in a far distant Eastern land. We find flints and

<sup>a</sup> Fairford Graves, p. 33.

<sup>b</sup> Vita S. Eligii, l. ii. c. 15.

<sup>c</sup> "Dicunt quoque se vidiisse ibi mulieres pagano ritu phylacteria et ligaturas et in brachiis et cruribus ligatas habere." Epistle from St. Boniface to Pope Zachariah.

<sup>d</sup> Pagan Saxondom, pl. v. Collect. Antiqua, vol. i. p. 105.

<sup>e</sup> Saxo, viii. 165. "Um einen spukenden zu vertreiben muss man mit stahl und stein funken schlagen." Märk. Sagen. s. 385.

<sup>f</sup> Scheffer's Lapponia, c. xxvii. Mallet's Northern Antiquities, c. x.

<sup>g</sup> Deut. Myth. p. 568.

steel in the graves of the various Northern tribes, from Lapland to our own country,<sup>a</sup> and I almost doubt any heathen Teutonic cemetery being without them. Our attention, however, has only lately been called to this point by Mr. Akerman, in his recent researches at Harnham;<sup>b</sup> but we may, henceforth, expect to hear of the more frequent observation of these symbolic relics.

The slag-ashes from grave 19 are curious. These repeatedly occurred in the Fairford graves, but I do not remember to have heard of their presence elsewhere. It is difficult to understand their import, unless, indeed, there was the same amuletic belief in the products of the furnace that there seems to have been in those of the smithy.<sup>c</sup>

The whetstone, grave 15, also occurs in Saxon interments. The small dark grey stone, from grave 33, would seem to have been a delicate celt, or chisel, of the Celtic period. The great amount of animal and vegetable remains found in the funeral vessels demonstrates beyond all doubt the prevalence of these "*sacrificia mortuorum*," which the clergy found so difficult to eradicate, during the long period of transition from Heathenism to Christianity. We, accordingly, see this heathen practice repeatedly referred to and forbidden<sup>d</sup> in the Councils; in the Sermons of St. Eloy;<sup>e</sup> in the *Indiculus Paganiarum et Superstitionum*; in the Homilies and Epistles of St. Boniface;<sup>f</sup> and, later still, in the Capitularies of Charlemagne himself. We may infer, from the affection of a portion of our own population, at the present day, for the feasting and revel of a "lyke-wake,"<sup>g</sup> that this sensual grossness must have increased the difficulty of repressing these *spurcitiae*, as the Church termed them. But the heathenism of the Teutons and their Roman predecessors, though widely differing in many respects, concurred in the super-

<sup>a</sup> Todtenlager bei Selzen; Sepultures à Remennecourt, in the 3rd. vol. of *Mémoires de la Société Philomathique de Verdun*: *Mémoires of the Luxembourg Society*, vol. vii.; Cochet's *Normandie Souterraine*, p. 258.

<sup>b</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. XXXV. p. 259.

<sup>c</sup> W. Müller, *Geschichte*, p. 243.

<sup>d</sup> *Sunt etiam qui in festivitate cathedræ domini Petri Apostoli cibos mortuis offerunt, et, post missas, redeuntes ad domos proprias, ad gentilitium revertuntur errores, et post Corpus Domini, sacratas dæmoni escas accipiunt.*" Second Council of Tours, Can. 22, A.D. 567.

<sup>e</sup> *Vita S. Eligii*, lib. ii. c. 15, in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*.

<sup>f</sup> Ep. S. Bonifac. 44 and 84. Also *Serm. vi. de peccatis mortalibus*. Third Conc. Germ. (742). Conc. Leptin. and *Indiculus*, Can. 1 and 2.—From a passage in a letter from the Pope Zachariah to St. Boniface, it would seem that some of the ignorant German clergy had encouraged the error among the Thuringians. Burchard, *Decret.* x. 38. "*Non licet Christianis prandia ad defunctorum epulchra deferre, et sacrificare mortuis.*" *Capitul.* vi. c. 197. Compare *Joh. Beleh.* c. lxxxiii. and Durandus, *Rat.* l. vii. c. 8.

<sup>g</sup> "Thou needest care no further than this about my corpse-feast." *Beowulf*, l. 895. In *Gisla Sursonnar Saga*, we read that Vestein's lyke-wake lasted for several days.

stitution of propitiating the manes of the dead by material offerings.<sup>a</sup> The inveterate evil, therefore, which the clergy found it not possible to abolish, they attempted to divert. Hence pious vessels of holy water, and embers on which incense was burnt to scare away the evil spirit, began to take the place of these profane meat and drink offerings; and, in France at least, the custom, thus originated, is found to have existed as late as the sixteenth century.<sup>b</sup>

There is but little to be said of the pottery, which consists of two kinds: the one, a hard kind of grey stone ware; the other, the usual soft earthen manufacture, coloured with plumbago, which we so generally meet with in all these interments. The usual angular form of the Frankish pottery is altogether absent in these vessels, which adhere to the bowl and jar forms. As at Selzen, and in our own Saxon graves, some of these vessels are furnished with handles,<sup>c</sup> but the whole number of interments only render seven examples of pottery, which apparently was little used, except in actual culinary operations at the fire. The vessels in more common use are of wood, and we find them in great profusion, and of every size. They are all the manufacture of the turner, and consequently the forms are those of bowls, basins, saucers, or pateræ.

The wooden bottles with handles seem to be of the most curious description. The same form will occasionally be found in mediæval pottery.

The only glass vessel found is of a very remarkable character. In form it closely assimilates with some found in Kent;<sup>d</sup> also in Cambridgeshire, by the Hon. R. C. Neville; and at Envermeu by the Abbé Cochet.<sup>e</sup> A very perfect example may also be seen in the museum at Rheims. Most of these are of a white glass, coated with some reddish-brown stain, the residuum of wine or blood, but this of Oberflacht is of a pale green colour, and is very full of air-bubbles. It bears a white undulating pattern, strongly burnt in, after the manner occasionally seen in Roman glass (Pl. XIV. fig. 1).

The graves present us with an interesting summary of the fruits which flourished in the valley at this early period. The peach was no doubt a rarity, for we find the solitary peach-stone fitted with a shank, and worn with beads on a necklace.

<sup>a</sup> Scheffer's *Lapponia*, c. xxvii. p. 317.

<sup>b</sup> Cochet's *Normandie Souterraine*, p. 413. Durandus, *Rat.* l. vii. c. 35. *Notices sur les Tombes Gallo-Frankes*, in vol. vii. of *Mémoires of Luxembourg Arch. Society*.

<sup>c</sup> *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii. pl. lii.

<sup>d</sup> *Nenia Britannica*; *Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xvii.

<sup>e</sup> *Normandie Souterraine*, pl. x. fig. 3, p. 328. The Abbé cites other examples found in various parts of France.



The number of the hazel-nuts, and their repetition in the Selzen and other graves,<sup>a</sup> would indicate this fruit was a favourite offering in such "sacrificia mortuorum."

We come now to perhaps the most singular relics of these graves, the wooden symbols, which Dr. Menzel considers as representing the mythological *todtenschuh*, or death-shoe of the ancient funeral rites.

The old Northern mythology supposed departed souls had to encounter great difficulties and inconveniences in their way to the spirit-land. In fact they had to pass through just such an uncomfortable Valley of the Shadow of Death as John Bunyan alone could depict. It was befitting therefore to furnish shoes for so disagreeable a journey.<sup>b</sup> Such shoes were termed in Germany *todtenschuhe*, or dead men's shoes; in Scandinavia *helske*, or shoes for Hela, *i. e.* Hell, or Hades. A very positive account of this singular custom exists in the *Gisla Sursonnar Saga*,<sup>c</sup> and runs thus; On Vestein's death by the hand of Thorgrim, as they were preparing the body for burial, Thorgrim drew near and said, "It is the custom to furnish men with death-shoes to tread their path to Valhalla—this office I will render to Vestein." This done, he added, "I know not how to bind on the death-shoe if these come undone."

We have also another illustration of the custom in Aubrey's Old Yorkshire Lyke-wake Dirge—

"This ean night, this ean night,  
Every night and awle,  
Fire and flete, and candle-light,  
And Christ receive thy sawle.

"When thou from hence doest pass away,  
Every night and awle,  
To Whinny-moor thou comest at last,  
And Christ receive thy sawle.

"If ever thou gavest hosen or shoon,  
Every night and awle,  
Sitt thee downe, and putt them on,  
And Christ receive thy sawle.

"But if hosen nor shoon thou never gave nean,  
Every night and awle,  
The whinnes shall pricke thee to the bare beane,  
And Christ receive thy sawle."

MS. Lansdowne, 234, p. 114.

<sup>a</sup> Germ. Todtenlager, p. 28.

<sup>b</sup> Grimm, Deut. Myth. p. 795; W. Müller's Geschichte, p. 408.

<sup>c</sup> Keysler, Antiq. Sept. p. 170; Müller's Sagabibliothek.



There is another variation of this ancient dirge in Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*.<sup>a</sup> We can hardly doubt it to have been a remnant of the *todtenschuh* superstition, introduced into Yorkshire by the Saxons or Danes. The clergy would readily dove-tail it with the doctrine of alms-giving and purgatory, just as we see so many other practices of heathenism sanctified to the uses of the Church.

Close inquiry, however, may be disposed to question whether these mysterious wooden forms in the sepulchres of Oberflacht really ever were designed to shadow forth the *todtenschuh* of old superstitions; and whether they may not have had another and not less remarkable import. Dr. Menzel is inclined to consider that the representation of a shoe, or of the bare human foot, may alike have been an acknowledgment or offering to Hela. May it not, however, be reasonably urged that the positive account just quoted from Gísla Sursonnar Saga represents a *real* shoe, sandal, or slipper, and that too placed on the foot, as employed in the Scandinavian funeral rites? We have seen that such sandals did exist on the feet of the skeletons at Oberflacht (Pl. XIII., fig. 4), and these more probably represent the last fond office of duty or affection than do the supposed enigmatical symbols of wood. That the *todtenschuh* rite long existed, and that its remembrance is not yet obliterated in some parts of Germany, we have the authority of Dr. Grimm.<sup>b</sup> It also seems to have been known to the Romans. In a perfectly preserved Roman tomb of the cremation period, discovered at Avisford, Sussex, in 1817, a pair of sandals, studded with hexagonal brass nails, were found, with a number of other objects.<sup>c</sup>

The Abbé Cochet has also met with sandals in Gallo-Roman tombs.<sup>d</sup>

It must also be observed that the custom of interring the dead with sandals or shoes seems long to have remained extant. From the remarkable allusion to it by

<sup>a</sup> In the notes, Scott, on the authority of Ritson, gives the following illustrative citation from a MS. in the Cotton Library, which unfortunately we cannot trace. The reference given by Scott is incorrect;—

"When any dieth, certaine women sing a song to the dead bodie, recyting the journey that the partye deceased must goe; and they are of beliefe (such is their fondnesse) that once in their lives it is good to give a pair of new shoes to a poor man, for as much as, after this life, they are to pass barefoote through a great launde full of thornes and furzen, except, by the meryte of the almes aforesaid, they have redemed the forfeyte; for, at the edge of the launde, an old man shall meet them with the same shoes that were given by the partie when he was lyving; and after he hath shodde them, dismisseth them to go through thick and thin without scratch or scalle."

<sup>b</sup> Deut. Mythol. p. 795.

<sup>c</sup> Collect. Ant. vol. i. pl. xlv. p. 123.

<sup>d</sup> Normandie Souterraine, pp. 49 and 63.

the old liturgist John Beleth, in the twelfth century,<sup>a</sup> and again by Durandus,<sup>b</sup> bishop of Mende, we are led to think the *todtenschuh* rite was added to the Christian Officia by sanction of the Church, in common with many other deeply rooted heathen customs. Without multiplying instances, it may suffice to refer to the *chaussure* of Bernard king of Italy and grandson of Charlemagne, found on the opening of his tomb at Milan, A.D. 1638.<sup>c</sup> Bernard died A.D. 818, probably the approximate date of the Oberflacht interments. It will be remembered that sandals were found on the lately discovered remains of bishop Lyndewode, which carries evidence of the continuance of the custom down to the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>d</sup>

It seems difficult, therefore, without much more conclusive authority, to ascribe these wooden forms of feet to such a symbolical purpose. The pair from grave 5, so singularly carved, alone possesses any similitude to the fore part of a foot invested with a shoe; and even these were placed by the head, not feet, of the skeleton. Both sides of the object are carved, and the design is slightly diversified. It will be noticed that these forms are evidently parts of some other object.



CARVING IN WOOD, FROM GRAVE 5.

<sup>a</sup> Div. Off. Explicatio, c. clix. "Habeant et soleas in pedibus, quo significant ita se paratos esse ad judicium."

<sup>b</sup> Rationale, lib. vii. c. 35.

Superstites adhuc e corio rubeo calcei utrumque pedem contegebant; iidemque ligneam quisque soleam, hinc inde coriaceis insutam habebant." Puricelli, Monum. Basil. Ambros.

<sup>d</sup> Archæologia, XXXIV. p. 403.

It may perhaps be suggested with greater reason that these forms serve to elucidate a very obscure article in the *Indiculus Paganiarum et Superstitionum*, entitled, "*De ligneis pedibus et manibus, pagano ritu.*" This article has been thought to refer to the *ex voto* offerings at heathen shrines by persons whose hands or feet had suffered from some accident or malady—just as we see done at the shrines of favourite saints in Roman Catholic countries. But had this been altogether so, the *Indiculus* would never have confined its prohibition to forms of *hands and feet* merely, of all the many parts of the human frame. Gregory of Tours indeed gives an example of such a heathen shrine at Cologne,<sup>b</sup> but we may infer from his words that these offerings of carved wood were of a somewhat varied nature—"membra secundum quod unumquemque dolor adtigisset, sculpebat in ligno." The superstition must have had another application. In fact more than a century prior to the *Indiculus*, St. Eloy had found occasion to rebuke these offerings of wooden feet, for he only mentions *feet*, the manufacture of which he forbids, and further directs to be burnt whenever found. From this passage in his celebrated charge<sup>c</sup> we learn the custom was to place these wooden forms, not in heathen temples, but at the junction of the cross-roads. What may have been the precise import of such a superstition we do not gather; as such spots were sacred to Diana Trivia, it was possibly a vestige of some idolatrous rite, there performed in her honour, and with this the wooden feet from Oberflacht would seem more in relation than with the *todtenschuh*.

It would be presumptuous to speak otherwise than with great caution on so obscure a subject. Such a discovery has probably never before been made, or is likely ever to be made again. Yet in archaeology, as in other sciences, it is only by the recurrence of facts, under similar conditions, that we can hope to establish sound inductions. I have only suggested such explanation of the forms in question as seemed most consistent with probability and historical record. It may be that such wooden forms not unfrequently formed part of Teutonic funeral rites, together with other perishable objects. It is indeed rare to meet with vestiges of wood in heathen graves.

As to the wooden relics found in grave 8 (Pl. XIII. fig. 2), it may be doubted

<sup>a</sup> In the cathedral of Aachen, for instance. Samuel i. c. vi. 5.

<sup>b</sup> De Vita Patrum, c. vi.

<sup>c</sup> "Pedum similitudines quas per bivia ponunt fieri vetate, et ubi inveneritis, igne cremate." Vita S. Eligii, l. ii. c. xv. The temples, or rather altars, of the heathen Teutons were mostly at the junction of cross-roads. Hence the place of execution was there, criminals being sacrificed to the gods; hence, too, suicides were buried at the cross-roads to give as strong an impression as possible of a heathen burial.

whether they were designed to represent *hands*. If indeed such were the case, it would greatly strengthen the foregoing hypothesis, for it might be assumed to be a still further illustration of the article *De ligneis pedibus et manibus*. They are, however, merely flat pieces of very thin wood, which could scarcely have been considered representations of the human hand by the skilful carvers of the other relics. They may have been the implements of some domestic manufacture.

In conclusion, I am glad to be able to add the following extracts from a letter just received from Captain von Dürrieh, in reply to further inquiries, and accompanied by the drawings now exhibited :—

“ When my occupations first led me into this country, I discovered the graves during the erection of a cross. In digging the hole for this a piece of black oak was thrown out. This led me to inquiry, and, from what I learnt in Oberflacht, I soon ascertained the fact of the interments. I see but little to add to the very accurate account given by Dr. Menzel. However, the accompanying drawings, which the artist of the Württemberg Antiquarian Society has accurately taken and coloured from my original sketches, will certainly supply any possible hiatus in the narrative.

“ Plate XI. The Todten-bettstatt was constructed of wood of the wild pear ; the inclosure and cover are of oak.

“ Plate XII. fig. 2. The coffin, with the inclosure, is of oak ; the serpents' heads and horns are of a white wood. The shield, still partly covered with leather, is of linden wood. This coffin was hermetically sealed, as it were, in the stiff lias clay, and filled with water ; on the surface of this a fatty mass of the corpse was floating, which diffused a strong stench.\* Fig. 3. The coffin and partitioned chamber of wild pear-tree wood soon went to pieces ; but the oaken inclosure is well preserved.

“ Plate XIII. The well-preserved bow is six feet long, and of yew (*taxus baccata*).

“ Plate XIV. The very thin drinking-glass is of a pale green colour. In some of the empty settings of the handsome fibula may still be seen fragments of a brownish yellow colour, probably the remains of precious stones. The iron buckle is almost entirely rusted away, but the thinly beaten silver plating can still be distinctly made out.

“ The very ornamental latten plate is certainly a fragment of a woman's girdle. I have often met with similar fragments.”

\* One would not expect that corruption should still be at work after the lapse of a thousand years ; but the Abbé Cochet observes of graves (p. 226, Nor. Souterraine), “ J'en ai même rencontré qui exhalait une forte odeur.” The same circumstance was noticed on opening some of the graves at Fairford.



The latten plate here alluded to by Captain von Dürrieh was found in one of the interments originally broken up by the brickmaker in his early excavations, together with various other objects which got scattered over the place, and were for the most part lost.

Such are the Alemannic graves of Oberflacht.

We are deeply indebted to Captain von Dürrieh, both for rendering the discovery so available and useful, and also for his further assistance and information on the occasion of this present notice. It is only by attentive examination of these archæological discoveries in continental Europe that we can hope to thoroughly study the history of the great migration of the Teutonic nations; and a closer correspondence with foreign societies would most certainly be attended with mutual advantage.

W. M. WYLIE.

United University Club,  
Feb. 17, 1855.

ABSTRACT OF ARTICLES FOUND AT OBERFLACHT, AND TAKEN AWAY.

		Graves.			Graves.
I.					
<i>Todtenbäume.</i>			A similar one, much oxydised, in . . .		18
1. Mr. Baader's . . . . .	1		Two smaller, still sharp, in . . .	7	
2. Mr. Hartmann's . . . . .	2		Another in . . . . .	31	
3. The coffin on which the snakes' heads			Another, with a whet-stone, in . . .	15	
still retain their fangs and horns . . .	7		Another.		
4. Coffin from . . . . .	28		<i>Spear-heads.</i>		
5. The planed or smoothed coffin of a			A very handsome one in . . . . .	7	
female . . . . .	14		A similar one with gilt nails . . .	28	
6. Remains of a bronze decoration were			One much oxydised in . . . . .	31	
in this one.			<i>Bows.</i>		
II.—WEAPONS.			In graves . . . . .	1, 2, 15, 34, 10	
<i>Swords.</i>			Remains of bows in . . . . .	8, 9, 11	
In graves . . . . .	2, 7, 28, 31, 34, 38		<i>Arrows.</i>		
<i>Knives.</i>			Only three entire from . . . . .	10	
A large knife in a superb broad gilt			<i>Fragments.</i>		
sheath . . . . .	31		<i>Shield.</i>		
			A fragment in . . . . .	28	



	Graves.
<i>Wanda.</i>	
In . . . . .	2, 5, 10, 24, 39

## III.—VESSELS.

*Hard Stoneware.*

Large round jar of grey stoneware . . . . .	9
Jug with spout . . . . .	11
Pot with remains of meats . . . . .	38
Broken bowl in . . . . .	8

*Soft Pottery, coloured black.*

Small vessel in . . . . .	16
Small vessels with glazed ornamentation . . . . .	26
Large vessel full of hazel-nuts . . . . .	28

*Glass.*

Handsome drinking cup . . . . .	40
---------------------------------	----

*Wood.*

Large platters in graves	
5, 6, 8, 17, 24, 26, 31, 34	
(besides many broken ones not counted)	
Small bowls in graves . . . . .	7, 8, 17, 28
(besides many broken)	
Belying-out bowl, in . . . . .	29
Belying-out small jug . . . . .	34
Tub . . . . .	35
Barrel . . . . .	17
Bottles of usual form in . . . . .	5, 8, 24, 40
One of peculiarly thick form in . . . . .	28
Pails in . . . . .	26, 12, 34

## IV.—UTENSILS.

*Bronze.*

Beautiful ornamentation of horse-bit, and remains of girth-trappings . . . . .	31
Curious plate, damaged . . . . .	40
Curious bronze rod with snakes' heads . . . . .	7
Two pairs of tweezers . . . . .	7, 8
Stylus . . . . .	7
Small fragment of bronze . . . . .	

	Graves.
<i>Iron.</i>	
Horse-bit . . . . .	31
Ornamental rosettes inlaid with silver wire . . . . .	"
Key . . . . .	15

*Wood.*

Musical instrument . . . . .	31
Weaving implements, 13 pieces . . . . .	27
Two small implements of female work . . . . .	14, 15
A spindle-twirl . . . . .	29

*Candlesticks.*

In graves . . . . .	9, 24, 31
The child's wooden stool . . . . .	16
Fragment of saddle . . . . .	31

*Stone.*

A number of flints from graves	
7, 31, 35, 36, 40	
A whetstone . . . . .	15
A stone spindle-twirl . . . . .	38

## V.—SYMBOLIC OBJECTS.

The wooden <i>todtenschuhe</i> in . . . . .	5, 31, 40
The wooden hands in . . . . .	8
Mystic tablet of wood . . . . .	27
Very small stone with sharpened edge, of the form of a small axe or chisel.	
Similar stones, but generally larger, have often been found in other graves . . . . .	33
A wooden tablet bearing devices . . . . .	31

## VI.—ARTICLES OF CLOTHING.

*Leather.*

Strongly plaited glove . . . . .	47
Sandals in . . . . .	2, 20, 39
Very many fragments.	

*Woven Stuffs.*

A small piece of fine silk riband . . . . .	14
Fragments of figured cloth . . . . .	4, 5
Ditto of coarse cloth plain . . . . .	7

Graves.

VII.—ORNAMENTS.

*Bronze Rings.*

A large hollow one . . . . .	32
Arm-ring . . . . .	3
Small finger rings in . . . . .	16, 29, 33

*Bronze Buckles.*

In graves . . . . .	24, 28, 30, 33
Iron ditto inlaid with dark red glass . . . . .	3
Same . . . . .	7

*Bronze Fibulæ.*

Superb one . . . . .	30
Another handsome one . . . . .	
Two smaller. . . . .	29

*Horn Combs.*

A woman's comb . . . . .	3
Man's ditto . . . . .	38

*Precious Stones.*

An amethyst on a necklace, of the form and size of an almond . . . . .	25
Amber, 38 pieces on three necklaces 22, 25, 29	

*Beads.*

166 in all, of pure white glass, coloured opaque glass, clay and porcelain, various coloured glass with patterns. Among these is a white glass ball, of the size of a walnut, with spiral-formed lines. . . . .	
A yellowish-green bead, shaped like a twirl, skilfully smelted from many small ones . . . . .	
Two large cylinder-formed beads with variegated pattern . . . . .	30

Graves.

Seven large beads with variegated eyes, stars, spiral lines, &c. . . . .	16
The rest are cylinder-shaped, egg-shaped, striated, pearl-shaped, &c. in graves 19, 20, 22, 25, 29, 32	

VIII.—ORGANIC REMAINS.

*Human Beings.*

Three male skeletons found in . . . . .	2, 7, 28
That in grave 2 having the skull split.	
A female skeleton in . . . . .	29
Woman's hair, red . . . . .	20
Man's hair, black . . . . .	28

*Brutes.*

Horse-hair in . . . . .	29
Hog's bristles . . . . .	40
Bones of animals in several of the pots with food.	

*Plants.*

Moss, a whole basketfull, from . . . . .	20
Straw and leaves in almost every coffin.	
Hazel rods in several coffins.	
Hazel nuts, 307, in graves 2, 5, 28, 31, 40	
5 walnuts in . . . . .	2, 15, 29
Plumstone in . . . . .	29
Peachstone in . . . . .	22
Two gourds in . . . . .	2, 5
Pears, seven large ones in . . . . .	14
Several smaller in . . . . .	32
Besides these, many pear-stalks were scattered in several graves.	
Cherrystones, 92 were found in . . . . .	11, 29
and several single ones in other coffins.	
Spoon meats in most of the vessels; the material cannot be ascertained.	

## EXPLANATORY REFERENCE TO THE PLATES.

	Graves.		Graves.
PLATE XI.		Fig. 5. Bow from . . . . . 1	
Illustrates the interment in grave . . . . .	5	„ 6. Illustrates interment in grave . . . . .	9
PLATE XII.		PLATE XIV.	
Figs. 1 and 2 illustrate interment in . . . . .	28	Fig. 1. Glass from grave . . . . .	40
Fig. 3, ditto . . . . .	40	„ 2 and 3. Front and side view of wooden bottle from . . . . .	5
PLATE XIII.		„ 4 and 7. Fibula from . . . . .	30
Fig. 1. Horn comb from . . . . .	3	„ 5 and 8. Fibula from . . . . .	29
„ 2. Wooden objects, termed hands . . . . .	8	„ 6 Fibula.	
„ 3. Wooden candlestick . . . . .	24	„ 9. Fibula from . . . . .	3
„ 4. Sandal, represented open and closed, from . . . . .	2		

Fig. 1.

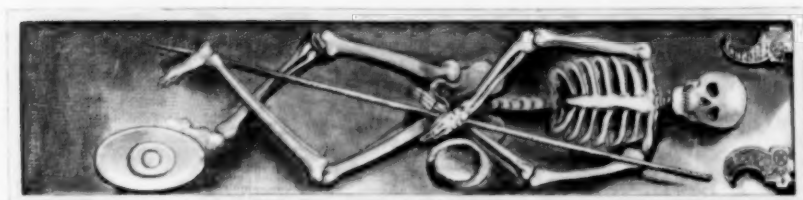


Fig. 2.

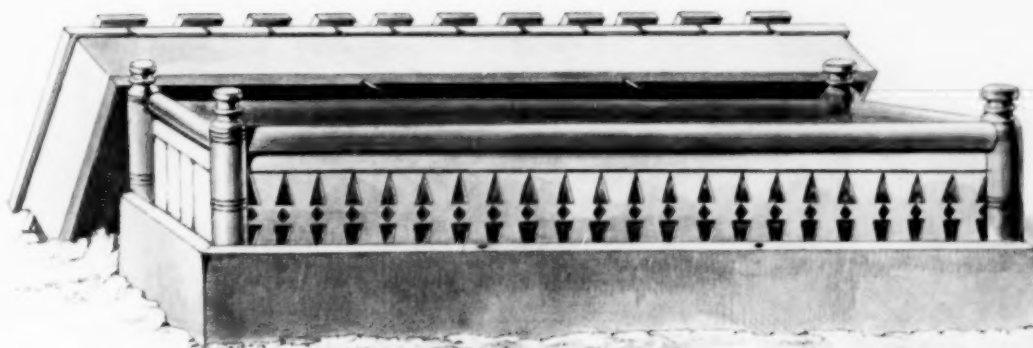
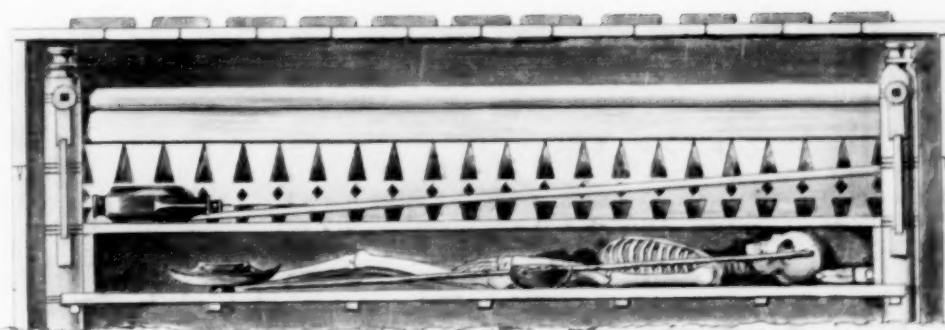


Fig. 3.



A. Schmitt del.  
H. Schmitt sculp.

A. Schmitt del.

J. B. Schmitt sculp.

INTERMENTS OF THE ALEMANNI AT OBERPLAUCH.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 20th April 1850.





Fig. 1

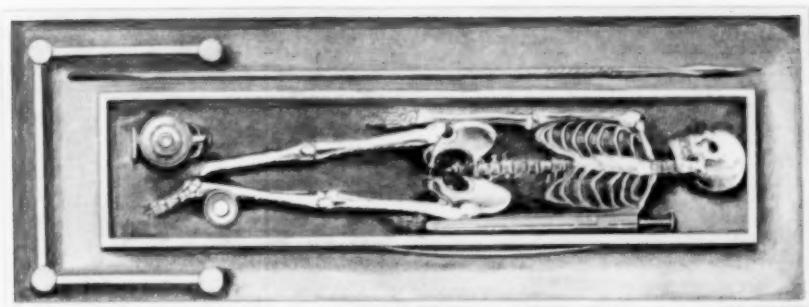


Fig. 2

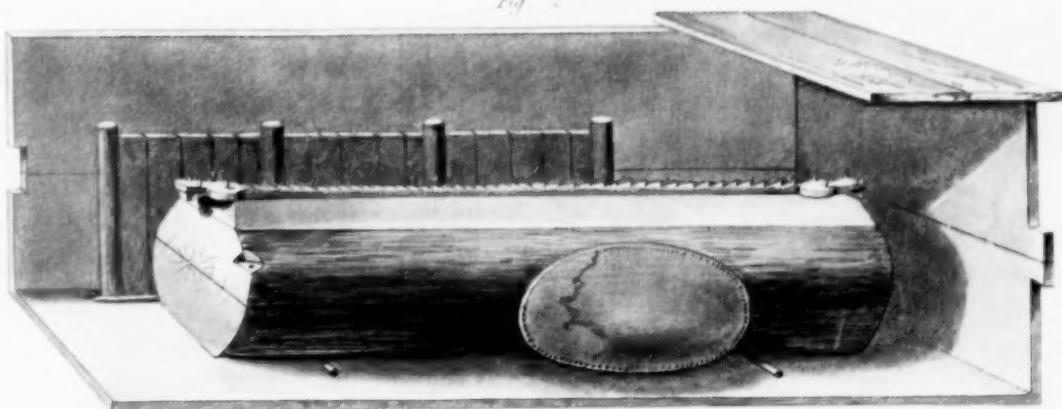
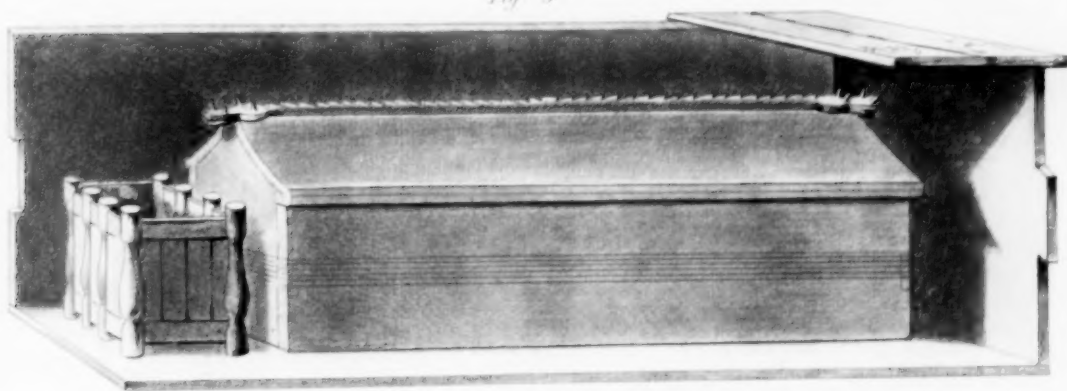


Fig. 3



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

In the drawing the  
skeleton is shown in its original position.

J. B. B. B.

INTERMENTS OF THE ALEMANNI AT OBERFLAUCH.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 4th April 1858.



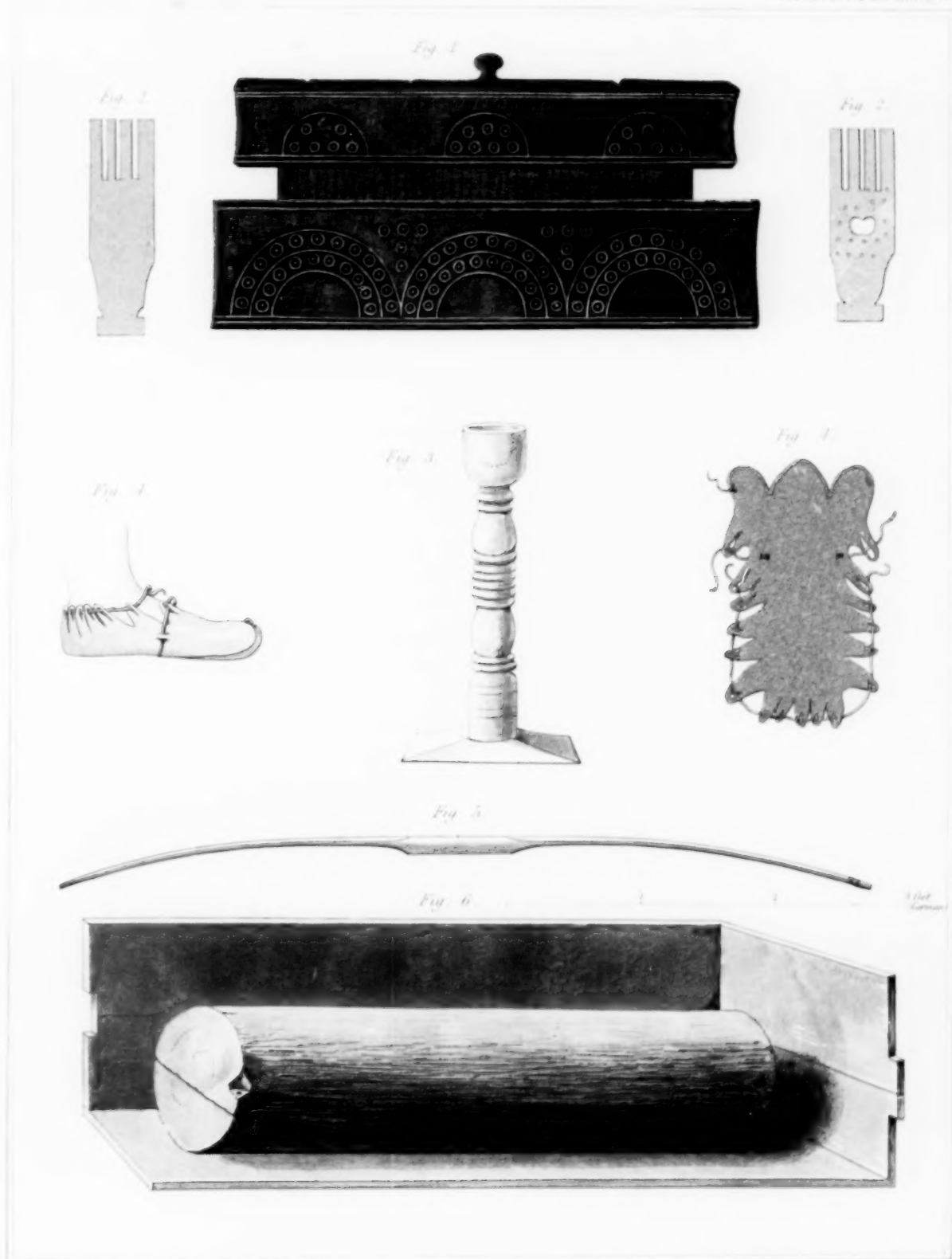


Fig. 1. From the grave of the Neolithic period.

Fig. 2. From the grave of the Neolithic period.

OBJECTS FROM THE GRAVES.

Illustrations of the objects of the Neolithic period.



Fig. 1.

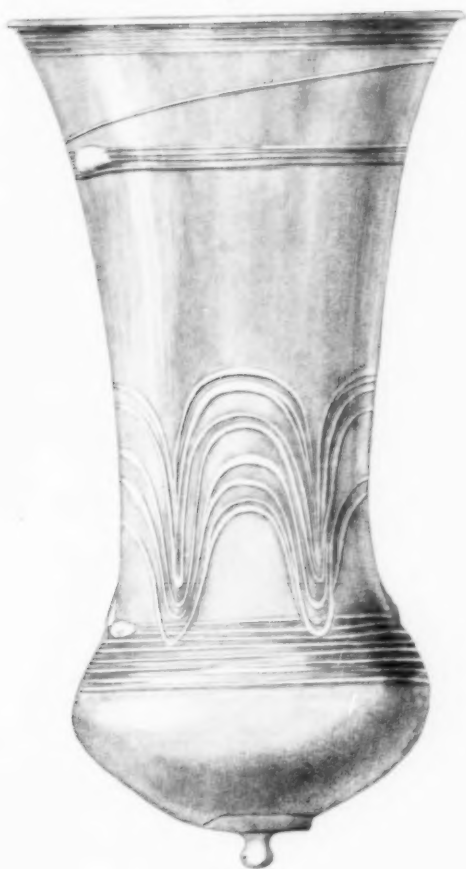


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 9.

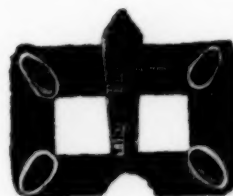


Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.



By permission, &c.  
From sketches by Capt. von Dürck.

J. Baer.

OBJECTS FOUND IN THE GRAVES.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 25<sup>th</sup> April 1885.





XVI. *Account of the Unrolling of a Mummy at Florence, belonging to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, by Professor Migliarini. Translated from the Italian MS. of Professor Migliarini, by C. H. COTTRELL, Esq. M.A.: with some Notes and Observations, by S. BIRCH, Esq. F.S.A.*

Read January 11, 1855.

IN the month of September, 1827, the late Professor Rosellini, and the present highly talented director of the Belle Arti in the Uffizi at Florence, Professor Migliarini, were commanded by the Grand Duke of Tuscany to unroll a mummy which had been in the collection of the "Gabinetto di Fisica e Storia Naturale" since the year 1824. This was done in the presence of a large number of spectators, and a very detailed account drawn up of it and drawings made on a large scale by Prof. Migliarini for His Royal Highness. As no notice of this interesting operation has been given to the world, the following details, taken from Prof. Migliarini's private notes, may not be unacceptable, in order that the peculiarities here exhibited may be compared with those observed in other mummies already unwrapped, or which may be hereafter brought to light.

The person embalmed was a female, and her name was Takarheb, or Karheb,<sup>1</sup> daughter of a royal scribe and priest named Naantev,<sup>2</sup> and of a lady Nevt'hei,<sup>3</sup> which occurred thus on the coffin, Pl. XV. fig. A.

OSIRI	TAI	KARHIB	MAoUTaou	SI
Osirified	the	Karhib	justified	daughter
eN	SOUTeN	SK'HAI	HoN	NAaaNTW
of	the royal	scribe	prophet <sup>4</sup>	Naantev [very glorious]
MAoU TAoU	MeS	eN	NeVHi	NeVT'HEI
justified	born	of	the lady	Nevt'hei
SHIME	MAoU TAoU			
lady	justified			

When stripped of the wrappings in which the body was enveloped, and of the bust with its gilt face, the mummy was found to be entirely covered with a wrapper stretched longitudinally, fastened up behind, and uncoloured. The exhalations, however, from the inside had given it a dark brownish tint, and

<sup>1 2 3 4</sup> The notes will be found at the close of the memoir.

deepened the usual yellow colour always given to the cloth, of which the wrappers attached to mummies of this description are composed, and which is intended to imitate byssus.

This wrapper having been removed without much difficulty, it appeared that the body after it was enveloped had been covered with a crust laid all over it, seemingly with a brush, for the sake of preserving it. This stratum we will call the FIRST CEMENT. It was probably a sort of encaustic, inasmuch as lime mixed with a small quantity of chloride and a little wax, when burnt, produces a paste of this kind, which is an excellent preservative against decomposition. This reminds us of the etymology of the word MUMMY, supposed to come from MUM, which signifies *wax* in Persian, and is alluded to in a passage of Cicero.<sup>a</sup> If it should be argued that this is not the general or universal sense, it may still be true as regards the class of mummies known and described in his time. This crust, which was of a glassy texture, and easily broken with the fingers, was stripped off bit by bit, and then the wrappers upon which it was laid.

After this operation was concluded, the body underneath presented a totally different appearance. It looked in some places like those little figures of mummies, so frequently met with, composed of various materials, but generally of enamelled earth, with the arms crossed upon the breast, and the lower part down to the feet covered all over with inscriptions.

The bandages which enveloped the body underneath the arms were inscribed with *hieratic* characters. Great care was requisite to remove these in regular order as much as possible, they having burst in many places, and being burnt as it were by contact with another cement which was laid on underneath, and had made its way through to the upper side.

They were eight in number, and composed of cloth dyed to imitate the colour of byssus, and marked throughout on both sides, that is, on the right and left, with hieratic numerals (Plate XV. fig. B). On the right side, at a short distance from these, commenced the usual sentences copied from the great Formulary, and similar to those used on some of the papyri. This sort of inscribed bandages was first noticed on the mummy of Count Caylus, and subsequently on that of a child of six years old, in the possession of Mr. John Symmons, unwrapped in London March 29, 1788, in the presence of many learned persons.

In removing these and the other bandages, which had no inscriptions, there was found attached to the left loin a so-called *Nilometer* of enamelled light blue earth.

<sup>a</sup> In Tusc. Quest. § xlv.

Although this emblem of *stability* is frequently met with, painted on the shoulders of mummies,<sup>5</sup> it seems more probable that it had found its way there during the process of wrapping from some other place where it had been laid, or that these little figures were thrown in promiscuously from time to time while they were enveloping the mummy. All the clothes which belonged to this structure having been carefully taken off, the mummy appeared like the figure of Osiris.

A wrapper larger than the body, stretched over the whole of it, on which a figure of Osiris in outline was drawn, was fitted to the body with such exactitude that the face of the figure corresponded to that of the deceased, and its hands, in which were the sceptre and whip, to the hands of the deceased, and so of all the rest. As the tall cap, with the two high feathers, would have reached considerably above the head of the mummy, it was folded over behind and hung down the back, where also the cloth itself was fastened. This representation of the transformation of the deceased into Osiris, agrees with the first title of all the funeral inscriptions preceding the name. Champollion read it *Osiris, the Osiridian*; and Prof. Migliarini interprets it by a phrase which expresses his notion of it, namely—*the Incorporated with Osiris*, as being initiated into, and consecrated to, his mysteries, and thus, it may be said, *identified* with him. This view is confirmed by a passage in Athenagoras:—*When Isis had found the scattered limbs of Osiris, who was slain by Typhon, she religiously buried them, which mode of inhumation is to this day called Osiriæ*. When this wrapping was removed, others of a similar kind were found, but without any cement. They were fitted close to the body, and any slight interstices there might have been, owing to the bandages not being all of the same size, were filled up with compresses. This stratum presented no remarkable feature, except that a few strips of cloth were found, inscribed as above, upon the legs, but very slightly raised up.

Another stratum of asphalt was laid over the whole body, which we will call the SECOND CEMENT, to remove which pincers were obliged to be used in the first instance; afterwards, the cloths underneath were raised up.

There was found attached to this stratum a broad piece of cloth, which covered once more nearly the whole body, but it was unfortunately in tatters, having been destroyed by the bitumen and salt in the cement. Upon it also something was inscribed difficult at first to understand. When, however, the least mutilated fragment had been attentively examined, it turned out to be a *panther's skin*, with a stick (probably a thyrsus) and a sort of cap, such as is frequently represented, but with less precision, before Osiris, the judge, seated on the judgment seat. It may possibly allude to the admission into some order of the priesthood, one class of

which wears this panther-skin. In one section of the funereal papyrus, the soul is found similarly clad.

This is the first time that an imitation of the *panther's skin*, with other articles of dress, has been discovered on a mummy, and it proves the close resemblance between the Dionysiac rites and Egyptian formularies. All the peculiarities here exhibited offer a striking commentary on a statement made by Suidas (*Ἡραϊσκός*), whose account of the process of embalmmment bears, in all its details, a remarkable resemblance to the one before us: "Upon the death of Heraiskus, after the embalmer had completed all the ceremonies prescribed by the priests, and the vestments of Osiris had been fitted on to the body, it suddenly became resplendent all over with light, through the cerements, which were diversified with secret characters, among which were special images, suitable to the deities—evident proof that the soul was already among the gods and associated with them."

To proceed with the description of what presented itself to notice afterwards. The head, and more particularly the face, was covered with bandages and narrow strips, like so many strings interlaced, and well fastened together in regular order, so as to form a number of squares, one inside the other, each less than its predecessor, the centre of which was at the nose. These bandages, after passing round the head, descended towards the neck. It is to be remarked that, before they were so fastened together and interlaced, they had all the usual prayers inscribed upon them, as far as could be ascertained from the few portions which were examined. This artificial mode of enwrapping was not new. There is another mummy of a man in the same royal museum, with similar wrappings about the face, but with the rest of the body swathed in a different manner, as will be seen from the drawing published by Dr. Nardi.<sup>a</sup>

Thus far the bandages were of a simple character and easy to arrange, such as an ordinary workman would be competent to do. But there were others formed into a regular chequer-work, which must have required great skill and experience to execute. It will be as well, perhaps, to give a description in this place of two instruments employed in the process, which we will call needles or pins of bronze, now in the same museum, and which appear, from their shape, to have been indispensable for making such complicated fastenings. The eye is sufficiently large to contain both the ordinary bandages and the double strips described above. Being only about as thick as the blade of a knife, they could easily pass through both the bandages, and their circular form peculiarly adapts them for per-

<sup>a</sup> Notes to Lucretius, 1647, pl. iv. fig. 2.



forming this operation. In the point of one of them there is a cavity, by means of which a strip may be pushed through and passed transversely; the head of the other, like the claws of a crab, is specially adapted for laying hold of and drawing out any string which might have slipped off or been stopped underneath, as well as for forcing it back into its proper place.

This lattice-work, as it may be called, having been removed from the face, some square pieces of cloth were found under it, which covered the head in various parts; as well as a fillet, which was composed of a finer thread of the same cloth, but more closely twisted, so as to have the appearance of a diadem.

On the forehead, not far from the right eyebrow, were found two feathers in stone, like those on the head of Ammon, and other similar figures.

The forehead itself was covered with three squares of cloth, with three caps drawn upon them; that is to say, the cap of the upper and the cap of the lower region, and one in the centre.

The two eyes were covered with similar squares, having eyes drawn upon them with wings and legs, which may be those of the Sun, or some other deity.<sup>6</sup> A different kind of artificial eyes, formed of cloth steeped in resin, and fitted under the orbits, were first noticed in unwrapping a mummy in London, which will be mentioned hereafter.

Above the occiput there was, in another square, larger than those above mentioned, the drawing of a Hypocephalon, with Cynocephali in the attitude of adoration, and around them a border, consisting of rams' heads, with four horns, like those with which the supreme god Ammon is represented; different from the Hypocephalon in Fig. F, which was over the head, between the protecting cowl and the body of the mummy. It was drawn upon finer cloth, made solid by the double stratum.<sup>7</sup>

There were other bandages, inscribed as above, which extended from the head over the different parts.

About the top of the left ear was found an amulet, said to represent an Egyptian column. It is more probable, however, that it was an ornament for the ear, representing, in small, a lotus or papyrus flower with its stalk, like the sceptre which all the female deities are represented holding in their hands. Being made of a material which easily stretches, it would lose its elegant shape, and so becoming short and thick, might look like an Egyptian column attached to its capital.<sup>8</sup>

It is needless to give a description of the other bandages wrapped round the different parts of the body, as they presented nothing remarkable. The last of

them were attached to a THIRD CEMENT, or stratum of asphalt, with an efflorescence, which was mixed and laid on over the whole body with greater regularity.

At this point, the object of our greatest anxiety, the existence of a papyrus, which was at first strongly doubted by the persons present, was established. Underneath the hands, which were folded over the breast, was found a papyrus rolled up, placed perpendicularly on the body. Measuring from the point of the chest downwards, the whole height of it was twelve inches, or a little more, and the length four braccia, sixteen inches. Unfortunately, the stratum of asphalt had been laid on to the papyrus very hot, so that it was fastened down all round, above and below, so tightly, that a portion of it was necessarily lost in the removal.

A few double strips of cloth, inscribed with the usual hieratic characters, adhered to the right arm, but it was impossible to ascertain whether they were connected with those which went down from the head. Similar strips were passed across the neck.

Upon the breast, or, more properly speaking, in the cavity formed by the hands up to the neck, was found a group of amulets, apparently thrown in promiscuously, made of different materials, as will be seen by the catalogue of them given below. They remind us of the beautiful mummy at Gotha, unrolled by Hertzog in 1715—the most precious which has been opened in Europe up to this day, as regards the vast quantities of little idols, scarabæi, frogs, Nilometers, &c. found in it, objects at that time very rare and highly appreciated.

There were now discovered upon the rest of the body pieces of cloth with drawings upon them, like those found about the head. On the right and left side two Osirises in two long squares. Near them, on the right, a figure of Thoth, with the eye in his hands. On the same strip a Nephthys, of a larger size than all the rest, the upper part of which only was identifiable; and with it another fragment of cloth, on which was drawn the goddess *Tme, truth*; and a fragment of the hawk of *Sokari*, and the back part of the jackal, the guardian of the Western region. On both sides towards the feet were two crocodiles, the one on the right only being well preserved. In general the right side was better preserved than the left, on which all the objects originally in duplicate were either in bad preservation or altogether destroyed.

On the front part of the legs, and perpendicularly along the thigh bones, there were two short inscriptions (Fig. E), but unfortunately very much mutilated, for reasons already assigned, and owing to the dark colour of the border they were of but little value.<sup>9</sup>

The wrists were ornamented with counterfeit bracelets, made of gummed cloth,

to imitate, by the aid of colour and gilding, precious stones. There were similar imitations of precious bandlets<sup>a</sup> around the ankles. Under the feet were represented false sandals, painted with the smallest possible chequers of different colours.


Under the armpit was a very small stone like a seal, which would seem to have found its way there from some other part, as it more properly belongs to the stones found on the breast.

When all these cere-cloths had been removed, the body appeared denuded, as it were; as before mentioned, it was that of a female of middling size, very little of it being preserved.

The skull, which was fleshless and burnt, had a hole made in it through the orbit of the right eye, apparently for the purpose of taking out the brain, and injecting the usual preparations into the head. This was generally done through the nostrils, but not in this instance, as they were untouched. In another mummy, opened in London in 1793, that of a female child about fourteen years of age, a similar hole was found in the roof of the mouth, which was used for introducing the preparation of resin into the skull. It is also said not to have had any remains of a tongue, or the small plate of gold in the mouth, peculiarities which characterise the mummy before us.

The whole anterior portion of the back broke to pieces on a very slight touch, it having been burnt by the asphalte, which was laid on to it in a boiling state. Marks of burning were likewise visible all over the body, so that on the slightest movement a separation took place wherever there was a joint. This prevented it from being all stripped. The first bandages, which were fastened tightly to the skin, and pressed almost into it, were not removed. It being merely the first wrapping which was applied, and as it presented no peculiarity, it was left in its place. This, however, does not imply that no further researches were made. Every fragment of the bandages was examined several times over. The result was, that the name of the deceased was discovered written at the top of the bandages of both sizes, that is, once on the broader and once on the narrower bandages (Fig. C). A few Demotic characters were also found in a corner (Fig. D), which may possibly be the mark of the manufacturer of the cloth.

From the vast quantity of wrappers used on this occasion it would seem that

<sup>a</sup> These ornaments have always been used by women in Asia on the ankles. The prophet Isaiah (chap. iii. 18), calls them  A-CH'aSIM, and in Arabic the real name is *Khalkhal* (see Meynoun and Leila). In the Coptic versions the Egyptian name is not given, the Greek word being used, but it may be ΕΙΝΕ, Τ. T. ΙΝΙ. Memphitic ?

there is no exaggeration in Abdallatif's<sup>a</sup> statement, who calculated that the necessary amount of material required for a careful and complicated embalmment of this description would be some thousands of yards.

Very diligent search was made to find, if possible, some clue for fixing, approximately at least, the date of the mummy. None such, however, were detected, except it be the representation of sandals under the soles of the feet, on the first outer envelope. These would indicate that the date was subsequent to the liberation of Egypt from the invasion of the Shepherds, and possibly at no great distance of time from that event. They were here specially characterised by their own peculiar costume, and with all its niceties, whereas after this time these details were forgotten and became obsolete, having given place to a conventional representation, which was naturally less exact.

Blumenbach, with extreme sagacity, observed that, in examining bodies of this kind, attention should be paid to the singular form which the incisor teeth sometimes present. He verified this by an entire head and a jaw in his museum, as well as by the mummy of a child about six years old (cited above). In spite of its tender age the incisor teeth had a *thickish crown, but little raised at the extremity of the tooth, which is usually pointed*. Middleton made the same observation in examining some mummies in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge; Bruckman in those of the gallery at Cassel; and Storr, who saw something like it in a mummy at Stuttgart. When we consider for how many ages and throughout how many revolutions the Egyptians retained the custom of embalming their bodies, it is obvious that we ought not to expect to find in them all one uniform dental conformation. On this account every little peculiarity of this kind is deserving of especial attention, the probability being that it may assist in determining the period at which the embalmment was made. In the present instance, however, this did not occur. The teeth offered no remarkable appearance, excepting that the person in her life-time had lost two in the right upper jaw, the cavities being filled up with bitumen.

On an examination of the skull and facial angle as exhibited in profile, it was agreed that it belonged to the pure Egyptian race. The Egyptians have been rightly classified between the Caucasian and Ethiopian races. We say the person in question was of pure race, because she was by several degrees more nearly related to the Caucasian than to the other stock; and bore a resemblance to some of the portraits of ancient heroes represented on bassi rilievi of the better period of that style of sculpture.

<sup>a</sup> Relazione dell' Egitto, lib. 1, c. iv.



*Catalogue of the little Amulets found on the breast.*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Little figures of Isis   | } In paste, coloured like lapis lazuli. |
| „ „ „ Thoth, with the Ibis head  |   |
| „ „ „ Phré   |   |
| Image of Esculapius, <i>Imouth</i> , paste in imitation of rosso antico. |   |
| Hawk, sitting  | } Wood gilt.                            |
| Image of Esculapius  |   |
| The same, a fragment   |   |
| Heart-shaped Vase  |   |
| Uræus Serpent  |   |
| Lotus flower   |   |
| Nilometer  | }                                       |
| Symbolical eye of the Sun  |   |
| Six Fragments of Objects not distinguishable                             | }                                       |
| Two images of Esculapius, in enamelled earth.                            |   |
| A feather, striated, perhaps made of Ethiopian emerald.                  |   |
| Pillow, to rest the head on, very small, semi-circular, of hæmatite.     |   |

*Other Objects, found elsewhere.*

- Lotus, or Papyrus flower, sceptre or column, found over the left eye, wood gilt.  
 Ammon feathers, in white stone, found over the eyebrow.  
 Nilometer, in enamelled earth, found on the right side.  
 A sort of square or seal, found about the arm-pit.

NOTES, by S. BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A.

Pl. I.—1. The lady's name appears to be Takarheb, although it is once written Karheb, the demonstrative feminine article *Ta* being omitted. On a Ptolemaic tablet, belonging to M. Pulskey, it is written TAKAR[heb]. The word is determined by an ibis, and the whole means the name of a bird, perhaps the Coptic Karapep.

2. The name read NAa anTeW by Prof. Migliarini may possibly be AaPeH-PeH, a form of Apophis, or Aphobis. Conf. M. De Rongé (Mem. sur Tombeau d'Aahmes, p. 139), and Chev. Bunsen (Egypt's Place, vol. i. p. 516, No. 279).

3. The mother's name is NeBTenHi; cf. Champollion, Gram. p. 95, where the word wing is given in its full phonetic form TeNH; or possibly NeBMEHi.



4. The father, it will be observed, held the double office of royal scribe and priest, shewing distinctly that there was no real *caste* difference in these two functions.

5. The Nilometer TaT was at the same time the emblem of a region and of a god. The region has been supposed to be *This*, from which the Thinite dynasty derived its origin (M. Lepsius, Ueber d. ersten Aegyptisch. Gotterkr. s. 35, note 2); or else the Meroitic island of Tadu (Pliny, N. H. vi. c. xxix. 34). In the Ritual, one of the invocations commences thus, "I am Tat, engendered of Tat, born of Tat" (Lepsius, Todt. i. 1, 4, 5). The first of the six amulets placed on the neck of the dead was a Tat (Lepsius, Todt. Taf. lxxv. c. 155). In "the chapter of the golden Tat placed at the neck of the dead," the deceased says, "Thy back to thee, Oh mild one [Osiris], placed in thy place, I bring thee the water belonging to thee; take it. I bring thee a Tat; rejoice thou at it. Said over a golden Tat, made out of the body of a sycamore-tree, placed at the throat of the dead; he enters at the door of the gates, he listens to the words; he takes his place on the day of the new year with those who are under Osiris. If he knows this chapter, he becomes a wise spirit in Hades; he is not turned away from the Gates of the West, he has given to him cakes and drink . . . , and a quantity of meat off the table of the Sun" (or of Osiris Honnophris). According to another version, he is justified against his enemies in the Hades, "in the place of the dead."

6. The two eyes on legs are the vignettes of the 163rd chapter of the Funeral Ritual or Book of the Dead (Lepsius, Todt. lxxvii.). The Book of the Dead really ends with the 162nd chapter, the final Rubric of which concludes *iu-f pu*, "it is finished." The 163rd and subsequent chapters, which are of very late introduction, are called, "The chapters [163-164] introduced into a second book added to the Book of the coming forth from the day. This [163rd chapter] is the chapter of how a person avoids that his body should be destroyed in Hades, and how to save himself from the devourers of souls who are at the prison, *tatho*, [?] . . . in the Gate; and how a person avoids that his sins should be borne off the world there; so that his body and limbs may be safe from the reptiles and gods which are lying wait in Hades, that he may come out and go in as he likes, and do everything which is in his heart and not be crossed." The vignettes of this chapter represent the two symbolical eyes, called *Uga*, the same word as that for "health" or "sound," with wings and legs, and a snake, having a disc and horns, walking on legs. The Rubric at the end gives the following account of what they represent:—"Said of a snake having legs and a horned disc. The two eyes have two legs and two wings; there being in the pupil of one [eye] the figure of a man raising his arm, with the head of a hawk having plumes, its back like a hawk. In the pupil of the other eye there is a figure raising one arm and having the face of Neith, wearing plumes; its back in the shape of a hawk, painted yellow in clear southern green colour, with water of the western lake of Egypt, on a slip of papyrus. A person wrapped on all sides with this is not turned away from any of the gates of the Empyrean Gateway; he eats and drinks and voids, as he did on earth; no opposers stand against him, the hand of the wicked is powerless (?) against him, for ever and ever. If this book is made on earth, he is not captured by the guides, who are rushing in to make destruction of the wicked of the entire earth; he is not smitten, he is not annihilated by the blows of Su [Typhon]: he is not taken to the prison, but he goes in to the gods of the Halls, and comes out justified, and goes forth to expel all the evil [he has ?] done on the whole earth."

The contents of this chapter are of a most mystical nature, as the following translation will show:—  
 "I am," says the deceased, "the Soul of the great body at peace in *Aruhabu* [Arabia?] He [It] is the back [or trunk?] of the body of *Habuti*, the land, the arms of which repose [?] in the bay of *Senhakarua*. Oh the Soul, existing, which is tasting his heart at his rising and setting; his soul is at peace in his body, which is at rest in *Senhakalukana*. The deceased may take it from the spirits of the god *Hes*, prevailer of hearts, the taker of hands; fire which the souls taste comes out of the mouths. Oh, he who is at rest in his body, making his scorching and burning in the sea, raising the sea with his vapours, give them flame, increase the vapours beyond what they are. He will place his hand at the [head] time of the deceased, for ever and ever. The deceased receives the time of the heaven; his time [head] is that of the pacers of the paths everywhere in the heaven. Whether thou art an earthly soul or a traverser, save thou the Osiris! rescue him from the demons, devourers of souls which have done evil. His soul is created in his body again; he is hidden in the midst of the pupil of the Eye. *Sharusharu* (*Khi*), *shapu* is the god making his existence; he rests in the north-west of the city of *T-ap*, of the land of Nubia. He has not gone to the East. Oh, Amen the bull, scarabæus, lord of Eyes, commander of its Pupil is thy name! The deceased is the drop and lituus of thy Eyes. *Arka Sharusharur* [*khi*] is the name of one Eye; *Shapu*, the god who made his existence, is the name of the other. *Shaka Amen Shakanasa*, at the head of Tum; Illuminator of the World is his name. In reality the deceased has come from the land of the two Truths, cleared of his sin; he is from the land of Disappearance. The Nostril is thy name. The wise (or victorious) spirit (the deceased) swears that [he] it is the soul [of] the great body in Sa [is] [of] Neith."

These mystical names only occur in the latest rituals of the Persian or Ptolemaic epoch, and appear to have been borrowed from some other religion. They had already attracted the attention of Champollion, and are mentioned in his letter to Baron William Humboldt, (Ideler, Hermapion,) in which he supposes many of those he cites to resemble Semitic names, and others to be Sanscrit. He also throws out the suggestion, that they may be the ineffable and mystical names referred to by Iamblichus, vii. 4. But in the 164th chapter of the Ritual, l. 6 (Lepsius, Todt. taf. lxxviii.) one of these names is said to be as "spoken by the Nahsi or Negroes of the Phut of Kans" or "Kenous" of Nubia. This would show that these mystical names either came from the Æthiopian or Meroitic worship, which had some share in the Theban service, as appears from the presence of the Negroes of Phut in the great festival of the ithyphallic Amen Ra of Thebes, or else from the worship of the Libyan Oasis. It will, of course, strike every one who has perused the extraordinary names used by the Gnostic heretics, how much similarity these have with them, as will be at once seen by comparing the late demotic papyrus, published by Dr. Leemans (Mon. Egypt., fol. Leide, Pl. I. and foll.; Reuvens, Lettres, 4to. Leide, 1830, p. 12), and the Greek one, edited by Mr. Godwin. Throughout the Ritual, the first duty of the "wise spirit" of the dead is to know the names of the gods, demons, doors, boats, regions which he meets. The images painted on the dead, after having had these mystical words recited over them, protected him hereafter in his passage. Taken in connection with the gilding of the face and other appearances, the mummy of Takarheb was probably not much older than the age of the Ptolemies.

7. Three of these flat discs, called by Champollion *Hypocephali*, or pillows, are in the col-

lections of the British Museum. The first which I shall cite (Cat. No. 8446) was made for Haneg-a-t-f, a Theban priest of Ammon, and of the Saviour and Brother gods, i. e., of the Ptolemy Soter and Philadelphus and his wife. It has a black background, and its subject is in yellow outline, in two compartments:—1. The Sun as Af, or Num, going in his bark, with attendant deities. 2. The four ram-headed Num, or Amen Ra, adored by the four Cynocephali. A cow or bull and mummied figure are in the exergue. The second, No. 8445, which has its subject in black outline upon a yellow ground, is made of linen, like the preceding, and has four rows of subjects:—1. A god, with two human and one jackal head, wearing disc and plumes. Six rams, the emblems of Num, and three herons, those of the souls of the dead. A hawk (*akham*) mummied, in a boat. Isis and Nephthys adoring the chest of Osiris in a boat. Ra in a boat, with a scarabæus, adored by a cynocephalus. 2. The four-headed ram seated on the ground, wearing on his head the attire of Ptah Socharis Osiris, or the atf, adored by two apes, or Cynocephali, wearing solar discs. At the sides is a mystical address to the god:—

1. Oh creator, resident in his place.	Oh great Soul, produc-	1
2. Oh prevailer over heat, dwelling in the	ing the transformation of flames,	2
3. Empyreal gateway, giving life,	transformation of the two divine	3
3. Thence	Eyes—King.	3
4. prevailing over the gods of the gate by	his power.	4

The scenes of the other division are taken from the diurnal or annual passage of the Sun. Two boats, in one the Sun as Ra; in the other the Moon, as a Cynocephalus, adored by another ape, holding in its paw one of the mystic Eyes. A god offering an Eye to a god having a human form, with the body of a hawk. A cow, either one of the seven mystic cows or another of the Athor advancing, having before it the four demons Amset, Hapi, Tuautnutf, Kabhsenuf, and behind a deity full face. Behind these are a leaf (*shau*), an ape (*aani*), and a ram (*ha*), and a gateway with a ram's head. Behind, the god Ra seated, and a scarabæus. Above is "Adoration to the Sun." Thy beloved Son comes, &c.

Round the border is the following series of declarations:—

I am the Spirit (*aakh*) in my going.  
 I am Amen Ra, who is in the [hidden] void.  
 I am the Great One in the Gates (Empyreal region).  
 I am he who proceeds from the Eye.  
 I am he who is in its pupil [*gefy*].  
 I have come from the great place of Pennu (Heliopolis).  
 I proceed eternally from the Gates (Empyreal region).

The fragments of the third in the Museum Collection, No. 8845a, are two pieces, also in black outline, upon a white ground, but made of papyrus instead of linen. The scenes have a general resemblance to those of No. 8445. There remains the boat of the mummied eagle or hawk (*akham*), with rams and apes; the boat of the Cynocephalus of the Moon; a female, probably the Heaven, falling to the earth over a scarabæus, the Cosmogonic creation of the world; part of the scene of the mystic cow advancing to the pylon; Ra and scarabæus; the whole perhaps intended to represent the genesis of the Helios or Sun. The central inscription totally differs from that of No. 8445.

From what can be gathered from the mutilated phrases, it appears to be of a nature referring to a creation by fire, and is a different text of c. 163, as given in a papyrus of Tau (Salt, 955 Brit. Mus.):—

. . . . . nor them . . . . . thou rejoicest Tattu . . .  
 . . . . . he has made things by (his) flame. Amen, hail  
 . . . . . he has brought to the fire of . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . of the heaven the second soul, the third soul.

The legend is equally mutilated:—

. . . . . made by thy terrors. I am . . . . .  
 . . . . . Amen, being in thy hidden place . . . . . in thy rising . . . . .

I am coming . . . . .

The Mormon Joseph Smith, in his *Pearl of Great Price*, 8vo., Liverpool, 1851, p. 24, has engraved another of these hypocephali, which, in the arrangement of its subjects and the figures represented, is like No. 8445. The inscription is so badly engraved that it is not possible to make out its meaning, and Smith's interpretations throw no light upon it. Champollion, also, in his *Panthéon Égyptien*, Pl. 2 quinquies, has engraved part of another, with some very singular representations. Some additional light is thrown by the one of the Takarheb upon the meaning of the use of these hypocephali in Egyptian mysticism, and the scope of their representations. It will be at once seen that this hypocephalus (Fig. F.) contains three scenes. In the first is the double-headed human deity; then the phoenix, called the Soul of the West, in its boat; and a boat with the emblem of Thebes, and a scarabæus. On the other hypocephali the bird resembles the hawk of 71st chapter of the Ritual (Lepsius, Todt. taf. xxvi. c. 71), which, with the mystical cow, forms the picture of that chapter called "the Chapter of Departing from Light, of averting the destruction, of not being taken in Hades, and of preserving," or "bringing out the body from Taser," the place before the gates of the Sun, where the deceased entered. This chapter commences with the following inscription:—"Oh hawk, emanating from Æther, lord Mehur, the great cow, make me sound, like as thou thyself hast been made sound," &c. But the bifront figure resembles that of the planet Osiris, or Jupiter; the boat that of the Egyptian constellation Argo; the deity one of the decans; and the scarab one of the Egyptian constellations. In the other division is the cow, here called "the great cow;" the god seated on his throne, in his raised hand a whip, and behind his back a hawk body, corresponding to the description of the god in the pupil of one of the mystical Eyes, adored by an ithyphallic hawk-headed ape, holding to him an eye by both hands. This cow refers to the vignette of the 162nd chapter of the Funeral Ritual (Lepsius, Todt. lxxvii. 163) called the Chapter of "making the Warmth [? or Hypocephalus] under the head of the Spirit;" for this very expression is found above the cow in the hypocephalus. The chapter is of mystical import, like that referring to the two Eyes. It commences thus, "Hail to thee, Oh god Paru [Baal-Peor], pursuer, rejoicing with plumes, lord of crowns, flogging with the whip.

"Thou art the Lord, having the phallus, growing in shining light.

"Thou art the Lord of the numerous transformations of skins, hiding [or hidden in] them in the Eye at his birth.

"Thou art the Opener of divisions among the gods [?], the wounder [?], shaker of legs [?].



"Thou art the powerful God, to whom came my plaint, and my grief, . . . . ."

The cow, after making this address, is then supposed to say, "I am the great cow; thy name is in my mouth. I will tell it—

"Pen ha ka ha ka her is thy name!

"Shu ru au an kar sa ank ru-ba-ta- is thy name!

"The leaf [ichneumon] serau [the sheep] is thy name!

"Sharusata is thy name!

"Sebana is thy name!

"I am the Cow; my words are heard the day I bring thee the warmth under the head of the Sun, which is made in the Empyreal region, the god in Petennu. You may produce it as if on earth; it is thy soul in the region of *Khemret* (the land of Annihilation). The deceased has come; place thou the producer of warmth [*Hypocephalus*] under his head. . . . . It is the soul of the great body which reposes in Pennu.

"The light, the scarabæus, the Chief, is his name!

"[Hai kheper ur is his name!]

"Ba ru [*Baal*] ka ta ga ua is his name!

"Thou mayest come," answers the god addressed by the cow; "and let him be as one of my followers, thou art he."

The rubric gives the following explanation:—"Said [of the figure?] of a cow, made of good gold laid at the throat of the dead, and she is made in outline upon a roll (or book, *gam*) of linen placed under his head. There is then abundant warmth throughout his form, as when he was on earth. Very much . . . has made the cow to her son the Sun, when he sets; his place is . . . from all persons, from . . . . . He is a god in the Hades; he is not turned away from any of the gates of the gateway in the place of the dead."

The inscription round the border of the object contains the final part of the chapter:—"Say, if you have placed this god at the throat of the dead—

"Oh Amen, of the gods!

"Oh Amen, who is above!

"Place thy face on the body of thy son!

"Make him well in the Hades!

"The book is the greatest of secrets;\* do not let any eye see it,—that would be detestable; know it, hide it, make it. The Book of the goddess who rules the secret house is its name. It is ended!"

I apprehend from this that the circular form of the pillow was intended to represent the pupil of one of the mystical Eyes so fully described already, and that the object itself was considered as the restoration of the vital warmth of the body. Like the eyes with wings and legs, it was not a purely Egyptian idea, but one borrowed from another mythology.

8. The chapter of the mystic papyrus sceptre is given in Lepsius, Todt. lxxvi. 160.

9. Among the amulets often found on the mummies is a little pillow, made of hæmatite, the use of which is not explained in the Ritual of Turin. In one of the British Museum, however, made for a scribe named Nebseni, there is a chapter of the head-rest or pillow, with a vignette of this object, followed by another chapter called the chapter that of . . . . . the head.

\* M. Chabas proposes "secret" as the meaning of shta, which agrees with this passage.







XVII.—*Notes of Antiquarian Researches in the Summer and Autumn of 1854.*  
*By JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, F.S.A., Secretary.*

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Read November 23, 1854.

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TEDDINGTON, MIDDLESEX.

ON the 30th June last, at the invitation of the Council of the Surrey Archaeological Society, I assisted at the opening of a Barrow at Teddington, near Kingston-on-Thames, but north of the river, and therefore in the county of Middlesex.

This Barrow stands within a field known by the name of "Barrow-field," on the right-hand of the road called Sandy Lane, leading from Hampton Wick to Bushey. A portion of it once extended into the road, but was cleared away about twenty years ago, when the road itself was widened, and the mound appears to have thus lost a considerable portion on its southern side, while traces of excavations in various parts of it plainly showed that it has more than once been assailed, not by the antiquary, but by treasure-seekers, as will be hereafter seen.

The mound, thus abridged of its proportions, measured from the level of the field to the apex 12 feet 3 inches, from north to south  $52\frac{1}{2}$  feet, and from east to west 96 feet: this discrepancy shews the extent to which it had been reduced by the clearing already alluded to.

We commenced by opening a trench eight feet wide, on the north side of the tumulus, but the presence of bricks and tiles soon convinced us that we had been preceded, though probably at some distant period, and the cutting was suspended. A trench of the same width was then opened on the south side, and after some hours' work the floor of the grave was reached.

Traces of combustion, extending several feet around, were now perceived, the sand of which the tumulus was entirely composed being burnt to a brick colour, while fragments of charcoal were distributed in various directions. In the very centre of what we must consider as the site of the funeral pile, was a heap of calcined bones, upon which lay the bronze blade of a knife or dagger, of a

description similar to those hitherto met with in our primæval barrows. No traces of an urn were observed; but scattered on the floor of the grave were several fragments of flint, of which the like have so often been found in these early mounds, and which had probably served the purposes of knives to the tribe which had assisted at these obsequies.

As already observed, the whole of this Barrow appeared to be composed of sand, and was remarkably free from flints and stones, of which but very few were perceived; nor was the mass of calcined bones protected by any heap differing from the rest of the mound, the sand being in immediate contact with it. Neither were any human or animal bones discovered during this day's excavation, but, buried superficially, the workmen found a portion of the rim of a large urn, which afforded conclusive evidence that this Barrow had been disturbed at some former period. On the following day the excavations were continued by Mr. Charles Bridger, a member of the Surrey Archaeological Society. On digging a little eastward of the first trench, fragments of a very large and rudely formed half-baked urn were discovered, and some portions of calcined human bones. This interment was about four feet below the apex of the mound, and had evidently been disturbed (probably at some very distant period) by treasure-seekers.

Further excavations by Mr. Bridger have produced a flint hatchet-head, and the bones of an adult buried superficially.

Mr. Quekett, of the College of Surgeons, to whom the calcined bones have been submitted, states that they are those of an adult, and that they have been subjected to a great heat, with free access of air during combustion. Among the fragments he detected portions of the cranium, portions of the upper and lower maxilla, the fang of an incisor tooth, and the phalangeal bone of a finger.

From the evidence obtained in the remains here discovered, we shall not err in assigning the first interment in this Barrow to a very remote period. The bronze dagger would seem to indicate that the individual whose obsequies had been celebrated by the rite of cremation, was a person of some rank and consideration among the primæval inhabitants of this district, since it is very evident, from the presence of flint implements in the mound, that the use of metal was not common among them.

#### WINGHAM, KENT.

On the 14th of August I visited the well-known site of an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Gilton, or, as it is commonly called, "Gilton Town," a suburb of Ash, three miles west of Sandwich. I found the sand-pit, the scene of Bryan

Faussett's explorations, had been planted with fruit-trees, a road having been made between it and the rising ground, upon which three windmills now stand. Hearing that some remains had been discovered on the other side, when a walk had been made at the back of the cottage of Mr. Thorpe the miller, I obtained his permission to open ground in that direction, but could find no further traces of interments; and removed on the following day to Wingham, where, by permission of Earl Cowper, I proceeded to explore the summit of a chalk-bank, at a spot called "Wetherden's Hall," about half a mile south-east from the town.<sup>a</sup>

The frequent finding of Anglo-Saxon relics here for years past, by the workmen occasionally engaged in digging chalk, attracted the attention of Lord Londesborough (then Lord Albert Conyngham), who in 1843 prosecuted some researches in this spot, and, among other objects, discovered a bronze bowl or patera, and a fibula.<sup>b</sup>

Those excavations were made at a venture, the ground having been opened here and there wherever the soil appeared loose and a grave was supposed to exist. This, therefore, rendered it now necessary to excavate a considerable portion of the surface-soil, an operation in which I was greatly assisted by labourers in the employ of Mr. James Elgar, who took a lively interest in our proceedings, and to whom I am indebted for a photograph of the spot; while his brother, Mr. John Elgar, kindly furnished me with a tracing of the site from the parish map, both of which are now exhibited.

There is probably no spot in England better calculated to recal the habits and superstitions of our heathen forefathers than that we are describing. At the foot of the hill rises a well of the purest water, the stream passing through the meadows and intersecting the northern portion of the town, below which it joins another stream called Wingham River, the source of which is "Wingham Well," a short distance south of Wingham.

The ancient road, which I am informed once ran from Canterbury, leads, in an easterly direction, across Wingham Down, passes along the southern end of the chalk-pit, and proceeds through the cleft in the hill called Blackney Down, on the summit of which it is crossed by the turnpike-road to Staple and Wodensborough. By the side of this old road, not many yards from the cemetery, stand a row of

<sup>a</sup> This locality is given as "Weatherless Hall" on the Ordnance Map. It was formerly the property of Sir Brook Bridges, who exchanged it with Earl Cowper.

<sup>b</sup> Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. i. p. 3. These objects are engraved in "Remains of Pagan Saxondom," plates x. and xi.



very ancient elder-trees. As we looked on these trees, doubtless the offspring of others once highly venerated by the heathen Saxons, and on the beautiful spring already alluded to, our thoughts reverted to the ancient canons, which forbid the worshipping of such objects by those who had been converted to the true faith.<sup>a</sup>

Several graves were met with which had been despoiled of their contents, but two were found to contain skeletons.

The first was of a woman, measuring exactly five feet three inches; the head to the west. The skull was of the usual elongated form, and carries had partly destroyed all the molar teeth. At the neck were several beads of different colours, formed of vitrified pastes. Near the left hand, which rested on the lap, were, what appears to be a bone spindle-whorl, the iron spindle passing through it; and a single bead, of amethystine quartz crystal, of the usual form.

The next grave contained the skeleton of an adult of middle stature. The skull was small, but the forehead high and beautifully formed. The sutures were obliterated, and all the molar teeth had evidently been lost in life-time, as the alveoli were perfectly closed. In the lap were an iron knife of the usual configuration, the tag of a waist-belt, a ring, a hasp,<sup>b</sup> and a buckle, all of iron.

No further interments were discovered in the portion of ground excavated, but, although so few objects were acquired, one of them is yet of considerable interest. I allude to the distaff, the characteristic emblem of the Anglo-Saxon woman, as the spear is often that of the man.<sup>c</sup> The flat bone ring in which the iron spindle was inserted is precisely similar to the object delineated in "Saxon Obsequies," plate 23, fig. 102. It was perhaps the binding or guard of a socket of some perishable material, for it will be observed that there are perforations near the edges by which it might be secured. That these objects were placed in the grave with the iron spindle passing within the ring will be perceived by the ferruginous tinge which it has imparted to one side of the bone.

<sup>a</sup> "And we enjoin that every priest zealously promote Christianity and totally extinguish every heathenism; and forbid *well-worshippings* (*pil-peopðungas*) and the vain practices which are carried on with various spells, and with frith-splots and *with elders* (3 on ellenum)," &c. Canons of Edgar, c. 16. *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, ed. B. Thorpe, 8vo. London, 1840. The predilection of our heathen forefathers for such objects is strikingly illustrated in the choice of the site of the cemetery of Little Wilbraham. Compare the ground-plan, here given, with that in "Saxon Obsequies," a record of excavations by the Honourable R. C. Neville, 4to. London, 1854.

<sup>b</sup> See a similar hasp in *Nenia Britannica*, plate viii. fig. 5. And another in Hoare's *Ancient Wilts*, vol. ii. p. xxxi. b. found with Anglo-Saxon remains at Woodyates.

<sup>c</sup> See *Archæologia*, vol. XXXV. p. 267, note b.





OBJECTS FOUND IN A TUMULUS AT STODMARSH, KENT.

(All of the actual size.)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1833

J. Russell, del. et sc.

The single bead of amethystine quartz, found near the left wrist, would appear to have been worn as a charm. A solitary bead is not unfrequently discovered near the left hand both of male and female skeletons.

STODMARSH.

Stodmarsh is a small village, about three miles from Wingham, overlooking the Valley of the Stour. At a short distance westward is the old mansion, Stodmarsh Court, erected in the reign of James the First. The ground rises abruptly at this spot, and the road from the village passes over it in a westerly direction. On the brow of the hill, on the south side of the road, and immediately facing the mansion, was formerly a tumulus, which was supposed to be composed of gravel, like the hill itself. About seven years since, a labourer engaged in removing this mound, which was then found to be formed of sand, suddenly broke into a grave, which, by its contents, was evidently that of one of the Saxon settlers in this district of East Kent. The man who made this discovery states that there were no traces of human remains, but the relics he dug up appear from their number and variety to have belonged to two persons, and those of different sexes. They are said to have comprised spear-heads and the umbo of a shield, bronze bowls, fibulae, beads, and other personal ornaments and utensils. These the finder carried to his master, Mr. Collard, of Stodmarsh Court, by whom they were disregarded, and I regret to say the bronze bowl and the weapons have been lost. For the objects now exhibited I am indebted to the kind intervention of Mr. John Elgar, of Wingham Court, who immediately applied for and obtained them.

*Objects found at Stodmarsh.*

(See Plate.)

No. 1. Portion of a fibula of a base mixed metal, the sunk parts silvered. The lower part is ornamented with snake-like figures. The composition of the metal resembles that of a fragment of a fibula discovered with a large sword at Coombe near Sandwich.

No. 2. Portion of a bronze fibula of coarse workmanship, inlaid with gold and filagree work, and set with slabs of garnet heightened, as usual, by stamped gold-foil at the back.

No. 3. A buckle of very beautiful form and workmanship, the sunk portion being covered with a thin plate of gold, on which is set a filagree pattern of the same metal. The bosses with which it is ornamented are very characteristic, each being surrounded by a beaded line at the base. The base of the tongue has been probably set with a slab of garnet.

No. 4. A small fibula of bronze, of coarse workmanship, set with a garnet in the centre. This was doubtless a female ornament.

No. 5. A spoon of mixed metal, which has been gilt. The bowl is perforated with five holes. At the junction of the handle with the bowl, a slab of garnet is inserted, heightened by a leaf of stamped gold at the back.

No. 6. A small stud, probably a portion of some ornament which was overlooked by the finder. It bears the usual pattern, and is set with a greenish opaque stone.

No. 7. A bronze buckle, probably the fastening of the belt of a man.

Nos. 8 and 9 are of bronze, and appear to have formed portions of the fittings of a belt or girdle. Similar objects are delineated by Douglas in *Nenia Britannica*, pl. xv. fig. 9.

No. 10. A bronze buckle in configuration resembling No. 7. but much more massive. Their Teutonic character is very striking, and their form may be compared with those given by Douglas (*N. Brit.* pl. xx. fig. 3). Compare also figs. 23, 25, 26, 28, and 32, in pl. xi. of "*La Normandie Souterraine*."

Of all these objects, the *spoon* is the most remarkable. It is the second example from the Anglo-Saxon graves of East Kent. The first, discovered by Douglas, and now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, is engraved in the *Nenia* (pl. 2. fig. 9). It is of similar construction, but the bowl is covered with perforations, the largest being in the centre, while this has but five holes, and is ornamented with one slab of garnet only. Its use must be left to conjecture. Douglas supposed it to have been designed for magical purposes, and identifies it with the superstition of the *sieve and sheers*,\* but of this we have no proof whatever. He states that his specimen was found between the bones of the femur, and perhaps rightly conjectures that it was worn at the girdle. The extremity of the handle is perforated, which favours such an opinion.

On visiting Stodmarsh, I discovered by the road side, a little westward of the Barrow in which these objects were found, a well defined tumulus, forty feet in diameter and about four feet high, and, having obtained the permission of Mr. Col-lard, I proceeded to open it. I found it, as its appearance plainly indicated, to have been artificially formed from the level of the surrounding soil; but after some time consumed in excavating it, the solid gravel having been reached without any traces of an interment, it was abandoned. I was informed that an ancient elder once grew on this mound, and as these trees are reproduced during many ages like thorns, it is not altogether improbable that this was one of those relics of the

\* *Nenia Britannica*, p. 6. Pagan Saxondom, pl. xxxiii.



superstitions of our pagan Saxon forefathers. That a tree had really formerly stood here we had proof in the decayed roots, which had penetrated to a great depth.

On the same day I opened a circular mound, contiguous to that which had been removed, as already described. It was much depressed, and formed artificially, and very compactly, of gravel, but it contained nothing. Why such a mound was made in close proximity to the other, which had produced so many objects of interest, must be left to the speculation of the antiquary. The accompanying sketch will shew the situation of these mounds, that marked with parallel lines being the one in which the relics were discovered.

#### DEERSON.

While at Wingham I learnt from Mr. Minter, a farmer at Wenderton, that some Roman urns had been found on land in the occupation of his brother in law, Mr. Goodson of Deerson, a farmstead near the village of Preston. On proceeding thither I found that a labourer in the employ of Mr. Goodson had, while digging in a gravel pit on the farm, a short distance west of Preston, disinterred some cinerary urns and a small patera of Samian ware. Unfortunately the urns were in a very fragile state and fell to pieces soon after their discovery; but a small patera of Samian ware, on the outside of which is scratched the word *SIINVNA*, had been preserved, and this I found placed before a hen-coop! The style of this inscription, the *II* expressing the letter *E* (*Senuna*), as is not unusual in the later Roman inscriptions in this country, warrants our ascribing this patera to a late period of the Roman occupation. Roman remains have been discovered in other places in this neighbourhood. Some urns were dug up by a labourer at a spot called White Hill, overlooking the valley of the Little Stour.



#### WOODBURY NEAR SALISBURY.

In the second field within the angle formed by the Hodstock\* and the Longford

\* I have ventured to correct the orthography of this name, usually spelt Odstock, on the authority of Anglo-Saxon charters. (Cod. Dipl. 387.) Hoddestoc means the land-mark of Hod, a Saxon probably of note in this district, whose descendants are yet found among the Hoddings, a name still existing in yeoman families in the South of England.

Roads, on rising ground, looking on the Avon, is a tumulus called "Rowbarrow."<sup>a</sup> The spot on which it stands is a part of the district called "Woodbury,"<sup>b</sup> which joins Harnham Hill. Its diameter is one hundred and twenty-eight feet, but its base has evidently been enlarged by the passing of the plough, which has removed the earth from and considerably depressed its apex. By permission of Mr. Jervoise, the owner of the land, and Mr. Attwater the tenant, I proceeded to open this Barrow on the 13th of September, cutting a trench ten feet wide from north to south. It was soon perceived that the whole mound from the level of the ground had been artificially formed. At about one foot below the surface the bones and teeth of ruminants were discovered, and lower down occasional traces of charcoal were met with. On reaching the centre on the following day a heap of flints was discovered, and as these are often found to cover and protect the interment care was taken in the removal of them, but nothing was found beneath, nor could any traces of a cist in the solid chalk be discovered. Although aware of the uncertain result of excavations in Barrows of the primæval period, of which this appeared to be an example, I was much disappointed at finding no object of interest within it. The bones and teeth and traces of charcoal were of the kind usually found in tumuli of this character, and I am led to conclude that it has been explored at some very distant period by the treasure-seekers of the middle ages, for the materials of which it was composed had acquired a solidity which age alone could impart to them.

The bones and teeth which have been alluded to are those of a large pig, a dog, and ruminants.

#### OLD SARUM.

Hearing that some human remains had been turned up occasionally by the plough in the field nearly opposite the Old Castle Inn, I obtained, on the application of Mr. H. J. F. Swayne, permission to make excavations, and on the 18th of September commenced operations; but after digging some hours, during which the labourers discovered a few human bones which had evidently been brought from

<sup>a</sup> The term Rowbarrow would seem to designate a tumulus or eminence which had once been topped with stones, presenting a rugged apex. Compare the epithets Ruganbeorh, Ruwanbeorh, Ruanberg, in the *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, *passim*.

<sup>b</sup> Woodbury appears to have been included in the grant of Cenwealh to the Church of Winchester. See the land limits of this grant in my account of the Harnham Cemetery, *Archæologia*, vol. XXXV.

some other spot, further research was abandoned. The finding of the blades of two mediæval knives, and a very common jetton or abbey piece, with the legend *AVE MARIA . GRACIA . PLENA .* seemed to indicate that the field had been dressed at some early period with soil brought from the neighbourhood.

Subsequently I was informed by Mr. Swayne that skeletons had been dug out of the bank on the other side of the road when it was widened some years ago. We accordingly resolved to try this spot, and proceeded to excavate in the corner of the paddock attached to the inn, immediately opposite the entrance to the rings. The exact situation will be seen by the accompanying sketch, kindly contributed by Mrs. Swayne. The soil here consisted of loose earth and rubble, affording evidence that it had been removed. After excavating to the depth of three feet a purer chalky soil was reached, and two feet lower the men arrived at a cist cut in the chalk rock. This was filled with loose chalk, among which were observed some shards of Roman or Romano-British pottery, like those discovered in pagan Anglo-Saxon graves, and some pigs' teeth and the teeth of ruminants. Around the head and shoulders of the skeleton which lay in this cist were some large flints, placed like those discovered in pagan burial-grounds, and at the feet were some iron nails. The skull was in very perfect state, and the teeth even, white, and well preserved, bearing no marks of attrition. The body lay north-west by south-east, the head north-west. There was in fact nothing to distinguish this from one of the later pagan interments, but our subsequent finding appears to leave this problematical.

On widening the trench, and continuing it westward, other skeletons were discovered, but these were not so deep as the first interment. One of them was of a man who had passed the middle age, the cranium well developed, and the teeth nearly perfect. At the left side of the head were a chalice and paten of pewter.



No traces of a coffin were observed, but it cannot be safely asserted that there had been none.

A little to the right of this grave was another on the same level, and this had

been formed in the chalk rock. It contained the very perfect skeleton of a man of advanced age and of middle stature. The left arm from the shoulder to the wrist appeared to be defended by a narrow trough of lead, which on removal was discovered to be the remains of a coffin, which, from some fibres adhering to the outside of this fragment, had evidently been inclosed in one of wood.

#### MIDDLE WALLOP, HANTS.

On the 20th of September, by permission of Mr. Dowling the owner and occupier of the land, I opened the tumulus known as "Kent Barrow," or "Canute's Barrow," situated a short distance north of the Andover Road, and about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  miles east from Middle Wallop. It is a conspicuous object on the Ordnance Map.

The diameter of this Barrow was found to be sixty-six feet, its height about six feet. It stands in the middle of a ploughed field, and the earth of which it is formed appears to have been taken from the alluvial soil around it, which in the vicinity of the Barrow appears to be scarcely a foot in depth.

I was informed that when the plantation of firs was made a short distance east of this mound, several human skeletons were dug up, but I could not learn whether any relics had been discovered with them. I also heard that traces of old foundations had been met with in the adjoining field north of this Barrow, but I could perceive no vestiges which would enable me to judge of their age or character.

The view from this spot is extensive. On the south is the well-known encampment called Danebury; four miles north-east is the town of Andover; and about midway is Abbot's Ann, where, in a field a short distance from the town, are extensive traces of Roman foundations.

The excavation proceeded by the cutting of a trench seven feet wide through the Barrow from south to north down below its base until the chalk rock was reached. As already observed, the mound was formed of fine mould, no pebbles or flints occurred, but several small fragments of Roman or Romano-British pottery appeared to perplex us. At length the centre was reached, and a cube yard of large flints, some of them weighing nearly a quarter of a hundredweight, was laid bare. They were not heaped together promiscuously, but placed, apparently with care and skill, so as to resemble rude masonry, the mould of which the tumulus was formed being used instead of mortar. It was very evident to all present that this mass of flints had never been disturbed, and it was only by the exertion of some force that they were detached from each other. The block thus formed did not rest on the chalk rock but on the surface of the ground.



As the blocks of flint were separated, it appeared that some of them had slight traces of charcoal upon their surfaces, but none apparently had sustained the action of fire, and as the demolition of the mass proceeded, we were on the tip-toe of expectation; strange to say, however, nothing was found beneath it but the alluvial soil on which it rested, unstained by fire or the least trace of any deposit. Further excavations on one side of the trench brought to light some bones, which Mr. Quekett informs me are portions of the pelvis of an ox, and two small flints of the chalk which have evidently passed the fire.

"Kent Barrow" therefore remains still an archæological problem, of which I fear it will be difficult to offer a satisfactory solution. Its exploration has disclosed a method of construction of which I believe but one other example—namely, a Barrow at Ellenborough in Cumberland, explored in 1763—has hitherto been noticed in this country. In that, however, the substructure was formed of turf.<sup>b</sup> But to what age shall we ascribe the tumulus at Wallop? And must we regard it as designed for an altar or a cenotaph?

The presence of fragments of pottery, well baked and turned in a lathe, forbids our assigning it to a very early period, and most assuredly not to the more ancient inhabitants of the district, the aboriginal Britons; but the negative evidence which this supplies leads us to no safe conclusion as to its origin, which will probably remain for ever a mystery.<sup>a</sup>

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN.

Society of Antiquaries, November, 1854.

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#### POSTSCRIPTUM.

I was about to commit the foregoing remarks to press, when Mr. Wylie received a letter from Capt. Von Dürich, of the Royal Wirtemberg Engineers, the substance of which he has since communicated to the Society (Proceedings, vol. iii.

<sup>a</sup> A friend who has looked over these sheets is of opinion that "this Barrow is of the primeval period created for some purpose, sacrificial or commemorative, that we shall never rightly discover. You will remember," he remarks, "that I opened three very large tumuli near Blackwater, Hants, composed of fine mould, without finding a trace of relics within. Monsieur Feret of Dieppe has often named to me as singular, that in his examination of ancient Gaulish barrows and habitations, he has found substructions composed of blocks of chalk, set together in a rude masonry without mortar." "In fact," he adds, "I saw the same thing myself in a barrow at Varangeville; masses of chalk and large flints, with the occasional presence of charcoal."

<sup>b</sup> Archæologia, vol. II. page 57.



Feb. 1, 1855). In that letter the writer mentions the discovery by him of tumuli of an evidently similar character to that explored at Wallop. Placed on the altar-like substructure were earthen vessels and other objects indicating a Celtic origin. Subsequently in a letter with which Capt. Von Dürrieh has favoured me, in answer to inquiries addressed to him,—he observes, “The Hampshire Barrow, which strongly resembles our hill tumuli, greatly interested me. Your tumulus, however, has not the stones, which in ours, probably Keltic, are found to lie above the earth that covers the altar. If my health and the circumstances of the times permit, you shall have a full account of all my archæological labours.” The great importance of comparing our ancient remains with those of the Continent, is here apparent, and I shall anxiously look for the promised communication of the learned and gallant Captain. The sketch which accompanied his first letter showed that the substruction or altar of the Wirtemberg tumuli rests on the natural soil, and that it is covered first by a layer of earth, above which is a course of stones which are covered with earth in the ordinary manner. From this additional evidence I am disposed to consider the Barrow at Wallop of the later ante-Roman period, but the fragments of pottery alluded to are clearly those of vessels turned on a lathe, and not at all resembling the fabric of the more primæval British urns.

J. Y. A.

March 17, 1855.

XVIII. *Notes upon the Sculptures of a Temple discovered at Bath.* By GEORGE  
SCHARF, Jun., Esq., F.S.A.

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Read February 8th, 1855.

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DURING the fall of last year I visited the ancient city of Bath, and was astonished at the quality and extent of the sculptures and inscriptions now preserved in the Literary Institution. They are collected in a vestibule attached to that building, which has a portico of very pure Greek Doric architecture, and the sculptures are effectively arranged, with the advantage of a central light from above. All the sculptures in this vestibule have a particular local interest, as they were discovered within the precincts of the city, most of them about the year 1790, upon what appears to have been the site of an ancient temple, or, more probably, a group of buildings.

On entering the apartment I at once recognised two or three of the sculptures as having been engraved in Carter's "*Ancient Architecture of England*," Plates 8, 9, and 10. These engravings are coarse and rough, but are, in fact, the only ones which do justice to the boldness and vigour of the originals.

I fortunately met my friend the Rev. Mr. Searth, of Bathwick, who has recently contributed some valuable information to this Society, and, by his aid, obtained reference to other works that have been already published upon these antiquities.

On my return to town I procured access to them.

The following may be selected for mention:—

Sir Henry Charles Englefield's communication in the *Archæologia*, vol. X. entitled "*Account of Antiquities discovered at Bath, 1790.*"

John Carter's work, 1796, already referred to.

The Rev. Richard Warner's "*Illustrations of the Roman Antiquities discovered at Bath,*" 1797.

Samuel Lysons's "*Remains of two Temples, and other Roman Antiquities discovered at Bath,*" 1802.

The latter, a magnificent folio work, is incomparably superior to the others, not only for scale, but for fidelity, and the words "*drawn with the most scrupulous*"

accuracy" of his advertisement, are fully merited, excepting in two or three minor particulars.

Having procured an accurate tracing of Lysons's plates, I returned with it to Bath, and collated it with the original, marking carefully the details he had overlooked or misunderstood. In saying this I should be sorry, indeed, to be considered disposed to lessen or underrate the value of those illustrations by Mr. Robert Smirke, Jun., of that time, or of the experienced Mr. William Daniel: I am perfectly aware of the different circumstances under which they beheld the sculptures. They were not, then, deposited in the elegant vestibule that now protects them. The light upon them must have been less advantageous, and they were most probably drawn under circumstances of great difficulty. It may be also remembered that in former times the Directors of the *Archæologia* and the art-studying public were not, as we know they now are, so very particular.

Of all the plates in Lysons, those representing the subjects most interesting to me, namely, sculptures of the human figure, were least satisfactory, because, although laboriously minute in details, they were deficient in energy and spirit.

I therefore offer to your notice, this evening, an enlarged drawing, by the assistance of my Father, representing the principal compartment of the ancient temple, together with sketches of some other portions of sculpture, all of which, although greatly beyond the size of any published plates, still fall far short of the original dimensions.

It is not my intention to offer you any original interpretation of the subjects here represented; I hope, rather, by the display of these diagrams, to elicit from others some further illustrations of these really curious subjects—for they have, unfortunately, not yet acquired the notoriety in other countries which they seem to deserve, and I hope that some of our illustrious members may contribute, from their own stores of recent learning, a permanent interpretation, and close for ever the conflicting statements and opinions contained in the few works above quoted.

The larger drawing which I exhibit represents the central part of the tympanum of a pediment belonging to some richly-decorated building.

The altitude of the tympanum measured 8 feet 4 inches; and, by observing a stone containing the angle, the length of the tympanum was found to be 24 feet 2 inches.

Sir Henry Englefield observes,\* "The most singular part of this building is the extreme elevation of the pediment; and this is so well ascertained as to leave no doubt about it. No ancient building as yet discovered has a pediment of so

\* *Archæologia*, vol. X. page 327.

acute a pitch as this; though in smaller works, and on medals, such are not uncommon."

He next describes Plate 32, of the same subject as my diagram, and says<sup>a</sup> that it "exhibits the central ornament of the tympanum of the temple, every part of which was measured on the spot, and all the ornaments faithfully drawn there, except the head in the centre, into the eyes of which, I fear, I have put a degree of expression which the original wants. The disposition of the beard, which is the most curious part of the head, I can, however, answer for. It has been carved on four stones, whose joints are faintly marked in the drawing."

He concludes his description by saying, "The execution of the whole is very indifferent; but the head is as bad as possible, flat, hard, and without taste or expression."

To this sweeping condemnation I cannot by any means subscribe; and few persons looking at the drawing now exhibited, or the plate engraved in Lysons, would declare that they never saw worse art. Those who have studied the age of decadence to which this unquestionably belongs will admit, that greater faults and barbarisms are to be found on coins, and among the sculptures of Rome itself, than in the subject before us.

The execution is coarse, and the material, taken from the quarries in the neighbourhood, does not admit of any great delicacy of execution. The eyes are crude, and extravagant in drawing; but there is an effective treatment of the work, as intended for a distance, and a peculiar roundness about the flesh, which (to use an artist's technicality) is especially pulpy upon the cheeks. The arrangement of the hair is very artistic, and the mode in which the snakes are made to combine with it is worthy of observation.

In making these remarks, you will permit me to remind you that I am not speaking of this specimen with regard to sculpture generally, but with reference to the class of art to which this sculpture particularly belongs: I mean of late-Roman art and provincial workmanship, and of which, I believe, we have no better specimens in this country. The celebrated *Lanx* now in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland, and of which I was permitted to make a careful study in 1852, belongs also to this class.

To return to the sculpture itself. It must have originally consisted of twelve separate stones, only six of which remain. The subject is a large circular shield, called *Clipeus*, supported by two flying figures of Victory: the feet of the right-hand Victory still remain attached to a globe.

<sup>a</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. X. page 331.



In the centre of the shield is a bold head surrounded by locks of hair, so arranged as to leave the face exactly in the centre; the beard is united with the hair of the head, forming one continued circle, and permitting only the tips of the ears to be distinguished on each side. Two large feather-wings spring conspicuously, *not* from the temples or forehead, as is usual, but from behind the ears, where they are connected with a lock of hair in somewhat clumsy fashion. Serpents are seen protruding from among the locks: they are arranged symmetrically, so that the position of the snakes' heads is nearly the same on both sides. This is not so in the disposition of the beard and lower serpents, where only a general symmetry has been observed. The union of snakes with the hair, and the appearance of the wings, have suggested to many writers the notion that this must be the head of Medusa.



All, I believe, concur in recognising the existence of moustaches (which Mr. Warner calls *whiskers*) and beard, appendages that are certainly in opposition to every known authenticated representation of the Gorgon Medusa.



Lysons says, in a note to his descriptions, page 3, "One of the most striking peculiarities of this head, namely, the whiskers, may be seen in a work apparently of better times. See Montfaucon's *Antiquité Expliquée*, vol. ii. tab. 54." On turning to Montfaucon, according to the reference, I found a representation of a moustached Medusa upon an ancient *acerra*—a bronze incense-box—which afterwards came into the hands of the Comte de Caylus, and is now in the possession of my friend Mr. Disney, in his well-known collection at the Hyde, near Ingatestone. Having often seen the original, I recognised the subject at once. As a specimen of real antiquity, this bronze *acerra* is open to much question; but it remains for us to examine its weight as an authority for a whiskered Medusa. At one of the ends is undoubtedly a Gorgon's head, and in Montfaucon's plate it is represented with *four* wings, two of them reversed, and enormous moustaches, more nearly resembling those of a Chinese mandarin than any example in classic art I remember to have seen; but on comparing this plate of Montfaucon with a careful engraving published in the *Museum Disneianum*, plate 78, not only the moustaches vanish, but the couple of wings reversed, made to spring from the jaw-bone, disappear also.

The execution of the present head is very remarkable. Whilst the architectural ornaments of the columns are bold and pierced—a style so peculiar to the decadence period—it exhibits no appearance of drill-holes except in the centre of the eyeballs, where the hole is so deep that the point of my pencil was lost in it. The nostrils are well pronounced, and the lips very clearly defined; altogether, there is a remarkably individual character about the physiognomy. The eyes are peculiar in shape, but the form of the lids carefully observed, and the marking of the eyeball by two deep-cut circles, and the hole in the centre, were evidently calculated for distant effect. The eyes themselves—that is, the spaces enclosed between the eyelids—are remarkably flat. I, perhaps, insist on these points more strongly than I would otherwise do, because it is observable that when inferior art is represented in publication it is generally made *worse* than it really is; and, when the style of art is tolerably good, it becomes flattered by the artist into perfection. Of all principles the most pernicious is to make bad worse. The flattering style is also dangerous, as the original when really seen comes to be despised, and too often set aside and neglected,—the case of the flattering portrait and Anne of Cleves. Governor Pownall admires the countenance, and above all the expression, which he says is "of aspect stern, yet open as the day, *φαιδρος τὰς ὀφθαλμοῖς*. Just as Mercury is described in his character of Sol." <sup>a</sup> Now, although I do not subscribe

<sup>a</sup> Warner, page 75.

to the Governor's Greek or mythology, it is pleasant to see some opposition to Sir Henry Englefield's sweeping condemnation. The Governor's object is to prove that this head is "the serpentine or cherubic diadem which the Egyptians, Rhodians, and some other nations in the East, placed upon the head of the divine symbol of their god."

In Carter's description of his spirited plates,<sup>a</sup> he says :—

"In the centre of the shield is a strong resemblance of the head of Medusa, as it seems to be from the entwining serpents, the flowing hair, the wings above the ears, &c. There is likewise the appearance of whiskers and a beard, hence some doubt arises in respect to the above conjecture; but perhaps the sculptor added whiskers by way of giving a more terrific look to the head; the hair upon the upper lip and chin may be no more than the flowing extremities of the hair from the head; be that as it may, the original meaning of such marks cannot be ascertained."

Mr. Carter's own drawing contradicts the opinion of the hair upon the lip proceeding from any other direction.

In mentioning this head as occupying the centre of a shield he is more correct than Englefield<sup>b</sup> or Lysons,<sup>c</sup> who both call it a patera. A note, however, added by Mr. Britton to a recent edition of Carter (1838), says, "This was unquestionably intended to represent the ægis of Minerva."

We are not, as yet, quite certain that the central head does represent Medusa; and, although the Gorgon's head is often seen in the centre of Minerva's shield, it still more frequently appears upon the ægis, but the ægis is quite distinct from the shield, and of very different character from that of the sculpture before us.

The ægis was originally a goat-skin, and when Jupiter was contending with the Titans he was directed to wear it, with the head of the Gorgon.<sup>d</sup> Homer designates Jupiter by the title of Ægis-bearing, Αἰγιόχος; and from this circumstance the goat-skin became the mantle or paludamentum of the Roman emperors, and the Medusa's head at last degenerated into a fibula or button, with which the cloak was fastened on the right shoulder. The Roman emperors, in the character of Jupiter, wore the ægis, as seen upon the splendid cameo of the Emperor Rudolf, now at Vienna.<sup>e</sup> But we are more accustomed to see the ægis in connection with

<sup>a</sup> Pl. ix page 9.

<sup>b</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. X. page 332.

<sup>c</sup> Lysons, page 2.

<sup>d</sup> Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, s. v. Ægis, col. b.

<sup>e</sup> Eckhel, *Choix des Pierres gravées*, pl. 1. A striking example of the combination of the scaled ægis with Roman Imperial armour may be seen in a bronze statue of a youth found at Pompeii in 1824. The head of Medusa, surrounded by snakes upon the scales, is extremely beautiful.—Mus. Bor. vol. 5. tav. 36.

Minerva: she wore it in various shapes and ways, frequently as a skin, covered with small scales and fringed with serpents, and sometimes as a band, very often as a cape round the neck, fastened in front with the Gorgon's head. This we may observe, that, when the goddess is fully armed, the Medusa's head never appears upon the ægis and buckler also. There are abundant examples of the Gorgon's head occupying the centre of her shield, but it was not so in the celebrated statue by Phidias in the Parthenon, and is probably not to be found in the earlier specimens of art in that position. We do find it so placed on the coins of Antiochus, Philip, Antigonus of Pergamus, and upon numerous Roman bas-reliefs. One form of the Gorgon's head appears upon copies of Roman sculpture and pseudo-antiques, which deserves a caution: it is the distorted countenance of a beautiful female, bristling with snakes, and her mouth wide open, as if screaming to the utmost extent. This is not antique, and certainly not in accordance with the taste of the early Greek artists. They represented the Gorgon hideous, with terrific teeth and something of a fiendish grin upon the countenance; the tongue also was made to protrude; as may be seen not only upon painted vases, but upon numerous coins, both Greek and of the Roman families. During the more refined period of art the hideousness was set aside, and a type "severe in youthful beauty" was adopted. A curious instance of a Medusa head, with the tongue protruding, occurs on the large round shield of a statue of Minerva, found in this country, and now in the possession of the Duke of Bedford.

Examples of the pseudo-treatment of Medusa may be seen in Causeus' *Museum Romanum*, sectio 1, *Gemm. Ant. tab. 57*, page 39; in Santi Bartoli's engraving from the frieze in the forum of Nerva, pl. 41, *Admiranda*, where the shield is a restoration of the engraver. The screaming head is also seen in Spence's *Polymetis*, plate 41, No. 2.

The illustrious Raphael has introduced the same type in his grand picture, the *Cycle of Philosophy*, commonly called the *School of Athens*.

Michael Angelo da Caravaggio has bestowed the utmost effect that art could display in a similar treatment of the same subject.<sup>a</sup> The picture now in the Gallery of the Uffizj at Florence is painted upon a convex surface, and it is a true observation that "as you turn the eyes appear to follow you."

The same gallery contains another modern example of Medusa, by Lionardo da Vinci.<sup>b</sup> The great painter has here adopted a truly poetical treatment: the head, severed from the body, lies neglected on a desert waste; the back part turned toward the spectator, so that all may gaze with impunity (mark the contrast to Caravaggio); the mouth is evidently open, but from this point of view

<sup>a</sup> Gal. di Fir. vol. ii. tav. 55.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. vol. iii. tav. 128.

not disagreeable. The last breath, like a dense cloud of steam, is seen issuing forth, and venomous reptiles and creatures of darkness are approaching, not for prey but eager curiosity, and only held back by fear, whilst the faintest symptom of life remains. The eyes, although averted and foreshortened, are terrific to behold; but the main part of the picture—because nearest in front—is the serpents, who still seem writhing, and exhibit every variety of exhaustion and suffering. Some are already dead, others stretched along lifeless in all but their head, others spending their last passion in violent contortions, and two seem to meditate a revengeful attack upon the now sightless eyeballs of the pale and beautiful countenance. But all are dying. For poetry and accurate imitation of nature this picture well merits the praise and admiration so frequently awarded to it.<sup>a</sup>

To return to our subject: the ægis and shield of Minerva were very distinct, and there can be little doubt that this is a shield of the large round clipeus form, supported by figures of Victory—of which a hand is seen at the right side, in the same manner as appears on the reverse of a large gold coin of Constantine, and on a medallion of Antoninus. Between the head and the rim of the shield are two circles or wreaths of leaves and berries, or rather oakleaves and acorns. These have no direct reference to Minerva, and are certainly not olive-branches, as some writers have described them to be.

I cannot believe this head to be Medusa; nor the Sun, as a friend of Sir Henry Englefield suggested; the latter opinion I think is set aside by the fact that the sun was represented in the same building, according to the well-known classic type, in a conspicuous position, corresponding with a figure of Luna, that we may examine hereafter. We shall probably find that this head is the symbol of the Hot Spring, and that the double wreath refers to oak-groves, which may have surrounded the locality, thus in some degree perpetuating the old Celtic places of veneration. This mode of treatment has abundant precedent on coins, those of Sicily especially. Giants—those who shook the earth and were connected with subterraneous fire<sup>b</sup>—were represented winged, and displayed in their forms combination with serpents, so that there is less ground for so strong an adherence to the opinion that this must be a Gorgon.

Male bearded heads often appear upon coins and gems with birds' wings at the temples; and long flowing locks generally indicate the abundant streams of a river-god or fountain-head. A male figure, with wings on his forehead and at his back, occurs in the so-called Mars and Sylvia painting at Pompeii. (Raoul Rochette, *Monumens Inédits*, pl. 9.) A venerable bearded figure has wings simi-

<sup>a</sup> The same city contains another celebrity of this subject, namely, the bronze statue of Perseus with the head of Medusa by Benvenuto Cellini.

<sup>b</sup> *Iliad* II. lines 780-5.



larly disposed upon a bas-relief in the Palazzo Albani. (See Zoega, Bassi-relievi, vol. ii., tav. 93.) A dignified bearded head, crowned with asphodel, has wings at the temples,<sup>a</sup> and resembles a type well known upon Roman coins<sup>b</sup> of the Titia family. In all these cases the wings are bird-like; but in the celebrated painting of Mars and Sylvia, from the baths of Titus,<sup>c</sup> a similar figure has butterfly-wings, such as Psyche is always represented with; but he has no wings to his back; a combination, however, of birds' wings at the forehead, and butterfly wings at the back of a bearded old man, may be found on the celebrated sarcophagus of the Capitoline Museum at Rome. (Mori, Museo Capitolino, vol. ii. tavola 6, page 28.)

All these examples given are personifications of the god Morpheus. The winds also were represented winged, particularly on the Horologium of Andronicus Cyrrhestes at Athens. (See Stuart's Athens, vol. i. pl. 14.) Boreas sometimes with doubled wings. (Hirt. Bilderbuch, taf. 18, No. 2.) He is described on the chest of Cypselus as having serpent-feet. *Βορέας ἐστὶν ἡρπᾶκος Ωρεϊθυϊαν, οὐραὶ δὲ οφειῶν αὐτὶ ποδῶν εἰσὶν αὐτῷ.* Pausanias, lib. v. cap. 19. The giant Typhæus was represented also with wings. (See Hirt. Bilderbuch, taf. 18, No. 4.) And it would be almost endless to particularise the representations of giants where the human form terminates in a double serpent; I shall only name a sarcophagus in the Vatican, displaying a bas-relief of the Titans struggling against the gods, which, although it is made to appear excellent art in the Museo Pio-Clementino, by Signor Visconti, is, in reality, a miserable specimen of workmanship, considering that it belonged to the great metropolis, and is not at all superior to the work we have been examining from Bath.<sup>d</sup>

Perseus was often represented in ancient art with wings attached to a helmet, or springing from the head. He generally wears the Talaria or wings at his heels, and not unfrequently has wings on the head as well as feet. (See bas-relief in the Capitol at Rome, Museum Capitolinum, vol. vi. tav. 52; Mori, Museo Capitolino; and Crystal Palace Catalogue, Greek Court, No. 35; Mus. Bor. vol. xii. tav. 52.) The type was even preserved in Anglo-Saxon times, as seen in

<sup>a</sup> Millin, Gall. Myth. No. 352, pl. 13.

<sup>b</sup> Guigniaut, Nouvelle Galerie, pl. 142, No. 334.

<sup>c</sup> Ponce, Thermes de Titus, pl. No. 29.

<sup>d</sup> Mus. Pio Clem., vol. iv. tav. 10; Pistolesi, vol. v. tav. 26; Crystal Palace Catalogue, Greek Court, No. 126. Similar figures occur in pl. 4, vol. ii., of Atlas to the Annali dell' Instituto di Roma; Pistolesi, vol. iv. tav. 94; Oesterley's Denkmäler, part ii. pl. 21, figs. 231, 232, and pl. 22, fig. 242; Raspe's Catalogue of Tassie's Gems, pl. 26, No. 1753; pl. 19, No. 986; pl. 20, Nos. 1001, 995, 991, and 992. Museo Borbonico, vol. i. tav. 53. Millin, Gall. Myth. Nos. 52, 114, 128, and 122. Guigniaut, Nouvelle Galerie, pl. 92, Nos. 338, 356; pl. 93, No. 338a.



a MS. marked Tiberius, B. v. in the British Museum. The illumination occurs on page 34. A Mercury among the Pompeian paintings has wings growing from the head as well as feet. (*Pitture d'Ercolano*, vol. vii. tav. 19, page 89.)<sup>a</sup>

The flowing Streams, personified with ample locks, have often dolphins or river-fish mingled with them, sometimes heads of horses, and very frequently vine-leaves and panthers. See, for example, the lamp in *Museum Romanum* of Causeus, vol. ii. No. 18, which has a bold head, with horns, dolphins, and horses' heads, falsely attributed to Pan. The rise of the river Hipparis is beautifully represented on coins of Camarina as a youthful head, with horns, accompanied with fish, rising as it were encompassed with a pool of water. Many valuable remarks connected with these subjects will be found in Mr. Watkiss Lloyd's Essay on Greek Chorographical Coins, published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 14th June, 1848, where he shows the various ways in which the geographical situation of the personified object was indicated.

I must confess myself strongly impressed with the belief that this central head, instead of being a Gorgon, is a personification of the celebrated Hot Spring itself, that the abundant curls pertain to the flowing streams, and that the wings relate to the fleeting nature of the Bath waters, which, from their intense heat, evaporate rapidly. The fleeting and evanescent nature of dreams is in the same manner symbolized by wings upon the head of Morpheus, and wings are also seen attached to chariot-wheels, although, in themselves, the latter indicate rapid motion.<sup>b</sup>

Sleep and Death are also represented with wings,<sup>c</sup> when transporting Sarpedon from the battle-field to his native home; and Aurora carrying off Memnon is similarly provided; the last three instances relating distinctly to transit through the air. A fleeting shower was impersonated with wings, as Jupiter Pluvius upon the column of Marcus Aurelius at Rome.<sup>d</sup>

Thetis, in a cylix of the *Museum Gregorianum*, when embraced by Peleus, is represented with a winged band on her forehead.<sup>e</sup> This seems to indicate the power she possessed to elude by changing suddenly from one shape to another.

The Winds were frequently represented as bearded heads with birds' wings, and

<sup>a</sup> Wings spring from the head also of Etruscan marine deities. See Guignaut, *Nouvelle Galerie*, pl. 155, fig. 589 a, 591 c, and 592 a; and Dennis' *Etruria*, title-page, vol. i.

<sup>b</sup> See sculpture upon the lid of the Paiafa Tomb in the Lycian Saloon of the British Museum, No. 142.

<sup>c</sup> See *Archæologia*, vol. XXIX. Pl. 16, essay by Mr. Birch upon a Canino vase in the British Museum; and Overbeck, *Abbildungen zur Gallerie Heroischer Bildwerke*, taf. 22, No. 14.

<sup>d</sup> Engraved in Bartoli, *Columna Antonini*, tav. 15, and Hirt. *Bilderbuch*, taf. 18, No. 5.

<sup>e</sup> *Mon. dell' Instituto*, Atlas 1832, tav. 37. Overbeck, taf. 8, No. 4.

the type has been continued as late as Anglo-Saxon times, and may be seen on pp. 16 and 69 of the famous Harleian MS. No. 603, now in the British Museum.

Pursuing the chorographical view, the locality of the hot spring at Bath is in a deep valley or rather basin of hills, and totally different in situation from all other Roman towns; but this may be accounted for by considering that the origin of the town was for salutary purposes, and not for defence.

Therefore, on the above principle, the great shield forming the centre of this pediment may prove to be a basin, such as collected the waters as they rose, and in this respect the actual shape of the sculpture would be favourable, for the space between the circles and all round the head is deeply concave, whilst all bucklers that I remember in ancient art partake of the opposite form, convex.

Having thrown out these hints and done all I can to oppose the interpretation of this head as a Medusa—in which I am happy to acknowledge the confirmation and encouragement of my friend Mr. Burgon—it remains for us to glance at other portions of this sculpture.

At the left hand lower corner is a helmet of a very peculiar and unclassic shape, done with so little intelligence of construction as to cast a suspicion over the antique genuineness of the whole composition, but for the well-authenticated circumstances under which they were discovered.\* On the right-hand side above is part of an arm with a bracelet, and lower down a tolerably well executed hand holding a wreath, evidently belonging to a flying Victory, which we shall consider presently, for a smaller object below claims prior attention. It is the hand of a child holding an owl by the wing. Here we must acknowledge an emblem of Minerva, and of Night also. The helmet *alone* may be regarded as allusive to Mars, and in early instances reminding us of the invisible helmet of Pluto. The helmet, as symbolizing Mars, would have been an appropriate allusion in a Roman colony, and the owl of Minerva especially appropriate in connection with a building devoted to the healing deities. It may not be inappropriate to quote here a passage from a very late Greek author, Proclus, who, on account of the date at which he flourished (he died A.D. 485), may be the more to our purpose:—

Ἡ ΑΘΗΝΑ ΝΙΚΗ προσαγορευαται και ΤΓΓΙΕΙΑ, τον μεν νουν κρατει ποιουσα της αναγκης, και το ειδος της υλης, όλον δάει και τελειον, και αηρων, και άνοσον διαφυλαττουσα το παν, οικειον συν της του θεου ταυτης, και το αναγείν, και μερίζειν, και δια της νοερας χορειας συναπτειν τοις θειοτεροις, και ενδρυνει και φρουρειν εν αυτοις.

\* The adoption of classic types, and ignorance of the original forms, can only be paralleled by examples of Anglo-Saxon art in MSS.

This Taylor translates <sup>a</sup> as follows :—

Minerva is called *Victory* and *Health*; the former because she causes intellect to rule over necessity, and form over matter; and the latter, because she preserves the universe perpetually whole, perfect, exempt from age, and free from disease. It is the property therefore of this goddess to elevate and distribute, and through an intellectual dance, as it were, to connect, establish, and defend, inferior natures in such as are more divine.

A fragment of the flying Victory is seen on the left: the folds of the drapery are well arranged, better a great deal than on the Victories of the arch of Constantine at Rome. The forms of the feathers are particularly well observed, and have not been done justice to in Lysons's engraving. This portion is not shewn in the woodcut on page 190.

A parallel arrangement to this sculpture is to be seen at the entrance to the Library of Durham Cathedral, engraved in Carter, plate xi. fig. j: it was found at Lanchester; each Victory stands on a globe, and has a shield, of the Pelta form, on her arm. The circles upon the globe belonging to the right-hand Victory of our sculptures (omitted in the accompanying woodcut) are to be seen also on paintings at Pompeii, engraved in the Museo Borbonico, vol. vii. tav. 55. They occur besides on the gold coins of Augustus, and are carefully observed on the globe of the celebrated Farnese Atlas, now in the Museum of Naples.<sup>b</sup> See also engraved gems published in the Chev. E. Gerhard's *Archemorus Vase*, Berlin, 1836. A globe encircled by a band containing the signs of the zodiac appears in a Pompeian painting. *Pitture d'Ercolano*, vol. vii. p. 11.

The other sculptures, which seem to have occupied two circles set in smaller pediments, arranged probably on each side of the larger, represented, in one, the Sun, in the other Luna or Selene.<sup>c</sup> The bust of the latter only, in a medallion, is preserved; she is seen full-face, with the crescent, not on her forehead, but behind her head, gracefully filling up the circular space.<sup>d</sup> The right shoulder is bare; on the left side is her whip (see Mus. Bor., vol. xiv. tav. 3), and her hair is tied in a knot over her forehead, in accordance with other classic representations

<sup>a</sup> Taylor's Notes to Pausanias, vol. iii. page 242.

<sup>b</sup> The Atlas is engraved in Spence's *Polymetis*, plate 33; Mus. Bor. vol. v. tav. 52; and Hirt. *Bilderbuch*, plate 16, fig. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Carter, pl. 9, figs. A and C; Lysons, pl. 6, No. 1.

<sup>d</sup> This position of the crescent appears to be of Phrygian origin. It is seen on coins combined with the male Deus Lunus in Phrygian costume; but a beautiful profile bust of Artemis Selene is thus combined with the crescent on a round altar in the Louvre. (See Bouillon, tom. iii. pl. 69; and Wincklemann, *Mon. Ined.* No. 21.) The crescent also appears behind her head as she descends with a torch to Endymion in a Pompeian painting. Mus. Bor. vol. xiv. tav. 19.)

of the virgin goddess. Of the medallion of the Sun only some portions of the rays are left, but their arrangement, and the space they occupy, render it improbable that they exceeded seven in number;\* and the remaining edge of the medallion-frame corresponds in size with that of the Moon or Selene. A standing figure of Apollo, with seven rays, holding a whip in the right hand, and a globe, *encircled*, in the left, was found among the paintings at Pompeii.<sup>b</sup> This fragment of the Sun is engraved in Lysons, pl. 9, fig. 6, and he describes it on page 8 as "a fragment too much mutilated to lead to any probable conjecture concerning them." Carter, on the other hand, at once recognises "the rays of the sun." (Plate 9, fig. A.)

A star is also represented on the adjoining fragment in Lysons, No. 9. This Carter unfortunately gives under fig. B, with the explanation "a representation of the sun."

I must now take leave of my subject, but not without expressing a hope that others who have more leisure and learning may pursue the subject; even the architectural arrangement of the Temple itself, with the elaborate ornamentation of the columns and entablature, would afford a most interesting subject for an essay. Many sculptural fragments pertaining to the same building also claim attention; they refer to the various seasons of the year,<sup>c</sup> and thus serve to extend the cosmical nature of the decorations. From the residence of the celebrated architect Adams and others upon the spot, few excavations have been so carefully noted at the time, and the antiquary may rejoice at having so much satisfactory data to work upon.

G. S.

February 8, 1855.

\* Compare a head of Helios or the Sun, in the Rondanini Palace, and a bust in the Capitol at Rome. Bouillon, vol. i. pl. 75; Crystal Palace Catalogue, Greek Court, No. 394. The head of the Sun appears on various coins of Rhodes, and a full-length statue of the same deity is preserved in the Louvre, formerly in the Palazzo Borghese. Seven rays also spring from the head of the painted figure. (Mus. Bor. vol. vii. tav. 55.)

<sup>b</sup> Mus. Bor. vol. vii. tav. 55.

<sup>c</sup> Carter, pl. 10.



XIX. *Account of Silver Rings and Coins discovered near Worcester.* By  
JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, *Secretary.*

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Read November 23, 1854.

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At the close of the last session, I was favoured with a communication, of which the following is an extract, from Jabez Allies, Esq., F.S.A.

"Tivoli House, Cheltenham, 14th June, 1854.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"There has been a find of about 215 silver pennies, also four rings set with gems, a ring twisted like a wreath, a ring with crosses on it, and a gimmel ring (at least one with a hand like a gimmel ring), and a brooch double-wreathed, with a tongue something like what I saw when young in peasants' shirts, to keep the two parts together at the breast.

"All these coins and articles are silver; they were found near Lark Hill, within about a mile of Worcester, upon making a drain, and were all in a lump together, and probably had been wrapped in a coarse piece of cloth, as there were fragments of the kind about them.

"Some of the pennies are cut in half, and others in four parts, I presume to answer as halfpence and farthings. I have sent sealing-wax impressions of five of the coins, and have to request you will kindly let me know to what monarch they belong. My opinion is, they are of Henry I. or Henry II.

"Supposing that one of the rings is a "gimmel ring," it appears to carry that device much further back than it is in Hone's "Table-Book," part II., p. 1. I had a very hurried view of the batch at the finder's yesterday, but if you think the matter worth further investigation, I will send you either further sketches, or try and get you a sight of the relics. I presume the gems in the rings are crystals.

"I am, &c.,

"J. ALLIES."

Conceiving that an account of this discovery could not fail to be of interest to the Society, I replied immediately to this letter, and at my request Mr. Allies kindly obtained the whole bulk of the coins and rings, and forwarded them for my



inspection. They have since been ceded to the British Museum by the finder; but, previously to their delivery, with the sanction of the Executive Committee, I had drawings made of the rings and such of the coins as would serve to fix the date of the deposit of this hoard. This drawing I now lay before the Society. From this it will be seen that the find consisted of five finger-rings, one twisted ring, and a brooch, besides 209 coins in silver and billon. They may be enumerated as follows:—

- 191 silver pennies of the first mintage of Henry II.
- 1       "               of David I. King of Scotland.
- 8 Deniers of St. Martin of Tours. Duby, vol. i. p. 71, plate xvi.
- 8       "       of Hugh fifth Count of Anjou. Duby, vol. ii. plate lxxii.
- 1       "       of Melle.
- 1       "       of Odo Duke of Burgundy. Duby, vol. i. fig. 2, plate l.; who assigns it to the fourth duke of that name, but it more probably belongs to the second (A.D. 1142-63).
- The half of a penny of Eustace Count of Boulogne.

The rings are—

- Fig. 1. A finger-ring of silver, with a square bezel, in which is set an amethyst cut *en cabochon*.
- Fig. 2. Another ring of similar form, but of larger size, set with a transparent crystal, cut as the last.
- Fig. 3. Another ring of silver, similar in form to the preceding, set with a transparent yellow paste.
- Fig. 4. A gimmel ring of silver, formed of two hands clasped. This has been broken into two parts.
- Fig. 5. A thin flat silver finger-ring, ornamented in front with a cluster of quatrefoils between two crosses pattée. The lines are filled in with niello.
- Fig. 6. A ring formed of thick silver wire, twisted together, and resembling what have been called tore rings.

A similar object in gold was found at Soberton, with coins of Edward the Confessor. (Journal of the Arch. Institute, vol. viii. p. 100.)

- Fig. 7. A ring-brooch formed of twisted silver wire, and with a flat acus.

The coins represented in the Plate are:—

- Fig. 8. The half and fourth of a penny of Henry II.

Fig. 9. The half of a coin of Eustace Count of Boulogne.

As the last of the four counts of this name, namely Eustace son of Stephen, was contemporary with our Henry II. (A.D. 1154-89), this probably belongs to him. The type is a variety, but the coin to which it bears the closest analogy is given in Duby, vol. ii. plate lxxiv. fig. 5.

Fig. 10. A penny of Henry II., bearing the king's head, full-faced, with a sceptre in the right hand, surmounted by a cross pattée.

Fig. 11. A billon denier of Odo Duke of Burgundy, struck at Dijon. Obverse: ODO: DVX: BVRG: DIE. Reverse: DIVIONENSIS.

Fig. 12. Obverse of a silver penny of David I., King of Scotland, imperfectly struck on both sides.

It should be added, that with the fragments of the linen cloth, or purse, in which this hoard was found, were the remains of wax, as though the whole had been carefully sealed up previously to its being deposited.

J. Y. AKERMAN

November 20, 1854.

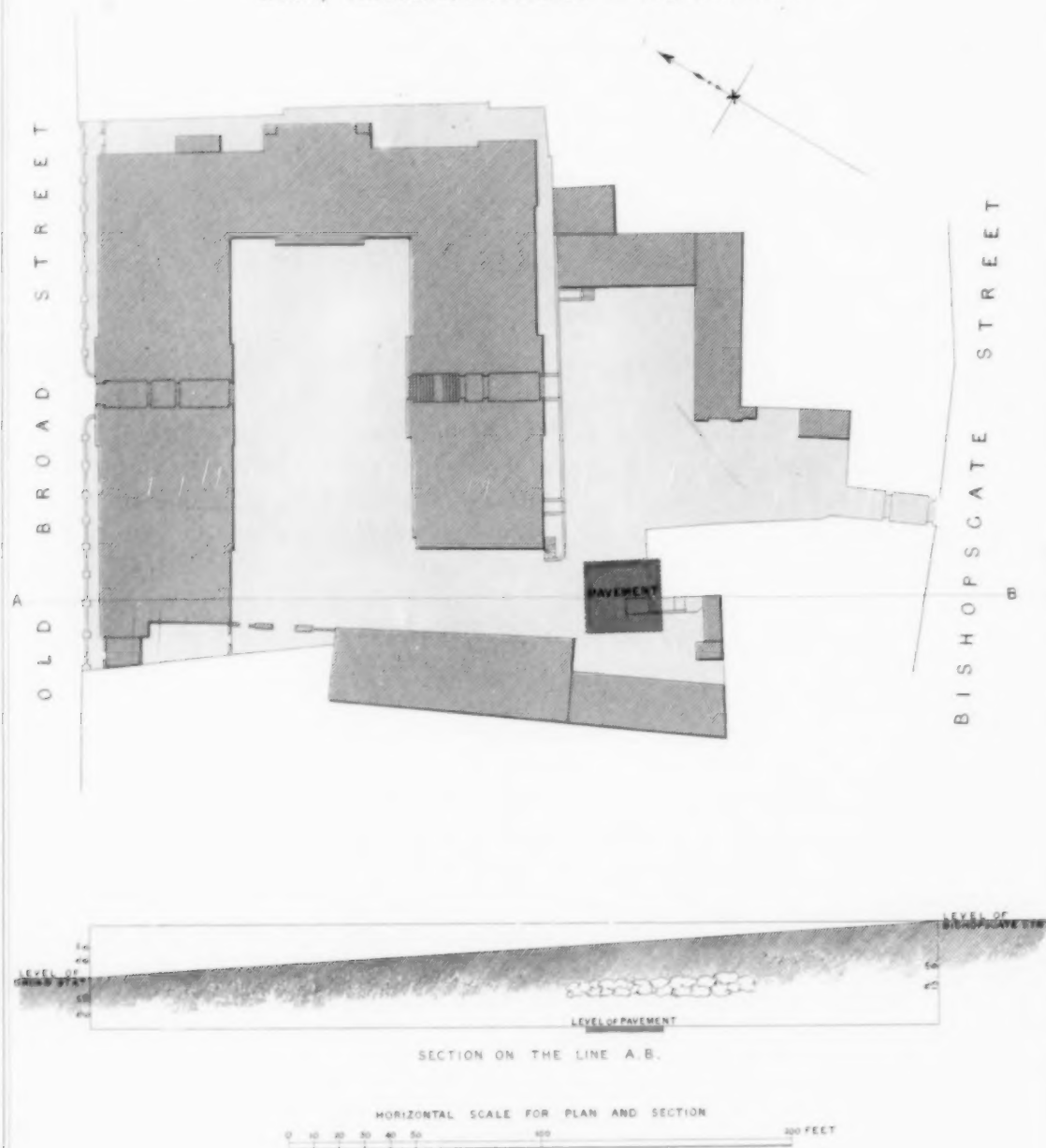


SILVER RINGS AND COINS FOUND NEAR WORCESTER.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1888.*

*J. B. B. & Co.*

PLAN OF THE BUILDINGS OF THE EXCISE OFFICE.  
*showing the Site and Comparative Dimensions of the*  
 ROMAN PAVEMENT, DISCOVERED IN FEBRUARY 1854.



J. Basire sc.

XX. *An Account of the Discovery of a Tessellated Pavement, 10th Feb. 1854, under the Vaults of the South-Eastern Area of the late Excise Office; by WILLIAM TITE, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A., in a Letter to FREDERIC OUVRY, Esq. Treasurer.*

Read 15 June, 1854.

42, Lowndes Square, 17 April, 1854.

DEAR SIR,

I have the honour to forward for the consideration of the Society of Antiquaries a Drawing of the Tessellated Pavement recently found between Bishopsgate Street and Broad Street, under the vaults of the south-eastern area of the late Excise Office. A small plan which accompanies the drawing (Pl. XVIII.), will show the exact position of the pavement itself, relatively to the adjoining street and to the buildings of the Excise Office. It is a commonly received opinion, that the late Government edifice occupied the site of the house and premises of Sir Thomas Gresham *only*; and it may be therefore convenient to explain that subsequently to the purchase by the Government from the trustees of Sir Thomas Gresham of the buildings of Gresham College, in 1768,<sup>a</sup> they bought an inn adjoining southward, called the Sun; and these two premises together constituted the area of the late Excise Office. I cannot exactly define the boundary of the two properties, but I have no doubt that the site of this pavement was under the Sun inn portion of it, and did not form any part of the land purchased of the Gresham trustees. In removing the Excise Offices we began from Threadneedle Street, and in taking up the foundations of the main buildings, nothing of any interest was found; but, as we proceeded towards Bishopsgate Street, it was evident that we were approaching foundations and remains that were of a much earlier con-

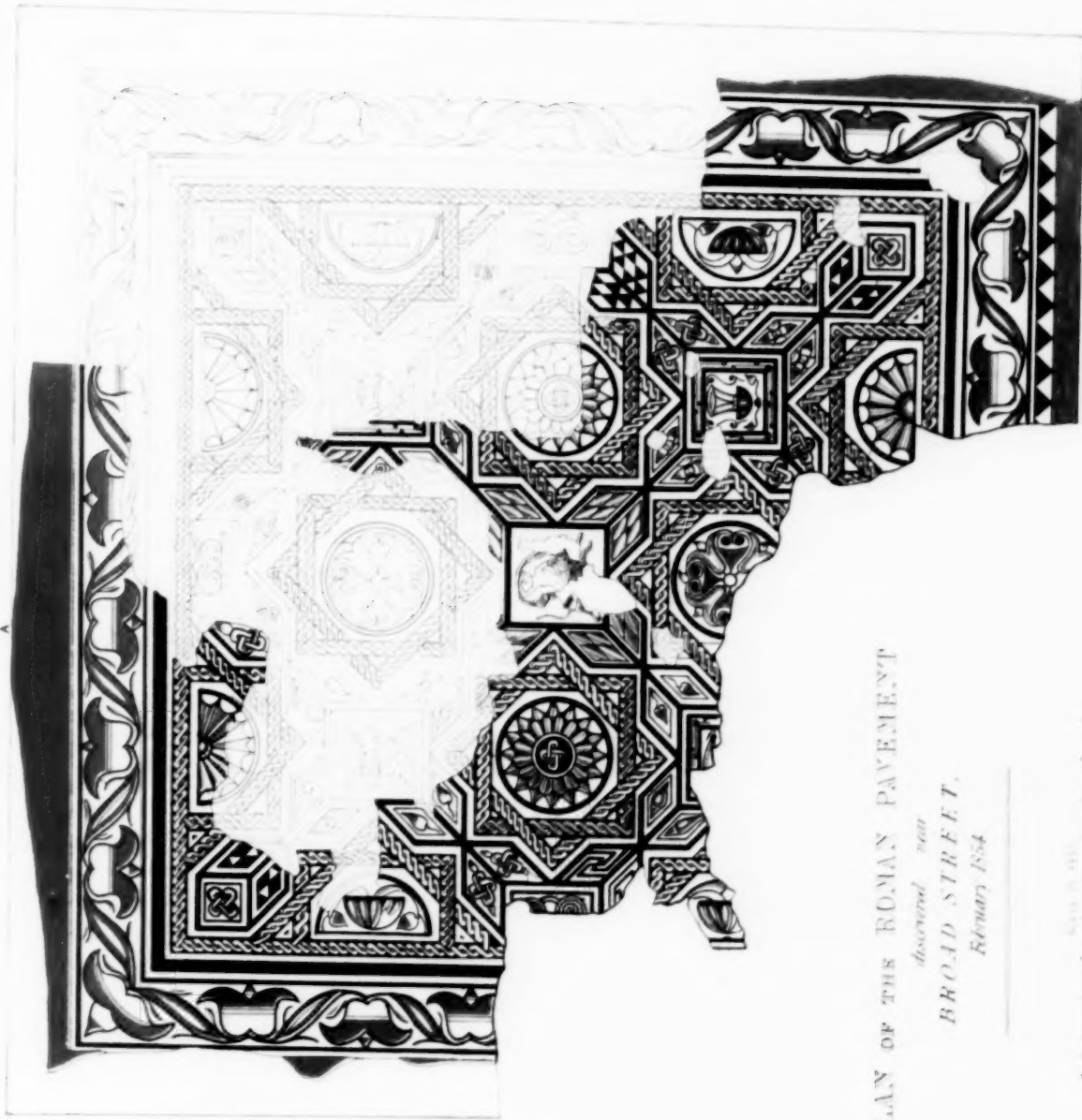
<sup>a</sup> "On the 17th March the City Members, attended by Mr. Dance, the surveyor, waited on the Lords of the Treasury with a plan of the ground on which Gresham College stood, with a view to the converting that ancient and almost useless building into an Excise Office; the building in the Old Jewry then made use of being found too small and inconvenient for that purpose. At a Court of Common Council held on the 22nd of May, it was resolved to agree with the proposal of government for the purchase, in order to erect the Excise Office on the spot." Noorthouck's *New History of London*, 1773, pp. 439, 440. See also Stat. 8 Geo. III. c. 32.



struction. We then encountered an extensive series of arched vaults, mostly built of brickwork of about the middle of the seventeenth century ; but below these there were flat arches of chalk-rubble and foundations of the same character, that probably were as old as the fifteenth century. These foundations ceased at a depth of 12 or 13 feet from the level of Bishopsgate Street. The walls were generally founded on a bed of coarse concrete, about a foot in thickness. On removing this, however, the native soil was not reached ; and it was apparent that below this level the ground had been disturbed. In this ground first appeared traces of Roman remains, in very imperfect fragments of pottery and glass of doubtful origin, with a few coins, and fragments of Roman mortar and concrete. Particular directions were then given to the workmen to proceed cautiously, and to examine the earth and rubbish with great care. Nothing however was discovered, excepting a silver coin of Hadrian, until the morning of the 10th February, 1854, when one of the workmen, in digging a hole somewhat deeper than the other excavations for a scaffold-pole, came upon a fragment of this Tessellated Pavement. Instructions were immediately given to clear out the whole space with the greatest caution, and also to follow every trace of the pavement so far as our ground extended. The great quantity of vaults and arching, however, over this part of the building, led to considerable delay as well as to some expense in preventing damage to the very interesting remains which we were thus gradually uncovering. The Section attached to the small Plan will show the exact depth of this fragment from the present surface.

The Pavement itself (Pl. XIX.) was constructed in the following manner :—the earth having been cleared away and levelled down to the natural clay and gravel, a bed of coarse concrete was laid about six inches thick. This concrete was composed of river-ballast and lime, with occasional pieces of broken and pounded brick ; and on this coarse substratum a bed of very hard mortar or cement was laid, about an inch in thickness, and perfectly level. I should suppose that this mortar was composed of about two parts of clean sharp sand, one part of pounded bricks or tiles, and one part of lime ; the whole mass of which must have been well beaten together and consolidated. This formed the bed for the tesserae, which were generally of an uniform thickness, of the usual dimensions of about half an inch square, and set in fine mortar. It is well known to antiquaries that the Romans had two methods of constructing these floors. One was laid simply upon the native earth ; the other was placed on short piers supporting tiles and concrete, forming the floor called "*Suspensura*," which had an interval beneath.\* It has

\* Vitruvius *De Architectura*, lib. vii. c. i. lib. x. c. v.



PLAN OF THE ROMAN PAVEMENT  
*discovered near*  
 BROAD STREET.  
 February 1854

Scale of Feet 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Published by the Society of Antiquaries, London, 1854.

1. 1. 1.



been sometimes supposed that the latter mode of flooring was used in floors and rooms of the higher class only; but from my own experience I am disposed to think that the Roman builders were usually guided by the character of the soil, and if, as in this case, it was gravel or well-drained earth, they altogether avoided the additional expense of a floor constructed on *pilæ*. The Pavement thus discovered constituted the floor of a room 28 feet square. On the side, at the point marked A, there were some traces of wall-plastering; but, though we searched with the greatest care, there was not any trace *in situ*, nor near it, of any walls, flues, or Roman bricks. Every fragment had disappeared; and even this trace of wall-plastering had nothing behind it but loamy earth. The only additional fact requiring to be noticed connected with the construction of the Pavement itself, is one which is of equal interest and rarity: namely, that in some places it had evidently been mended in the Roman times, but by an inferior hand, and the tesserae introduced in those places were whiter and in general colour did not quite coincide with the older work. The pattern, however, had been carefully preserved and restored. I think it probable that we shall find further traces of pavements as we proceed northwards: for there is a tradition in the neighbourhood that in digging a well under a house in Bishopsgate Street in that direction, at about 13 feet from the surface, some remains of a pavement were found.<sup>a</sup>

In reflecting on this discovery and its connection with Roman London, a few remarks collaterally illustrative of the subject will perhaps be allowed me. A work so finished as this pavement, evidently points out a period of security and comparative wealth in the inhabitants; and such a period may doubtless be found in the reign of Hadrian, to which the silver coin found on this floor also belongs. Hadrian began to reign in A. D. 117, about one hundred and seventy years after Caesar's landing in Britain, and died in A. D. 138.<sup>b</sup> For thirty years previously to his accession there is no notice whatever in the Roman historians of any important transactions in Britain: but in A. D. 120 Hadrian visited this island, settled its affairs, and caused the great wall to be built, to divide, as Spartianus says, the barbarians from the Romans.<sup>c</sup> This interval of tranquillity appears also to have continued for many years afterwards, certainly until the middle of the

<sup>a</sup> This expectation has been partly realised, because northwards of this pavement we have found the floor of a room paved with dark red tesserae. The pavement was about 12 feet square; the tesserae uniform in size, being about 17 inches square. I still expect to find further remains to the north-east; but the old buildings cannot be at present removed.—March, 1855.

<sup>b</sup> Horsley's "Britannia Romana," book i. chap. 4 pp. 49, 50.

<sup>c</sup> Vit. Hadriani in Script. Hist. Ang.

reign of Marcus Aurelius, about A. D. 170 ; and it was doubtless during this period that the mansion or merchant's house was erected which stood on the site now under consideration.

I should here remind you that the nature of that site is very peculiar. It may be in your recollection that in passing from Bishopsgate Street to Broad Street, through the late Excise Office, there was a descent of twenty steps, giving a difference of level of about ten feet between the two streets. This difference of level was no doubt always greatest at this particular point ; but the same general features may still be traced in the continuing high level of Bishopsgate Street, and the comparatively low level of Old and New Broad Street, Throgmorton Street, and Lothbury, down to the line of the Wall Brook, which at that point was 30 feet below the present level of the ground.<sup>a</sup> This Roman house, therefore, in my opinion stood on a gravelly bank ; and the pavement was itself level with the ground at the back. In the front of the house the ground was probably considerably higher, and was the Roman Causeway that passed through the City Wall about 330 yards to the north, and then through the Roman cemetery which we know to have existed in Spitalfields. The road was then continued in a direct line to the fords over the Lea between Stratford and Ilford, and about the spot which is regarded as the Roman Station "*Durolitum*," five miles from London. This road, as in the Appian Way at Rome, and the Street of the Tombs at Pompeii, was probably lined with the tombs of the Roman and British residents of London.

I have often attempted to connect these Roman pavements with some restoration of the main lines of thoroughfare of Roman London, but I have never hitherto succeeded to my own satisfaction. If I should be right in my present conjecture, I can now nearly associate this pavement with those tessellated remains which were found on the site of the French Church in Threadneedle Street, in 1839. I think, also, that I may offer a reasonable conjecture as to the course of one of the streets which led to the way described in the ninth Iter of Antonine.<sup>b</sup> The uniform tradition, and also the suggestion of Stukeley,<sup>c</sup> is that the site of the present Mansion House, formerly Stocks Market, was also the situation of the Roman Forum. A line drawn from that spot as a centre would pass the site of the buildings containing these tessellated pavements, and ultimately point to the "burial-place" in Spitalfields, and the great road to the eastern counties by Stratford and Chelmsford. After I had plotted this line on

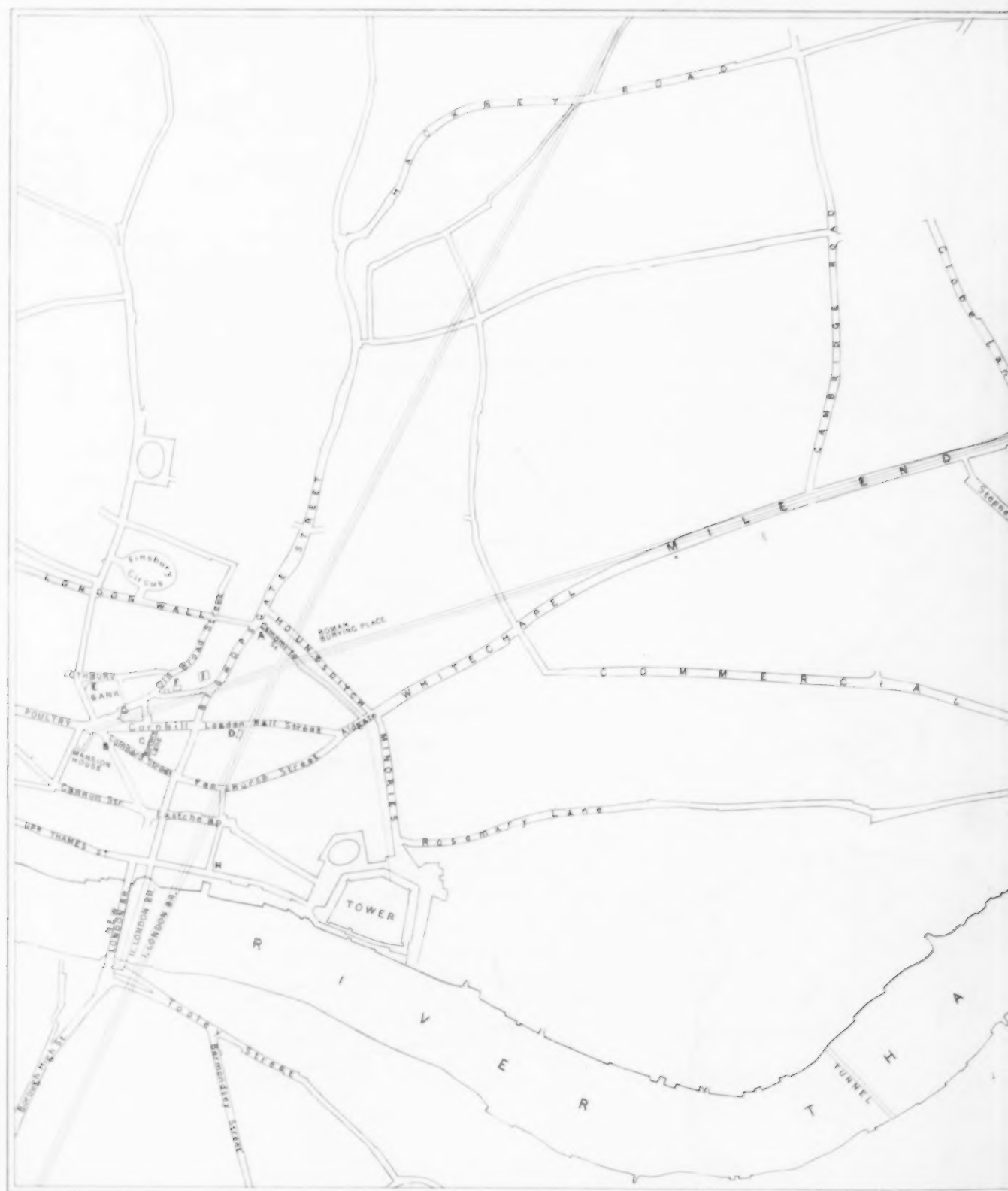
<sup>a</sup> This is shewn in a Section of the Wall Brook in my possession, made by Mr. Richard Kelsey, the late Surveyor of Sewers of the City of London.

<sup>b</sup> Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, p. 447.

<sup>c</sup> *Itinerarium Curiosum*, vol. i. plate 57 ; vol. ii. p. 12.

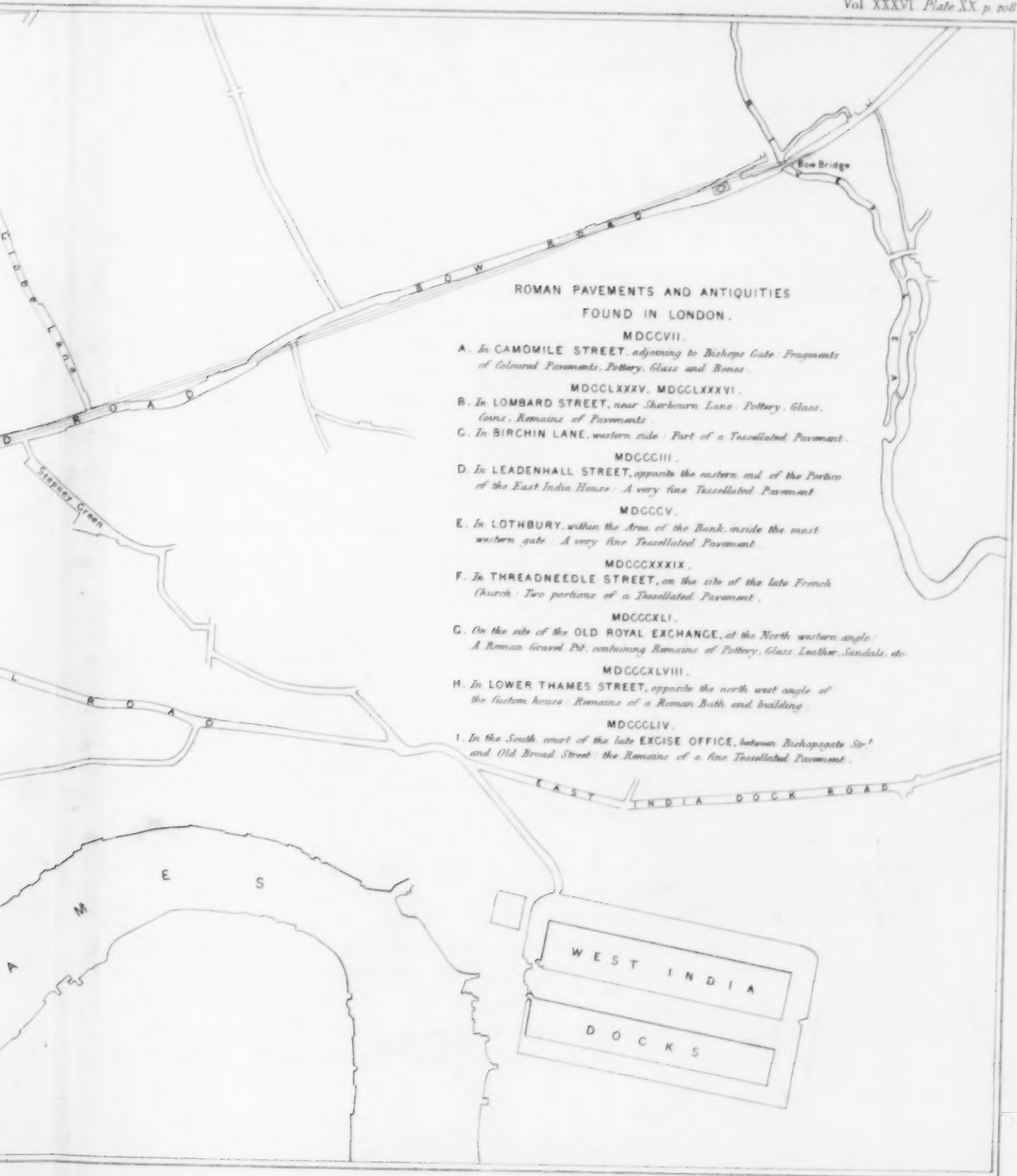






PLAN OF LONDON and its Vicinity to the South East, shewing the Lines of the

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries*



of the ROMAN ROADS, and their probable continuation in ROMAN LONDON.  
*of Antiquaries of London, 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1858.*



the map, I was agreeably surprised to find, on a reference to Dr. Woodward's Letter to Sir Christopher Wren,\* that some considerable remains had been also found exactly on that line, in the present Camomile Street; and further, that in Stukeley's map "the Romans' burying-place" is shown, outside the city wall, at that very point. These coincidences were curious and striking; but they become more so, when it is found that this same line prolonged is exactly consistent with that straight road to Chelmsford, which, beginning about five miles from London, continues in a direct course to that town. I am aware that in offering these conjectures I must disturb the plan of the present Bishop's Gate, and remove it further south; but Dr. Woodward proves that all the Roman work had been levelled with the ground in that quarter before the mediæval walls had been constructed. I am now, however, about to add another more extraordinary coincidence. If a line be drawn from Botolph Wharf, the oldest site of London Bridge, it will pass through the India House exactly at the spot where the finest tessellated pavement in London was found, in 1803, and will intersect the site of the wall exactly at the point to which the line leads that I have been now suggesting. In an Essay written by me in the year 1845, and prefixed to the Catalogue of Antiquities found in the excavations at the New Royal Exchange, I suggested the probable existence of such a highway, though I was still perplexed with Bishopsgate Street, which I then supposed to be an ancient road. I now feel satisfied, however, that none of the present street existed in Roman London; and that the great Ermin Way, which extended from the coast of Sussex to Lincoln, crossed the city east of the present line of thoroughfare, and probably in the route I am now suggesting. I feel it may be objected, that in these new lines of street I am entirely abandoning the ancient or existing thoroughfares; and that it would be reasonable to suppose, that notwithstanding the lapse of seventeen or eighteen centuries, and the constant destruction by fire, they might be fairly expected in the main to coincide with the present. To this all that I can answer is, that even in Rome itself, except the Forum and the "*Via Triumphalis*," no modern street is consistent with the ancient lines; and that even the Appian Way was given up at about six miles from Rome, ceasing in the Campagna, and a new road to Albano has been in use for centuries, notwithstanding the recent researches of Signor Canina having shown that the Appian Way not only existed, but that it required very little repair to constitute it again a "*Strada rotabile*."

\* "A Letter occasioned by some Antiquities lately discovered near Bishop's Gate, London," in Hearne's Leland's Itinerary, vol. viii., at the end, sects. 8—10.



In the Essay which I have now referred to, prefixed to the Catalogue of Antiquities found at the Royal Exchange, and placed in the Library of the Corporation of London, I have given my reasons why, in my judgment, Roman London was not so important a place as its present greatness leads us to imagine, and there is nothing in the present pavement which induces me to alter that opinion. It is doubtless an elegant and an interesting work, but it is not better than those usually found in provincial towns, and very inferior in material as well as in style to the great remains of Roman magnificence of this kind which exist at Rome, and perhaps even to some found in England.<sup>a</sup> It is also a very remarkable fact, that no architectural remains of Roman London of any importance have ever been discovered. I use the word *ever* advisedly, because it is not difficult to show that for nearly 200 years the various excavations made within the walls have been under the inspection of competent and anxious inquirers, and yet nothing of any importance has occurred. Beginning with the great excavations of St. Paul's, Sir Christopher Wren was evidently desirous to discover and to care for Roman remains, but nothing was found. Again, he built fifty churches in the metropolis, and repaired many others; but in the course of all the excavations for these buildings we do not hear of any discovery, though Woodward was at hand making his collection and storing it with all the best remains of Roman antiquities disclosed amidst the clays and gravels of Spitalfields, where most of the bricks required for the rebuilding the city were made. It is quite true that Woodward urges Sir Christopher, in his letter, to publish his notes of what he had found; but the report itself, in the "*Parentalia*," literally describes nothing but the foundations of a causeway, and some Roman remains at Bow Church.<sup>b</sup> Sir Christopher Wren died Feb. 25, 1723, and Dr. Woodward, April 25, 1728.

The Society of Antiquaries was established in 1718, and in 1747 began to publish the *Vetusta Monumenta*; but in vain do we turn to those volumes, or to the memoirs of the *Archæologia*, commenced in 1779, for any notice of important Roman remains of edifices. In the meanwhile, the architectural remains at Bath and elsewhere show what has been found in other Roman cities,—doubtless then of far greater importance than London, though we have been taught to infer from our present metropolitan importance our former pre-eminent greatness. My own opportunities have accidentally been extremely great in this department of archæology; for in very early life I witnessed and watched the enormous

<sup>a</sup> Several very fine specimens of tessellated pavements found in England have been engraved by Messrs. W. Fowler and Samuel Lysons, in their well known and interesting publications.

<sup>b</sup> Sects. 5, 6, in Hearne's *Leland's Itinerary*, vol. viii. Wren's *Parentalia*, part ii. sect. i. p. 264.

excavations for the Custom House, and from that period down to almost the present time, scarcely a year has passed in which in the space between the Tower to London Bridge I have not had the foundations of large warehouses and other buildings under my personal inspection.

That the Romans built and occupied in this neighbourhood, is apparent from the discovery of the Roman hypocaust under the New Coal Exchange; but in the whole line thus referred to, occupying a length to the river of 1000 feet, and a mean width of 120 feet, the only Roman remains which occurred were a few coins and some fragments of pottery, rude embankments of timber without number, but no trace of Roman architecture. The ancient foundations rooted up in this immense space furnished evidence of Roman bricks mixed with chalk and rag-stone, and occasional architectural fragments of mediæval dates; but, excepting Roman bricks and tiles, I have never seen, neither here nor at the Exchange, nor anywhere in the City, any fragment of stone having the impress of a Roman character.

In the summer of 1853, the excavations on the north side of the Tower on Tower Hill showed *in situ* distinct remains of Roman work in part of the inclosure wall of Roman London on that side. Here the wall was composed of square tiles, with that very thick joint and accurate bend for which Roman builders were remarkable; and this piece of work might have been executed within the compass of "The Seven Hills;" but, excepting this brickwork, the Roman hypocaust in Thames Street, and the pavements uncovered in various places, I have never seen any Roman work which I felt sure of. It may be answered, that London was often sacked and burned; but still Roman edifices of stone are not so easily disposed of. In all ages such fragments have been made use of as building materials, and have in the course of time been gradually brought to light. Bath, Gloucester, Cirencester, and other places can witness; yet their entire absence in London convinces me that Roman London was a brick city, and, in the words of Tacitus, "a place not dignified with the name of colony, but the chief residence of merchants."<sup>a</sup> As a further confirmation of this opinion, the great difficulty of procuring good workable stone at that time must not be forgotten. At Bath the oolite was at hand, and also generally northwards there were equally abundant materials; but for London the same deficiency existed then as now. I know of no stone available for building purposes nearer than the oolites of Wiltshire; and

<sup>a</sup> Cognomento quidem colonie non insigne, sed copia negotiatorum et commeatum maximè celebre.—  
Annalium, lib. xiv. sect. 33.

in the Roman walls no stone is found but the Kentish rag-stone. The expression of this opinion may I fear give offence, and expose me to reproach from those who are disposed to attribute (unjustly as I think) the absence of Roman remains in our London museums to recklessness or carelessness on the part of architects and City authorities; but an experience of nearly forty years in London has satisfied me that they are not to be found in any great abundance, and their absence has induced me therefore to support the hypothesis that they never had any existence.

It now only remains for me to add, that the design or pattern of this pavement is elegant, and differs in detail from others; but in principle and in material it resembles most of the Romano-British pavements. The nearest resemblance to it which has occurred to me is an example published by Hearne, found at Stunsfield, two miles from Woodstock,<sup>a</sup> in which there is a group in the centre, somewhat resembling the figures in the middle compartment of that at the Excise Office. It is represented in a very careful and elaborate engraving executed in 1712 by Michael Burghers; but I am inclined to think that the descriptive text by Hearne mistakes the central figure in supposing it to be Apollo, since it should certainly rather be regarded as "the young Bacchus" (the Egyptian, or beardless Bacchus), crowned with vine-leaves, and holding horizontally in his right hand an empty cyathus, and in his left the thyrsus upright.<sup>b</sup> The animal in the background is there indisputably "a tiger, as," Hearne says, "some have conjectured; taking the hint, I suppose, partly from Baron Spanheim." Hearne himself, however, was inclined to think that it was intended for "the gryffin, as he is represented on some pieces of antiquity; only the wings are designedly left out, to signify that the artist did not intend that animal, which was looked upon as real, as I have lately observed."<sup>c</sup>

But without any regard as to the possibility of this figure being a griffin destitute of wings, not only the human effigy represented with the animal and all its accessories seem to prove it to be Bacchus (*Dionysus*) and his tiger, but the very pavement now found at the Excise Office, with the effigy of Ariadne and her panther, seems to corroborate the truth of the interpretation. Dionysus was attached to others; but his best beloved, whose bridal-wreath he placed in the

<sup>a</sup> The tessellated pavement here referred to was found at Stunsfield (Stonesfield), co. Oxford, Jan. 25th, 1711-12. Hearne's *Leland's Itinerary*, vol. viii., at the commencement.

<sup>b</sup> It is worthy of observation that this subject almost precisely agrees with the figure forming the centre of the fine tessellated pavement found near the eastern extremity of the India House, in December, 1803, published and described by the late Thomas Fisher.

<sup>c</sup> "A Discourse concerning the Stunsfield Pavement." Hearne's *Leland's Itinerary*, vol. viii. sect. v. p. 17.

skies as a constellation,<sup>a</sup> was Ariadne. Each of these figures, then, became the emblems of conviviality, and were well adapted for the central ornament of the mosaic floor of a British *tablinum*, or rather *triclinium*, taking that term as generically expressive of a dining-room.<sup>b</sup> As the figure of Ariadne in the Excise Office pavement was upright when seen from the north-east, the couches of the *triclinium*, and the table inclosed by them, probably looked towards the west, and the garden of the edifice would perhaps thus be situated behind towards Bishopsgate, or nearer to the extremity of Roman London.

The pavement was taken up with great care by Mr. Minton, under the direction of Owen Jones, Esq. and has been removed to the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, where he intends to restore it completely, and place it in the centre of the nave.<sup>c</sup> By the judicious means taken by Mr. Clifton, the resident architect, and Mr. Jones, I believe that not a single fragment of it has been lost.

Before I conclude this short and I fear imperfect account of this interesting remain, I beg to add my thanks to Mr. Clifton for the care and skill with which he followed out every indication I have alluded to, and for his kindness and attention in adopting every suggestion I made to him.

I am, my dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM TITE.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

In the discussion that followed the reading of the preceding paper, some exceptions appeared to be taken to the opinion given by me, that London was not so important a city in the time of the Romans as its present greatness induces us to imagine; and that it was then far inferior to York. Tacitus distinctly states, in

<sup>a</sup> Bacchus amat Flores: Baccho placuisse coronam

Ex Ariadnae sidere nosse potes.

Ovid. Fast. v. 345.

<sup>b</sup> The festive character of the apartment to which the tessellated pavement found in Leadenhall Street originally belonged, was further indicated by the figures of drinking-cups being introduced in the ornamental border.

<sup>c</sup> Owing to the space required, this has not yet been done, but I still trust to the realisation of this expectation and promise.



A.D. 61, that it was not a colony, but an undefended British town without walls. It was also declared at the meeting, that, if the Latin authorities could be referred to, it could easily be shown that I was mistaken. I knew this to be otherwise; but, as it was impossible then to give the quotations, I have now thought it convenient to add all those which I am aware exist on the subject. For though the few contemporaneous notices now extant concerning Roman London have been repeatedly collected and printed, especially by Burton in his *Commentary on the Itinerary of Antoninus*, yet such an apparatus, for the reasons here stated, seems to be required as an indispensable part of the present paper. The following extracts are, therefore, added to supply the reader with the most convenient means of referring to such ancient records of Londinium as are still in existence:—

Taciti *Annalium* lib. xiv. c. 33.

“At Suetonius mirâ constantiâ medios inter hostes Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniæ non insigne, sed copiâ negotiatorum et commeatuum maximè celebre: ibi ambiguus, an illam sedem bello deligeret, circumspectâ infrequentiâ militis, satisque magnis documentis temeritatem Petilii cœercitam, unius oppidi damno servare universa statuit. Neque fletu et lacrymis auxilium ejus orantium flexus est, quin daret protectionis signum et comitantes in partem agminis acciperet. Si quos imbellis sexus, aut fessa ætas, vel loci dulcedo attinuerat, ab hoste oppressi sunt. Eadem clades municipio Verulamio fuit; quia barbari, omissis castellis præsidiisque militarium, quod uberrimum spoliandi, et defendentibus intutum, læti prædâ, et aliorum segnes petebant.”

Burton observes on this passage, that “here the name of London, as said, is first to be found in any antient authentick writing; and that for the calamity’s sake, which at this time it suffered most extream.”—*Commentary on Antoninus’ Itinerary*, p. 155. Londinium is not mentioned by Cæsar, probably because his line of march led him in a different direction.

Ammiani Marcellini *Rerum Gestarum* lib. xx. c. 1.

“*Lupicinus Magister armorum adversus Scotorum et Pictorum incursiones in Brittannias cum exercitu mittitur.*” (A.D. 360.)

“Adulta hieme Dux antedictus Bononiam venit, quæsitisque navigiis, et omni imposito milite, observato flatu secundo ventorum, ad Rutupias sitas ex adverso defertur, petitque Lundinium: ut exinde suscepto pro rei qualitate consilio, festinaret ociùs ad procinctum.”



*Idem*, lib. xxvii. c. 8 (A.D. 368).

“Egressus tendensque ad Lundinium vetus oppidum, quod Augustam posteritas appellavit, divisis plurifariam globis, adortus est vagantes hostium vastatorias manus, graves onere sarcinarum; et properè fuis qui vinctos homines agebant et pecora, prædam excussit, quam tributarii perdidere miserrimi.”

*Idem*, lib. xxviii. c. 3 (A.D. 369).

“Theodosius verò dux nominis inclyti, animo vigore collecto ab Augusta profectus, quam veteres appellavere Lundinium, cum milite industria comparato sollerti, versis turbatisque Britannorum fortunis opem maximam tulit.”

Eumenii *Panegyricus Constantino Cæsari*, c. xvii.

“Enimvero, Cæsar invicte, tanto Deorum immortalium tibi est addicta consensu omnium quidem, quos adortus fueris, hostium, sed præcipue internecio Francorum, ut illi quoque milites vestri, qui per errorem nebulosi, ut paulo ante dixi, maris abjuncti, ad oppidum Londiniense pervenerant, quicquid ex mercenaria illa multitudine barbarorum prælio superfuerat, cum, direpta civitate, fugam capessere cogitarent, passim tota urbe confecerint; et non solam provincialibus vestris in cæde hostium dederint salutem, sed etiam in spectaculo voluptatem.”

For the passage of Ptolemy, in which the mention of Londinium occurs, see Mr. Arthur Taylor's Memoir “On the original site of Roman London,” *Archæol.* vol. xxxiii. p. 101, note, accompanied by an examination of the circumstances and of the probable Site suggested.

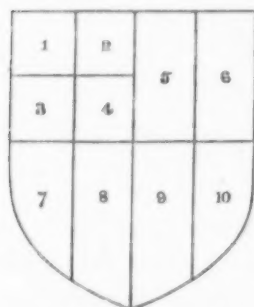
XXI. *Notice of a Stall-plate of Sir William Parr, K.G., Marquis of Northampton.* By AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS, Esq., F.S.A, in a Letter to Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Director.

Read February 1, 1855.

DEAR SIR HENRY,

At your suggestion, I have lately obtained for the British Museum an object of some interest, which has proved to be the Stall-plate of Sir William Parr, K.G., Marquis of Northampton, and brother to Queen Katherine Parr.

It is a quadrangular plate of copper, gilt and enamelled, on which are engraved the arms of Parr with their quarterings. The arrangement of them will be seen in the annexed diagram; they are as follows:—1. Arg. two bars az. within a bordure engrailed sa.; *Parr*. 2. Or, three waterbougets sa.; *Roos of Kendal*. 3. Az. three stags trippant or; *Greene of Greens Norton*. 4. Gu. a chevron between three crosses crosslet, in chief a lion passant gardant or; *Mablethorpe*. 5. Az. three chevronels braced in base and a chief or; *Fitz Hugh*. 6. Vair, a fess gu.; *Marmyon*. 7. Or, three chevronels gu. a chief vair; *St. Quentyn*. 8. Gu. a bend between six crosses crosslet or; *Forneux*. 9. Barry arg. and gu. a fleur-de-lis sa.; *Staveley*. 10. Barry or and az. an eagle displayed gu.; *Garnegan*.



These quarterings are not arranged in the manner which the rules of heraldry prescribed, nor in the order of time in which they were acquired by the Parr family. The quartering of Roos was an old one, having been the result of a marriage in the reign of Richard II.; those of Greene and Mablethorpe came through Sir William Parr's mother; while the remainder were acquired by the marriage of Sir William's grandfather with Elizabeth, one of the co-heirs of Fitz Hugh. The quarterings might, with more propriety, have been arranged as follows:—Parr, Roos, Fitz Hugh, Staveley, Forneux, Marmyon, Garnegan, St. Quentyn, Greene, and Mablethorpe; in which order we find them placed by Sir William Segar in his MS. Arms of the Knights of the Garter<sup>a</sup> (MS. Geo. III. 408).

<sup>a</sup> Though thus arranged by him under Queen Elizabeth, they are given in the same work under Henry VIII. in the following order:—Parr, Greene, Mablethorpe, Roos, Fitz Hugh, Marmyon, St. Quentyn, and Staveley; a still more erroneous arrangement than in the Garter-plate under notice.

The shield is surrounded by the garter, and ensigned with a helmet of six bars and a crest. The latter is a maiden vested az., couped below the shoulders, crowned, and having a chaplet of flowers, probably daisies, about her neck. This crest, which formed part of the badge of Queen Katherine Parr, is said to have been derived by the Parr family from Roos of Kendal, their former crest having been a bunch of daisies. The dexter supporter is a stag, or; the sinister a wyvern azure. At the top of the plate is the motto "AMOUR . AVECQUE . LOIAULTE," and the following words, "FUST . ENSTALLE . 18 . IURE . DE MAY . LANDU . REING . N'RE . SOVVERAIN . SEIGNEUR . LE ROY . HENRY . 8 . 36." Below the arms is the following inscription:—



FULL SIZE.

DV . TRESNOBLE . HAVLT . ET . TRESPVISSANT . PRINCE . GVILLMI . M  
ARQVYS . DE . NORTHAMPTON . CONTE . DESSEX . BARON .  
DE . KENDAL . SEIGR . DE . MARMYON . SAINT . QVYNTYN  
ET . DV . PARRE . CHL'R . DE . LORDRE . DE . LA . IARRITIE  
RE . GRANT . CHAMBERLEYN . DANGLETERRE . ET .  
CAPITANIE . DES . GENTILZ . HOMINES . PENCION  
AIRES . DE . LA . MAISON . DV . ROY . NR'E . SOVERE  
YN . SEIGR' . ET . CONNESTABLE . DV . CHASTEAN .  
DE . WYNDESOR .

ANNO . DNI . 1552.

In the above description of the arms the tinctures have been supplied from other sources, for, in consequence of the plate having been broken across the middle with much unnecessary violence, the colours near the fracture, including those on the shield, are nearly destroyed, while the gilding and some of the enamelled portions of the mantlings and supporters retain their original brilliancy. The plate is 10 inches high and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide.

Sir William Parr was the only son of Sir Thomas Parr of Kendal, in Westmerland, by his wife Maud,<sup>a</sup> one of the two daughters and co-heirs of Sir Thomas Greene of Greens Norton. He was one of the esquires of the body to Henry VIII., and attended on that monarch at the Field of Cloth of Gold. In the

<sup>a</sup> Some curious correspondence between this lady, Lord Dacre, and Lord Scrope may be found in Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, vol. i. p. 387. It relates to a treaty of marriage between Katherine Parr and Lord Scrope's son, in which she shewed herself worthy of the encomium passed upon her by Lord Dacre—"the wisdom of my seid lady (Parr) and the god wise stok of the Grenes, whereof she is comen." Some notices of the Parr family may be found in the *Topographer and Genealogist*, vol. iii. p. 352.

thirtieth year of Henry VIII. he was created Baron Parr of Kendal, and, on the approaching alliance of the king with his sister Katherine, he was elected a Knight of the Garter, and created Earl of Essex. The latter dignity he obtained on account of his union with Anne, only daughter and heiress of Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex, notwithstanding that his marriage with that lady had been dissolved by Act of Parliament, and the children by her had been bastardised. He was appointed one of the executors of the will of Henry VIII.; and, on the accession of Edward VI. was advanced to the Marquisate of Northampton. In the fourth year of Edward VI. he was made Lord Great Chamberlain of England, and he sat as one of the judges on the trial of the Protector Somerset. On the death of the king, he espoused the party of Lady Jane Grey, and was in consequence committed to the Tower of London, tried for treason, and attainted. More fortunate than his fellow-sufferer, the Duke of Northumberland, he escaped execution, and, before the end of the first year of Mary, was restored in blood, but not in honours. On the accession of Elizabeth, he was reinstated in all his titles, and made one of the Lords of the Privy Council. He died in 1571, and was buried at Warwick, leaving no issue by his second or third wife; and, in consequence of the children of his first wife having been bastardised as above mentioned, his various honours expired with him.

I may here notice some particulars in reference to Sir William Parr's connection with the Order of the Garter. According to the inscription upon the stall-plate, it would appear that he was installed on the 18th of May, in the thirty-sixth year of Henry VIII.; but, on referring to the register of the Order,<sup>a</sup> we find him elected on the 23rd of April in the previous year, and installed on the 27th of the same month. His installation, moreover, on that day is specially mentioned, as it was done expressly by the king's desire, on account of his being obliged to proceed to the North on the king's business, which prevented his being installed at the usual time. He subsequently, on Christmas Eve in the same year, gave his vote at one of the chapters of the Order; and, at the installation on the 18th of May, 1552 (the date of his own installation on the plate), he acted as the king's deputy, being then Earl of Essex.<sup>b</sup>

I cannot account for this discrepancy, otherwise than by supposing it to have been occasioned by the mistake of the herald who designed the plate, which was, no doubt, put up in 1552, the date at the end of the inscription, and nine years after his installation. This delay does not appear to have been singular, as

<sup>a</sup> Anstis, vol. i. p. 426.

<sup>b</sup> Anstis, vol. i. p. 432.



an enactment was made by Henry VIII., requiring greater regularity in the matter. It is also possible that the new plate may have originated in a wish on the part of the Marquis to set forth the higher offices and dignities to which he had attained.

In the year 1553 he was, as we have seen, attainted, when his degradation from the Order necessarily followed.

On Elizabeth's accession a special clause was inserted in the Rules of the Garter for Sir William Parr's benefit, which rendered eligible any person, being of gentle or noble family, who, having been convicted of treason, had been pardoned and restored in blood. In the first year of Elizabeth he was re-elected, and a new stall-plate was set up, which is mentioned in Pote's History of Windsor (p. 296) as in the fourteenth stall, and is, no doubt, still in existence. It appears to differ from the one under notice in some few particulars, especially in the more orderly arrangement of the quarterings. The crest and supporters are the same, with the exception of the dress of the maiden, which is ermine instead of azure.\* The inscription, as given by Pote, is as follows:—

“Du tres noble, hault et tres puissant prince Guillm marquys de Northampton, conte d' Essex, baron de Kendall, seigneur de Marmion, Saint Quintyn, et du Parre, chl'r du tres noble ordre de la jarretiere, fust installé 3 joyr de June, 1559.”

It has been mentioned that the plate has been broken across the middle with much unnecessary violence. The fracture evidently is not recent; and the state of the plate, and also its removal from St. George's Chapel, may probably be satisfactorily accounted for as a consequence of Sir William Parr's degradation from the Order.

We have no particular account of the proceedings in his case, which, no doubt, were similar to those on other occasions of the same kind. The usual course appears to have been this: A chapter of the Order having been held, in which it was determined that the knight should be degraded, he was arrested, and the collar and garter taken from him. This done, the statute of Edward VI. provides, “After that Garter the kyng of armes hath declared openly his offence, being treason or heresy, at Windesor, accordyng to the accoustumed maner, one of the herauldes of armes shall throw downe his hatchements hanging over his seate there, and contemptuously sporne them with his fete (as he may) owt of the chapell, by which facte he shal be taken ever afterwarde for a Person degraded, and quyte depryved of this order.”

\* Harl. MSS. 332 and 1447.



An instrument declaring the knight to be degraded is given by Ashmole,<sup>a</sup> who states that they usually ran in the same form. It was read by Garter, standing on the steps of the choir; and when he came to the words, "be degraded of the said Noble Order, and his Arms, Ensigns, and Atchievements expelled from among the Arms, Ensigns, and Atchievements of the other knights of the said order," a herald, previously stationed on a ladder at the back of the convict knight's stall, took the crest and cast it down into the choir, and after that the banner and sword; and when the reading was finished, all the officers of arms kicked the achievements "out of the choir into the body of the church—first the sword, then the banner, and last of all the crest, so out of the west door, thence to the bridge, and over into the ditch."<sup>b</sup> The amount of indignity offered to the achievements appears to have varied in different cases, according to the king's pleasure.

No express mention is made in this account of the stall-plate; it, no doubt, was comprehended under the "arms, ensigns, and achievements;" but would have to be removed with care, so as not to injure the wood-work of the stalls; after which, it might be reasonably expected that it would be broken in pieces as an act of destruction, the heraldic insignia surrounded by the garter being no longer a truthful representation of the *status* of the degraded knight.

I trust that you will not consider the subject of this memoir unworthy of the notice of the Society, not only from its relation to the family of one of the Queens of England, but also as illustrative of the vicissitudes to which eminent men were exposed during the reigns of the sovereigns of the House of Tudor.

Yours faithfully,

British Museum, Jan. 31, 1855.

AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS.

<sup>a</sup> App. No. 184.

<sup>b</sup> Ashmole, p. 621.

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XXII. *Extracts from the Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of Wing, in the county of Buckingham. In a Letter addressed by FREDERIC OUVRY, Esq., Treasurer S.A., to JOHN PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., Vice-President.*

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Read 10th May, 1855.

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MY DEAR MR. COLLIER,

THE parish of Wing, from the accounts of which I purpose to make some extracts, is situated on an elevated ridge overlooking the Vale of Aylesbury; distant some three miles from Leighton Buzzard, nine from Aylesbury, and about the same distance from Tring.

The parish is extensive, containing about six thousand acres, and besides the village of Wing it comprises the hamlets of Ascot, Crafton, and Burcot.

There was a priory at Wing, on the site of which Ascot House was afterwards built. It is not my object to enter into the early history of the parish, and it may be sufficient here to state that the manor and advowson came to the Crown on the death of Alice Barnard, Prioress of the Convent of St. Mary de Pré, or de pratis, in the county of Hertford; that in the 20th Henry VIII. it was granted to Cardinal Wolsey, towards the endowment of his intended Cardinal College, but this grant was resumed, and in the 35th Henry VIII. the manor and advowson were granted to Sir Robert Dormer. It would seem, however, that the Dormer family had for some time previous to this grant been resident at Wing, probably as lessees of the manor. From the Dormers the manor and advowson passed to the Stanhopes, and from them to the present owner Lord Overstone. The church is interesting, and in parts very ancient. It has recently been restored under the superintendence of G. G. Scott, Esq. There are several fine monuments of the Dormer family, and the parish registers record numerous births, marriages, and deaths of that family, and of those connected with it.

The parish is perhaps best known by the old rhyme:—

Tring, Wing, and Ivinghoe  
 Hampden did forego  
 For striking the Black Prince a blow.

Whatever may have been the origin of these lines, there is no evidence that either of the places in question ever belonged to the family of Hampden.

There is another local rhyme, in which the same three places are joined together in a manner the reverse of complimentary:—

Tring, Wing, and Ivinghoe,  
Three dirty villages all in a row.

I am bound to add that, at least in the present day, this imputation is unfounded.

That Wing was formerly a place of more importance than it is now, may, I think, be collected from these accounts; the influence of the Dormer family, then as now attached to the Church of Rome, gave splendour to the church, which it will be observed had five "lights," and possessed a goodly store of ornaments, and so early as 1538 it had an organ. That influence rendered the people unwilling to pull down, on the accession of Elizabeth, the altars which they had eagerly set up when Mary succeeded to the Crown.

The changes of religion are curiously marked during the successive reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, beyond which I have not thought it right to carry my extracts. The customs prevailing with respect to the "Hock ale," and "Maye ale," are also worthy of remark, especially the order, made in 1565, regulating the election of the Lord and Lady at Whitsuntide, and imposing fines on those who should refuse to accept the proffered honour.

On the whole, dry and generally uninteresting as churchwardens' accounts must be, I would hope that some of the extracts subsequently given may not be considered unworthy the attention of the Society.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

FREDERIC OUVRY.

EXTRACTS from the CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS of the PARISH of WING, in  
the COUNTY of BUCKINGHAM.

1527.

Fol. 1.

*The Lyg(ht)men.*

- M<sup>d</sup>. that Wylzame Hawys, Wylzame Geffes, lyghtmen too the Rudde lyght, haith remanyng in their handes, all thynges dyscharyde . . . . . vi s. vi d.
- Ii. Rycharde Dygger and Henry Nycoles, lyghtmen to Sancte Kateryns and Sancte Margaret lyghtes, haith remanyng in there handes, all thynges dyscharyde . . . . . xx s. xi d.
- Ii. Roberte ffontans \* Thoñs Buckmaister, lyghtmen too Sancte Thomas and Mary Magdaleyns, haith remanyng in their handes, all thynges alowyde . . . . . xi s.
- Ii. Nycoles Lucas and Johne Lewys, lyghtmen too our Ladys lyght, haith remanyng in their handes, all thynges alowyde, a quarter off malte, too bushels off barley, and in redy money . . . . . xv s. iii d.
- Ii. Thoñs Wynchester and Nicoles ffontans, torchemen, haith maide theyr accountes for too yers paiste of their houghtayls, and haith remanyng in handes, all thynges alowyde . . . . . xxix s. viii d.
- Sñ totale that the lyghtemene haith remanyng in ther handes, all thynges dyscharyde, is . . . . . iiii li. iii s. iiii d.

M<sup>d</sup> that theys be the ornamentes off the peryche church of Wynge An<sup>o</sup> Dñi m<sup>o</sup>d<sup>o</sup>xxvii<sup>o</sup> die vero mensis Junii, vigesimo secundo.

In primis. Fyve chaleyces off sylvyr, too thorow gylde and thre percell gylde.

Ii. too pyxys, one sylver ungyld, and the other copper and gylde, somtyme off the gyveytt off Joane ffontans.

Ii. one pax, sylver and gylte, and too olde paxys.

Ii. one sylver sensours ungyle savyng the towars and pennacklyes off the same, wyth other ceirtayne places.

Ii. too crossys cooper and gylte, and other too olde crossys.

Ii. thre crosse stayeys, one copper and gylte and too off woode.

Ii. thre crosse cloythys, one off greane sarsneytt, and too olde.

\* The family of Fountain still exists in the neighbourhood. In the church there was formerly an inscription to the following effect: viz., "Pray for the soules of John Fountayne and Margaret, which John ordered this stone, in the yere of oure Lord God 1515. On whose soul J<sup>h</sup>u have mercy." Buckmaster is also now a common name in the vicinity.



- Fol. 1.
- It. syx banner clothys, and foure streyners and eyght pools too the same.
  - It. too canopey kyrchevys, one of needle worke, and the other off lawne.
  - It. a clothe for the canopey off saytteyn, the coler off vyolett, wyth foore stavys unto the same.
  - It. too coopps, one of blew welveytt [another of wyte<sup>a</sup>], and other course cooppe.
  - It. too hangynges, one off blew for the hye alter, and another off wheytt fustiane for oure Ladys alter.
  - It. a borthor off Clothe off Goolde for the hey alter off the gyvytt off Syr Radulphe Werney.<sup>b</sup>
  - It. a paylle for the sepulcher off brauncheyde worke.
  - It. a gyrdeyll of neidle worke, for the Sepulcher.
  - It. foore corpraxys, and foore caysys too the same.
  - It. too qwheyshynges for the alters.
  - It. threttyene alter clothys, good and badde, of the wyche fyve be payntyde.
  - It. syx westementes wythe theyr albyes and all other thynges partenying thertoo, one off blew welvett, and anotheyr of greyn; the thyrde off blew damaske, braunchyde; the foorte off reide satteyne, wyth a twynckle too the same off the same sooytt, for a decane; the syxte off whytt satteyne.
  - It. thre course westmeyntes, one for every Sondey, and too for every worke day.
  - It. too chesablys wyth out albeys.
- Fol. 2.
- It. ix. dryynge towells for the alters, goode and baidde.
  - It. six cruettes, and thre sacrynge bells, and a labour to weishe wyth att the crysonynge off chylther, and too hande bells.
  - It. too reyve surpleys for prestes, and syx playne for clarkes, and other syx olde surpleys for scolers.
  - It. a vayle cloth for Lent, and other thre, one for our Ladys alter, and another for our Lady, and the thyrde for Sancte John off baptyste.
  - It. Syx curteyns, too for the wheyr, too for the rude loveytt, and too off dyapper for Sancte Kateryns loveytt.
  - It. a couerlett for the heyrse, the coler greane.
  - It. too standers of Lattyne, for the hey alter; and too smalle lattyne kandylytyckys for the same.

<sup>a</sup> Added above the line in a different hand.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Ralph Verney, of Penley, knight, by his will proved in the Prerogative Court 20 May, 1525, bequeathed as follows: viz., "Item. I will that the gownes of dame Anne Verney, late my wife, doo make vestiments to be given to Churches according to the discrecion of myne Executours."—Verney Papers, page 44. No doubt this "borthor of Clothe of Goolde" had formed part of dame Anne Verney's wardrobe.

- Fol. 2. It. too candylstyckes of lattyne for Sancte Cateryns alter; and syx for the heyrse.  
It. too standyng deskes, too reide lessons off.

In Books.

- In þmis, the cheve antyphoner wrytt.  
It. fyve antyphoners besydes, too printe and thre wrytt.  
It. thre graylls, too manuells, one legent prynt, too hymners wrytt, foor messe bookes, thre wrytt and one prynte, and syx precessyoners, foor wrytt and too prynte.

The Nappery weyr beyng in the custody off the Churche Wardeyns.

- In þmys, thre dyapper towells, and too off playne cloothe.  
It. one dyapper table clothe and syx playne table clotheys.  
It. one payre of sheyttes, and too halfe sheyttes.  
It. a clothe for the rude.

Anno Domini Millesimo quingentessimo vigesimo Septimo. die vero Mensis Junii xvi<sup>o</sup> finis.

1527.

- |      |   |           |               |
|------|---|-----------|---------------|
| Itm. | Resevyd of the mayall, alle costys & chargys borne  | . . . . . | xxx s. iii d. |
| Itm. | Resevyd of Thomas Wynchester & Wyllyam hause, lytemen <sup>a</sup> to the blesyd sepulkur lytte | . . . . . | v s.          |

- |         |      |  |           |              |
|---------|------|--|-----------|--------------|
| Fol. 3. | Itm. | payde for a senser and a holywater stepe | . . . . . | vii s.       |
|         | Itm. | payde for ii. new aubbys                 | . . . . . | v s. viii d. |

1528.

- |         |      |   |           |          |
|---------|------|---|-----------|----------|
| Fol. 4. | Itm. | at Wytsuntyde rec <sup>d</sup> of the mayalle | . . . . . | xxxii s. |
|         | Itm. | payde to the cloke maker for a yere waygys    | . . . . . | xx d.    |
|         | Itm. | payde for a neue manuell                      | . . . . . | xx d.    |
|         | Itm. | payde for a nauter clothe                     | . . . . . | v s.     |
|         | Itm. | payde for holloyng of ii. haubys              | . . . . . | viii d.  |
|         | Itm. | payde for holloyng of ii. vestements          | . . . . . | viii d.  |

<sup>a</sup> The lightmen, especially of the sepulchre, appear at times to have paid over certain sums to the churchwardens.

Fol. 5.	Iīm. bowte xx. q <sup>r</sup> barley, and iii. busshels made in maulte, at the same price . . . . .	v li. xi s. x d.
	Iīm. payde unto Wyllyam lukase for fannyng of the same maulte . . . . .	v d.

## 1529.

Fol. 6.	Iīm. resevyd of Cōfton hockealle . . . . .	iii d.
	Iīm. mayde of hower mayalle, clere . . . . .	xxx s.
	Iīm. resevyd of Thomas Bukmaster for Sent Mary way . . . . .	ii d.
Fol. 7.	Iīm. payde for halfe a c. waxe . . . . .	xxii s. viii d.
	Iīm. payde for mendyng the sepulker . . . . .	vi d.
	Iīm. payde for collys at Ester . . . . .	i d. ob.
	Iīm. payde for mendyng the bannar clothys and the surpys . . . . .	xii d.

## 1530.

Fol. 8.	Iīm. resevyd of hower mayalle, at Whytsūtyde clere . . . . .	xxvii s.
	Resevyd of M <sup>r</sup> Robart Dormer, <sup>a</sup> delyveryd to the said M <sup>r</sup> Robart Dormer and John a More too by wax in the yere last past . . . . .	viii li.
Fol. 9.	Iīm. payde for a lectorne clothe . . . . .	xvii d.

## 1531.

Fol. 10.	Iīm. resevyde of the mayale . . . . .	xxx s.
Fol. 11.	Iīm. payde to Pryst and Clarkys Allallontyde . . . . .	ii s.
	Iīm. for halowyng of the hauter clothys . . . . .	ix d.
	Iīm. for makynge of the aubys and amyas yssyd and the sorphys . . . . .	ii s. xi d.
	Iīm. for a lyne for the Sakermente . . . . .	i d.
	Iīm. payde for payntyng of iii clothys . . . . .	iiii s. i d.

<sup>a</sup> The accounts do not show the payment in the previous year to Mr. Robert Dormer and Mr. A. More of this large sum. Robert Dormer was knighted on the 18th Oct. 1537, and in 35th Henry VIII., on the dissolution of Monasteries, obtained a grant to himself and Jane his wife, daughter of John Newdegate, of Harefield, Serjeant-at-law, in fee of the Manor of Wing, part of the possessions of St. Mary de Pré, or de Pratis, near St. Alban's.

Of John a More's family, I find the following inscription was formerly in the church. "Here lyeth John Meredene, otherwere called John of More, the which John died the 30th day of Aug., in the yere of our Lord God 1489; on whose soul God have mercy. Amen." This was probably on a brass, which showed that he had four sons and nine daughters.

1532.

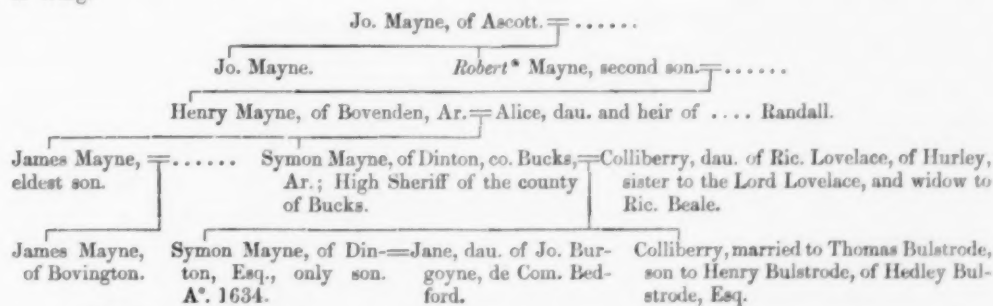
- Fol. 12. M<sup>d</sup> there remaynyth in the hands of Robert Hythe and Robert Skrowgges  
lxxxiii li. of wexe of the Sepulker lyte, to be delyveryd the thursday next  
before palm Sunday next ensuyng to the Chyrchwardeyns aforesayde.
- Fol. 13. Imprim<sup>s</sup> we solde to M<sup>r</sup> Pownutes & Thomas Hynse xviii q̄rys malte and a halfe  
for . . . . . vii li. x s.  
It. receyved of Sir Richarde for halfe a yeres rente of y<sup>e</sup> schoppe att Myhellmas  
viii d.  
It. recvyd for the maye ale, all costes alowyd . . . . . xxviii s. viii d.
- It. payde to Wyttm a Welde<sup>a</sup> for xx<sup>v</sup> q̄rys barly . . . . . v li. x s.  
It. payde for a lyne for the clothe afore the hey al<sup>f</sup> . . . . . ii d.  
It. payde to Wyllm Smead for makyng of xx<sup>v</sup> q̄tyr malte . . . . . x s.  
It. payde for colys on Est<sup>a</sup> neve . . . . . ii d.

1533.

- Fol. 14. M<sup>d</sup> that I, Thomas Mayne,<sup>b</sup> and John Godarde, and John Smewyen, Rycharde  
Theyrnbe, have receyved of Robartt Funten, Thomas Sere, and John Owen,  
and the Smythe of Asscott, receyved in redy money in the Churche Boxxe  
xvii li. x s. x d.  
Imprim<sup>s</sup>, receyved of John Funtan, requeste of the ecceycuters . . . . . xx s.

<sup>a</sup> Henry de Weld was vicar 1351.

<sup>b</sup> It is probable that Thomas Mayne was of the same family as Simon Mayne of Dinton, the Regicide. In the Visitation Book of Bucks, anno 1634, in the College of Arms, is the following pedigree of Mayne, and though Thomas Mayne is not found in it, yet it commences with Jo. Mayne, of Ascott, a hamlet of Wing.



(Signed) Symon Mayne.

\* In a copy of this entry in another volume this Robert is corrected to Richard.

Fol. 14.	Iīm. receyved of the Maye ale, costys and chargys a lowyd . . . . .	xxxī s. v d.
	Iīt. payd for All halowys Dyrge . . . . .	xx d.
	Iīt. payd for colys on est <sup>r</sup> heve . . . . .	ii d.
	Iīt. payd to the Masyn for laying of John Funten <sup>a</sup> stone ys wages and borde	viii d.

## 1534.

Fol. 15.	Iīt. receyvd of the mayale . . . . .	xxvi s. iii d.
Fol. 16.	Iīm. for byndyng of the Churche bokys . . . . .	iii s. vii d.
	Iīt. payd to master More for a psescynal of papar . . . . .	xii d.
	Iīt. payd at the Chapter Cowrte at Aylsbery bysydys owr labar . . . . .	iiii d.
	Iīm. payd apon hochmys day to the ayltter . . . . .	xi li.
	Iīt. payd to Elizabeth Baker for skowryng of ii. standard canstkyes . . . . .	vi d.

## 1535 and 1536.

The accounts for these years are imperfect. The receipts do not appear to be entered. The payments are very many, and include large repairs to the ornaments of the church. Amongst them are the following:—

Fol. 19.	Iīt. payd for a dosson and a halfe of rynggys for yowyer lady of gesofe <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	vi d.
	Iīt. payd for a dosson yerdys of rebon for corten afore your layd of gesof . . . . .	iiii d.
	Iīt. payd to the smyght for makyng of the heyorn before Lady of gesuf . . . . .	ii d.
	Iīt. payd for payntyng of schen nycolas meyer and crosheyer staffe . . . . .	xiii d.

## 1537.

Fol. 21.	Iīm. reseȳd of Mast <sup>c</sup> John More bequest resevyd of hys seketures . . . . .	iiii marke iii s. ʒ iii d.
	Iīm. resevyvd of the Oc all of Wyng <sup>c</sup> . . . . .	xii s. ii d.
	Iīm. resevyvd of Crofton Oc all . . . . .	iii s. v d.
	Iīm. Ascot' Oc alle . . . . .	iiii s. iii d. ob.

<sup>a</sup> John Fountain appears to have left to the parish a legacy of 20s., and the churchwardens show their gratitude by expending 8d. on his tomb.

<sup>b</sup> I am unable to explain the meaning of "Lady of Gesofe."

<sup>c</sup> In the succeeding year this is called "the Church all at Oetyde," and "Hocke Ayle." (See Brand, vol. i., as to Hocking and Hocktide.)



I<sup>m</sup>. Bureot Oc alle . . . . . iiii s. vi d.  
I<sup>m</sup>. recevyd of the Maye alle ⁊ all costes borne . . . . . xxxiiii s.

Fol. 22. I<sup>m</sup>. payd for the exchange of a Chalys . . . . . xiii s. iiii d.  
I<sup>m</sup>. payd to the Carver for makyng of the tabernacle . . . . . xix s. vi d.

1538.<sup>a</sup>

Fol. 25. I<sup>te</sup>. reyseyvyd yn the paryche of devocon for the ornamentes . xxxviii s. ix d. ob.  
Fol. 26. I<sup>te</sup>. for Crofton Hocke ayle . . . . . iii s. iiii d.  
I<sup>te</sup>. y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Church mene hathe reyseyvyd at the Whytsn ayle . . . . . xxx s.  
I<sup>m</sup>. recevyd of Askott for the Churche all at Octyde . . . . . ii s.

In primis, payd for the organs and the ornamentes that cayme from Woburn  
ix li.

I<sup>te</sup>. to Robert Hardyng for a lowde of stuffe from Hoburne . . . . . xv d.  
I<sup>te</sup>. to Wyllelm Lucas for a lowede of stuffe from Woburn . . . . . xv d.  
I<sup>te</sup>. to John Chapell for a lowde caryde from Woburn . . . . . xv d.  
I<sup>te</sup>. for meyte ⁊ drynke when we went for the orgayns to Woburn, ⁊ for worke-  
men . . . . . ii s. vii d.  
I<sup>te</sup>. to Sir Thomas for setting of y<sup>e</sup> organs . . . . . v s.  
I<sup>te</sup>. for a glasse wyndo boght at Woburn . . . . . iii s. iiii d.  
Fol. 27. I<sup>te</sup>. for xvii quarters of corne ⁊ vi busshell . . . . . lvi s. i d.  
I<sup>te</sup>. to Sir Thomas for kyppanyng y<sup>e</sup> orgayns . . . . . v s.  
I<sup>te</sup>. to y<sup>e</sup> smythe for the yreyn worke ⁊ y<sup>e</sup> polyssys, with a basket yn the rode  
lofte . . . . . xx d.

1539.

Fol. 28. I<sup>te</sup>. recevid of the hoke allemen . . . . . xvii s. iiii d.  
I<sup>te</sup>. ressevid of Crofton hok alle . . . . . ii s. iiii d.  
I<sup>te</sup>. of Nycholas Bukmast<sup>r</sup> for a but call'd o<sup>r</sup> Lady Hadland<sup>b</sup> . . . . . i d. ob.  
Fol. 29. I<sup>te</sup>. recevid of the Wytso<sup>n</sup> aelle . . . . . xxx s. vi d.

I<sup>te</sup>. payd to Xpofer Rutter for caryege of the chyrche gere to London . . . . . viii d.  
I<sup>te</sup>. payd for dressyng of the chyrch ger at London . . . . . viii s.

<sup>a</sup> It appears by the payments of this year that the parish went to very considerable expense in purchasing organs and other ornaments from Woburn; probably on the dissolution of the Monastery there.

<sup>b</sup> This "headland" is probably what is called St. Mary way in 1529, *ante*

Fol. 29.	Ii. to Xpofer Rutter for bryngyng home of the same chyrche geyr .	ix d.
	Ii. for met & drynk at the making of the torches .	iii d. ob.
Fol. 30.	MD. that I S <sup>r</sup> Thoma <sup>s</sup> brabant haue rec <sup>d</sup> of the Cherchemen for my halfe yere wagys fro' mydsom <sup>r</sup> to Crystm <sup>s</sup> <sup>a</sup> .	x s.
	Ii. payd to godfre the smyth for makyng the yernwerke before the hye auter	iiii d.
	Ii. payd to y <sup>e</sup> paynter for paynting of a cloth .	xvii d.
	a pekke of colles for the joiner, when he did mend the orgayns .	iv d.
	Ii. payd to S <sup>r</sup> Thomas for setting home of y <sup>e</sup> organs frō Langley	iii s. iii d.
Fol. 31.	Ii. payd to mayn for a cloth to bryng hom the Bybull .	ii d. ob.

## 1540.

	Ii. peyed for xx hunderth weyghte of leade .	iii pounce xiii s. iii d.
Fol. 32.	Ii. reseyyved of the meye ale .	xxviii s. viii d.
	Ii. pey <sup>d</sup> for meyster morse dyryge .	ii s. ob.
	Ii. on al sowllse dey offered to the preste .	i d.
Fol. 33.	Ii. peyd to the organ pleyer stranger for pleyng .	viii d.

## 1541.

Fol. 35.	Item, reseyyved of the sepulker alle .	xx s. iii d. ob.
	Item, reseyyved of the ooc alle .	xiii s. i d.
	Item, reseyyved of the May alle .	xxx s.
	Item, reseyyved of Crofton hocc alle .	iii s.

## 1542.

Fol. 36.	Item, payd for a chayn of the bybull & ii buckels for the badrys .	iiii d.
Fol. 38.	Item, for the sepoulker ale .	xx s. v d.
	Item, made of the hocc ale of Wyng .	viii s. ii d.
	Item, reseyyvd of Nycolas Buckmaster for the hocc alle of Askot .	iii s.
	Iim. recevyd of Jhñ Clarke prest, vicar of Wyng .	vi s.
	Iim. recevyd of the mey alle of Wyng .	xxx s.
	Iim. recevyd of the oocc all of Crofton .	ii s. iii d.

<sup>a</sup> This entry is in a different handwriting, probably the autograph of Sir Thomas.

1543.

Fol. 39.	Item, reseyyd of the hocc men . . .	xv s. viii d. ob.
	Item, reseyyd of the occ ale of Crofton . . .	xx d.
	Item, reseyyd of the Wytsñ ale iiii nobulls . . .	xxvii s. viii d.
Fol. 40.	Item, for mendyng of Saynt Catern hele and the sowthe syde of the Churche	vii s. vi d.
Fol. 41.	Item, for mendyng of the Churche buckes . . .	xviii s.

1544.

	It. r <sup>d</sup> of Mastres More for hyr sone lyinge <sup>a</sup> in the Churche . . .	iii s. iiii d.
	It. r <sup>d</sup> for hocke ale . . .	vii s.
	It. r <sup>d</sup> for the May ale . . .	xxv s.
Fol. 42.	It. payde for M <sup>r</sup> John a More obbet . . .	vii s. v d.
	It. offerd on All Sowles day . . .	i d.

1545.

Fol. 43.	Item, payd for a schype skyn to mende the belows of the orgayns . . .	iii d.
	Item, for a nabet for M <sup>r</sup> John a More . . .	vi s. vi d.
	Item, payd to the constabull off Wynge <sup>b</sup> . . .	viii s. iiii d.
Fol. 44.	Itm. payd to the pson of Grove <sup>c</sup> for kepyng the Cwere in the siknestyme . . .	xx s.
	Item, payd to the orgyn playar for o <sup>r</sup> Lady day quarter <sup>d</sup> . . .	vii s.
	Item, reseyyd off Thomas Sanders for ii alter clothes off hys mothers bequest	iii s. iiii d.
	Item, reseyyd off the hoc men . . .	vii s. vi d.
	Item, reseyyd of the Executors off Robert Funten of Burcot . . .	xii d. <sup>e</sup>

1546.

Fol. 45.	It. recyvyd of Crofton hoke alle . . .	ii s. ii d.
	It. r <sup>d</sup> of the hocke ale . . .	vi s. viii d.

<sup>a</sup> This is the first entry of the receipt of a fine for burying within the church.

<sup>b</sup> This is the first mention of this important official.

<sup>c</sup> Grove is a neighbouring parish, the population of which is now very trifling.

<sup>d</sup> This is the last payment to the organ-player. The organ, however, remained, and was repaired on the accession of Queen Mary.

<sup>e</sup> There is no May ale this year; possibly on account of the sickness.

- Ii. r<sup>d</sup> of the Maye ale . . . . . xxx s. ii d.  
 Fol. 46. Ii. r<sup>d</sup> of Thomas Sander for the bequest of hys mother a bosshyll of wete w<sup>ch</sup> was  
 solde for . . . . . xiiii d.

## 1547.

- Fol. 47. Thomas Pariche and Robt<sup>e</sup> Mercaunte are chosyn for the hocke ale.  
 John Noreotte & Francis Brise are chosin for the Roode light.  
 Item, Robt<sup>e</sup> Dobleye owethe unto the Church of olde debt xxi s. ii d. w<sup>ch</sup> the  
 pishe hath given him libtie to paye yerlye ii s. till suche tyme it be paide<sup>a</sup>  
 xxi s. ii d.  
 Fol. 48. Item, we payd for ow<sup>r</sup> costes & chyrsgys at the beshape vysytacyon at Alyesbury  
 uppon the Fryday before Medsomer day last paste, & for o<sup>r</sup> byll making  
 xxiii d.  
 Ii. payde to Cockesys wife for kepyng of y<sup>e</sup> Chylde a fortnyght . . . xv d.  
 Ii. payde to the Sexten at y<sup>e</sup> buryyng of y<sup>e</sup> Chylde . . . ii d.  
 Item, payde to the Clarke for making off the inventory of the Church goods ii s.  
 Item, payd to Sander & hys man for whyt lymyng of the Church . . v s. v d.  
 Item, payd for the Church boke . . . . . iii s. ii d.  
 Ii. payde to y<sup>e</sup> Clarke of Leyghton for boke to synge on . . . xvi d.  
 Fol. 49. Ii. r<sup>d</sup> for y<sup>e</sup> Maye Ale . . . . . xxii s.  
 Ii. r<sup>d</sup> for stuffe the whyche was solde of the Church goodes<sup>b</sup> . . xvi li. ii s.

## 1549.

- Ii. recevyd for the gylt of the Images . . . . . iii s.  
 Ii. rē. for y<sup>e</sup> Maye ale . . . . . xxiii s. iii d.  
 Fol. 50. Ii. payd for two sawter bokes . . . . . iii s. iii d.  
 Ii. payde for expences when y<sup>e</sup> bokes were delyvred . . . xvi d.  
 Ii. payde for y<sup>e</sup> castyng of xxix hundred of lead . . . xix s. iii d.  
 Ii. payde for y<sup>e</sup> leyyng of xx hundred of lead . . . vi s. viii d.  
 Ii. payde for takyng up of y<sup>e</sup> olde lead in y<sup>e</sup> gallery & y<sup>e</sup> leying of y<sup>e</sup> agayne  
 iii s. v d.

<sup>a</sup> Robert Dobleye, or Daubene as it is afterwards written, paid some of the yearly instalments, but not the whole debt.

<sup>b</sup> I am not clear whether these two items relate to 1547 or 1548. I believe the former year, in which case the accounts for the latter year are wholly wanting. The sale of the church goods was no doubt consequent on the accession of Edward VI., and had probably been ordered by the bishop at his visitation.

1550.

	Ii. recevyd for the May ale . . . . .	xl s. ii d.
Fol. 51.	Ii. payde for wasshyng out of y <sup>e</sup> dome in y <sup>e</sup> rode loft . . . . .	xvi d.
	Ii. payde for y <sup>e</sup> takynge downe of y <sup>e</sup> aulters & y <sup>e</sup> dressyng of the walle agayne . . . . .	iiii s. ii d.
	Ii. payde for makynge of the table . . . . .	iiii d.
	Ii. payde for the omelyes . . . . .	xiiii d.

1551.

Fol. 52.	Ii. recevyd of the Maye ale . . . . .	xxx s. v d.
	Ii. lost in the money that was in the Churche box . . . . .	xs. ii $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
	Ii. lost at the seconde fall of the Money <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	iii s. iii d.
	Ii. gyven to pore people on all Soule day . . . . .	ii s. iii d.
	Ii. payde for costes and charges at the comysaryes courte . . . . .	x d.

1552.

Fol. 53.	Ii. recevyd of the Maye ale . . . . .	xxviii s. vi d.
Fol. 54.	Ii. payde for two bokes . . . . .	ii s. viii d.
	Ii. payde for wrytyng agaynst the apearance before the kynges Comysseyors at Aylysbury <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	iiii s. iii d.
	Ii. for makynge of our byll at Aylysbury . . . . .	ii d.
	Ii. payde for a boke of the articles at that tyme <sup>c</sup> . . . . .	ii d.
	Ii. for the Church mens costes at the vysytacyon of the Byshoppe at Aylysbury, & for two mens costes the w <sup>ch</sup> were w <sup>th</sup> them at that tyme . . . . .	xvi d.

<sup>a</sup> By a proclamation dated 30th April, 1551, intituled "A proclamation set furthe by the Kynges Maiesty, with the advise of his most honorable Priuey Counsayll, for the valuacion of the shillinges and grotes to a meaner and lower value and rate," the value of the shilling was reduced to ninepence, and that of the groat to threepence: a copy of this proclamation is in the Collection of the Society. About August following a further reduction by proclamation was made to sixpence and twopence. (See Ruding, vol. ii. 106, &c.)

<sup>b</sup> I presume these were the Commissioners to review the Ecclesiastical Laws, and draw a body out of them. See Collier's Eccles. Hist. (Barham) v. 479.

<sup>c</sup> This was the Book of Articles drawn up by Cranmer. "Articuli de quibus in synodo Londinensi, anno 1552, inter episcopos et alios eruditos viros convenerat ad tollendam opinionum disensionem et consensum veræ religionis firmandum regia autoritate in lucem editi." (See Collier's Ecc. His. (Barham) v. 476.)





Ii. payde for carrynge of sande for the tylers to the makynge of the aulters	iiii d.
Ii. payde to Edwarde Warde for makynge of the frame about the sepulcre	x d.
Ii. payde to London's wyfe for scowrynge of the cannapy	i d.

1554.

Recevyde of Thomas Bennet for the sepulcre ale for the last yere	xxii s.
Recevyd of the may ale	xlvi s. viii d.

Fol. 57. Ii. payde for mendynge of the organes	xiiii s. viii d.
Ii. payde for a presessyonar	xii d.
Ii. payde for makynge of the sepulcre	x d.

1555.

Receved of burcot for sepulcre ale	viii s. vd.
Recevyd of Wynge for the sepulcre ale	xvi s. iii d.
Receved of Ascot for the sepulcre ale	xvi s. viii d.
Recevyd for oure maye ale	xl s. iii d.

Fol. 58. Ii. payde to y <sup>e</sup> sexten for makynge of a laddre, ʒ for breade ʒ ale for watchynge of the sepulcre	xii d.
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1556.

Recevyd of my Lady Dormer for the bell.	xl s.
Recevyd of Wynge for the bell	xix s. vii d.
Recevyd of Crofton for the bell	iii s. vi d.
Recevyd of Ascot for the bell	vii s. iii d.
Recevyd of burcot for the bell	vii s.
Recevyd of Wynge agayne for the bell	xi s. viii d.
Receavyd of Whyte for a fine	vi s. viii d.
Receavyd of Wynge agayne for the bell	vi d.
Receavyd of the May ale	lii s. ix d.

Fol. 59. Ii. payde for the churche mans costes goynge to london	ii s. ii d.
Ii. payde for our costes at buckyngham when we made a bargayne for the bell	xxi d.
Ii. payde for our costes at the castynge of the bell	iiii s. i d.
Ii. payde to the bell founder	iiii li. viii s. ii d.
Ii. payde for castynge of the brasses ʒ for mettell	xi s. vi d.

	Ii. payde for carryng of the bell	.	.	.	.	v s.
	Ii. payde for the hangyng of the bell	.	.	.	.	iiii s.
	Ii. payde for drynke when the bell was hangyd	.	.	.	.	iiii d.
	Ii. payde for carynge of the bokes to queynton	.	.	.	.	ii d.
	Ii. payde for the rode, ʒ hokes, ʒ stapels, ʒ nayles	.	.	.	.	xxix s. i d.
	Ii. loste in rose pens <sup>a</sup> ʒ hal pens	.	.	.	.	xii d.
	Ii. payde for the crosse ʒ a pax	.	.	.	.	ii s. viii d.
1557.						
	Receavyd of the hock ale	.	.	.	.	xl s.
	Receavyd of the May ale	.	.	.	.	xli s. i d.
<hr/>						
Fol. 60.	Ii. payde to John Appowell for the bell	.	.	.	.	iii li. vi s. viii d.
	Ii. payde for iii. bokes	.	.	.	.	ix s. vi d.
1558.						
	Ii. recevyd of the May ale	.	.	.	.	xl s.
1559.						
Fol. 61.	Ii. for a boke for the ministring of the sakement in Yngllis layde owte	.	.	.	.	v s. ii d.
	Ii. for takynge downe of the rode	.	.	.	.	vii d.
1559. <sup>b</sup>						
Fol. 62.	Resewyde of the hoke men for the hoke alle	.	.	.	.	xxvii s. ix d.
	Receveyde of Nichs Fowntayne for brekyng the Church	.	.	.	.	vi s. viii d.
1560.						
Fol. 63.	P <sup>d</sup> firste lent to the p̃ishe towards y <sup>e</sup> furnishynge of a sodyour	.	.	.	.	vi s. viii d.
	Iīm. loste in the Church boxe by the fall of money	.	.	.	.	ii s. vi d. ob.
	Iīm. p <sup>d</sup> for an Iniuncon for the Church <sup>c</sup>	.	.	.	.	iii d.
	Iīm. more receyved for the Whitson ale	.	.	.	.	liiii s. iii d.

<sup>a</sup> Certain coins called rose-pence had been coined and sent to Ireland, which were returned to England and uttered as current coin. This was suppressed by proclamation dated 16th Sept. in this year, a copy of which is in the Society's Collection. (See also Ruding, vol. ii. 129.)

<sup>b</sup> No May ale this year.

<sup>c</sup> Probably Queen Elizabeth's injunctions. (See Collier's Ecc. Hist. (Barham) vi. 256.)

1561.

Fol. 64.	In primis, of Rychard Chapman for a legacy geven to this Church of mother Fountayne . . . . .	viii s.
	I <sup>tm</sup> . to y <sup>e</sup> S <sup>m</sup> ner to kepe us ffrome lincoln for slacknes of o <sup>r</sup> auters <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	viii d.
	I <sup>tm</sup> . for takyng downe the south auter . . . . .	iiii d.
	I <sup>tm</sup> . toward y <sup>e</sup> p <sup>ce</sup> of y <sup>e</sup> paraphrases (w <sup>ch</sup> cost xv s.) we layd out . . . . .	vii s.
	I <sup>t</sup> . payde for the table & other two lytle bokes . . . . .	ii s. iii d.
	I <sup>tm</sup> more receyved for y <sup>e</sup> Wytson ale . . . . .	lvi s. x d.

1562.

Fol. 65.	I <sup>t</sup> <sup>e</sup> reseved of Sir Wyllyam Dormer & other g <sup>nt</sup> ellmen at Ascot . . . . .	vi s. iii d.
	I <sup>t</sup> <sup>e</sup> payde to the sexten for takyng downe of our rode lofte . . . . .	ii s.
	I <sup>t</sup> <sup>e</sup> payde to London and Nasshe for takyng a waye the robelle of y <sup>e</sup> alters & laynge downe of the stone of the alter agayne . . . . .	xvi d.
	I <sup>t</sup> <sup>e</sup> payde for makyng of the Clarkes surplas & for mendyng of the Curates surples . . . . .	vii d.
	I <sup>t</sup> . payde for bread & wyne agaynste crystmas . . . . .	iiii d.
	I <sup>t</sup> <sup>e</sup> payde to y <sup>e</sup> mynsterelle at Whytsontyde . . . . .	iii s. iii d.

1563.

Fol. 66.	I <sup>t</sup> . receaved of the May ale . . . . .	li s. vi d.
	I <sup>t</sup> . payd for the homelye boke . . . . .	iiii s.
	I <sup>t</sup> . payd for bread & wyne for the hole yere . . . . .	xxii d.

1564.

Fol. 67.	I <sup>tm</sup> . resavyd of the Maye ale . . . . .	iii li. ix s. vii d.
	M <sup>d</sup> that this yere at Whytsontyde was chosen for the Lorde John Taylor of Ascot, and Catheryn Chapman of Crofton.	
	Note—an ordre m <sup>e</sup> tioned in y <sup>e</sup> end of this boke for y <sup>e</sup> Lord & Lady at Wytsonyde made this yere, 1565. <sup>b</sup>	

<sup>a</sup> It seems evident that the people of Wing, probably from the influence of the Dormer family, were willing enough to restore the altars on the accession of Mary, but were slow to pull them down at the command of Elizabeth. The summoner, however, was good-natured, or at least accessible to the softening influence of a bribe.

<sup>b</sup> The curious order here referred to is on what is now fo. 176, and which probably was originally the

[The order here referred to is as follows, viz. :—]

“ M<sup>d</sup>. that S. Wylliam Dormer knyght, ffraunces darrell & John a more gentlemē, w<sup>th</sup> the consent of the churche wardens th<sup>r</sup> beyng, & the rest of the parryshe, have agreed & taken an order that all suche yonge men as shall hereaft<sup>r</sup> by order of the hole parryshe be chosen for to be lorde at Whytsontyde for the behofe of the churche, & refuse so to be, shall forfeyt & pay for the use of the churche iii s. iiiii d. to be levyed vppon the sayde yonge men & theyr fathers & mayst<sup>rs</sup> wherere the just default cā be founde, & eūy mayde refusyng to be lady for the sayd purpose to forfeit vnto the sayde vse xx d. to be levyed in lyke order as is before expressed. And yt is provydyd that all suche howses out of the whiche the sayde lordes or ladyes, or one of thē, are chosen to stande fre from that purpose & charge for the space of vi yere thē next ensuyng. This order was taken, agreed upon, and in this boke noted the x<sup>th</sup> day of June, in the yere of o<sup>r</sup> lorde god MCCCCCLXV.

1565.

Fol. 68. It. thys yere aboue wrytten was harrye kene chosen lorde & refused,  
 & so payde to the Churche . . . . . iii s. iiiii d.

1566. Robarte Rychardeson the servaunte of Thomas Lygo was then  
 chosen lorde and Kateryn Godfrey lady.

It. receaued of the Maye ale all thynges therto belonging discharged  
 iii li. xiiii s. viii d.

1566.

Fol. 69. It. r<sup>d</sup> for the chest that was in the rode loft . . . . . xiii s. iiiii d.  
 It. r<sup>d</sup> of the May ale . . . . . iii li. x s.

1567. It. this yere aboue wrytten was Clement Marcer lorde srūnt to Robarte  
 godman of Wynge, & Jane franklen of the same ladye.

1567.

Fol. 70. It. receaued of the Maye ale . . . . . iiiii li. vi s. viii d.

last page of this book. The accounts previous to fo. 176 extend to the year 1659, and by the inscription on the cover the book would appear to have been rebound in that year. Additional pages were then doubtless added, upon which the accounts are continued to 1723. I have thought it best to place the order under the year in which it appears to have been made.



1568. This yere was Richard cooke (as we call hym), servaunt to S<sup>r</sup> Will<sup>m</sup> Dormer, lord at our May, & Margarete Goodman, daught<sup>r</sup> to John Goodman of Crofton, lady.

Collectors for y <sup>e</sup> poore . . . .	{	Wyllm Carter &
	{	Wyllm Arden.
To vewe y <sup>e</sup> comers to y <sup>e</sup> church	{	Hugh Stephens &
	{	Edward Norcott.
To vewe y <sup>e</sup> hie wayes for Wyng	{	Oliv <sup>r</sup> Plater.
towne . . . . .	{	Rich. Torner.

1568.

Fol. 71. It. r<sup>d</sup> of the may ale . . . . . iii li. xii d.

It. payd for a boke . . . . . iii s. iii d.

This yere was Roger Jewet, s<sup>r</sup>vaunt to Wylliam seare, lorde at our Maye, and Alys honar, s<sup>r</sup>vunt to Hugh Stevens, ladye.

1569.

Fol. 72. It. r<sup>d</sup> of the Mayale . . . . . iii li. ii d.

It. payde for Juels boke<sup>a</sup> . . . . . ix s. iii d.

This yere was Thomas goodale, s<sup>r</sup>vaunt to Rycharde Sancot, lord at o<sup>r</sup> May, and Isbell Nycolas, daught<sup>r</sup> to Harry Nycolas, ladye.

1570.

Fol. 73. R<sup>d</sup> for o<sup>r</sup> Maye Ale . . . . . vi li. ob.

This yere was mathew, ffo<sup>t</sup>eman vnto S<sup>r</sup> Willm dormer knight, the lord of oure May, & Willm harmons mayd the lady.

It. payd for ryngynge when the quene was here<sup>b</sup> . . . . . viii d.

It. payd for iiiii syngenge bokes . . . . . iii s. iii d.

It. pd to nashe for a Rayle for y<sup>e</sup> church mownd . . . . . iii d.

<sup>a</sup> Probably the Defence of the Apology, published in 1567. (See Jewell's Works (Parker Society), Biographical Memoir, p. xxviii.)

<sup>b</sup> The Queen probably only passed through Wing. She was at Chenies and Rycot in this year, and may have travelled through Wing in passing from one to the other. In 1554 she had slept at Mr. Dormer's at Wing on her journey from Woodstock to Hampton Court.

## 1571.

- Fol. 74. Rec. for oure may ale . . . . . vii li. ii s. ix d.  
 This yere was Henry Collett, ſvaunt to Richard Bate of Circott, lord at our Maye,  
 ⁊ Agnes hurrodale, hugh norcott's wyfe's daught<sup>r</sup>, lady.

Ii. p<sup>d</sup> for a bybyll of the largyst volume, ⁊ of the newe pryntt<sup>a</sup> . . . . . xli s.  
 The chargys ther of brynggyng home . . . . . xviii d.  
 Iim. p<sup>d</sup> for mett ⁊ drynke for the rynggers of Sentt Hewes daye, by coñiadmentt  
 of the paryter ffrome the bossoppe<sup>b</sup> . . . . . iii s. vi d.  
 Iim. p<sup>d</sup> to the Vyker for a newe bocke calyd canons<sup>c</sup> . . . . . iii s.  
 Iim. p<sup>d</sup> to the jiner for makynge of the pewe ⁊ the deske . . . . . v s.

## 1572.

- Fol. 75. R<sup>d</sup> for the May ale . . . . . v li. xiii s. vi d.  
 This yere was Willm Sawnders, for Rob<sup>t</sup> Sawnders howse, lord of o<sup>r</sup> May, ⁊ Katheryn  
 tailer, the dought<sup>r</sup> of Thomas, lady.

## 1573.

- Fol. 76. Ii. made of the Maye ale . . . . . lxi s. i d. ob.  
 Ii. payde for the lorde of lyncolnes boke<sup>d</sup> . . . . . iii s.

## 1574.

- Fol. 77. Ii. r<sup>d</sup> of o<sup>r</sup> may Ale, all thynges dyscharged . . . . . iii li. v d.  
 P<sup>d</sup> for makynge of the byll of chrysteninges ⁊ buryalls . . . . . iii d.

## 1576.

- Fol. 79. P<sup>d</sup> for a tynne wyne bottell for the churche . . . . . xviii d.  
 P<sup>d</sup> for too breves that came from the bishoppe of Cawnterbury . . . . . iii d.  
 For a booke called Bullengers decades . . . . . vii s. vi d.

<sup>a</sup> This must have been the Bishops' Bible, first printed in 1568.

<sup>b</sup> St. Hugh's day was the 17th November, the day on which Elizabeth became queen.

<sup>c</sup> "A booke of certaine canons concernyng some parte of the discipline of the churche of England."

4to. Lond., by John Daye, 1571.

<sup>d</sup> Exposition of Lessons from the Old Testament, by Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Lincoln. 4to. 1573.

For a booke of Iniunctions ⁊ artycles ther<sup>a</sup> . . . . . iii d.  
 Receyved of oure Maye ale, all charges discharged . . . . . iii li. xviii s.

1577.

Fol. 80. It. r<sup>d</sup> for the may ale, all thinges discharged . . . . . iii li. xviii s. i d. ob.

1578.

Fol. 81. This p̄sent yere 1579 ther was no may ale made, for that waters howshold was  
 vesyted w<sup>h</sup> sycknes ⁊ suspected w<sup>h</sup> the plage.<sup>b</sup>

1579.

Fol. 82. Receyved for the Maye ale, all thinges discharged . . . . . vi li. vi s. vii d. ob.

1580.

Fol. 83. Itm. p<sup>d</sup> for a Comvnyon boke . . . . . vii s.  
 Itm. p<sup>d</sup> to pollardes daft<sup>r</sup> for one burden of Roshes to strewe the churche howse  
 agaynst the comyssyoners sate there . . . . . i d.

1581.

Fol. 84. Receyved for the May ale . . . . . liiii s. x d.

Itm. p<sup>d</sup> for one Locke to hange one the pore manes boxe . . . . . x d.  
 Fol. 85. Itm. p<sup>d</sup> to Shilborne f<sup>r</sup> makyng the copyes of my lord of Lyncoln's letter . . . . . vi d.

1582.

R<sup>d</sup> for the May ale ⁊ the hock ale, all thynges dyscharged . . . . . iii li. ix s.  
 Fol. 86. It. payd to the paynter f<sup>r</sup> payntyng the scrypture in the Churche . . . . . xxviii s. vi d.

1583.

Fol. 87. It. p<sup>d</sup> for ii salter bookes for the Churche . . . . . vii s.

<sup>a</sup> "Articles agreed upon in the Convocation at Westminster, MDLXXV." 4to. Lond. by Ric. Jugge, n. d.  
 A copy is in the Bodleian Library.

<sup>b</sup> There seems a blunder in this entry, as there was a May ale in 1579.

1590.

- Fol. 94. P<sup>d</sup> vnto Bartholomewe Alton of Buckyngam for the castyng of the second bell ⁊  
 puttyng in ii. c<sup>t</sup> weyght of new mettell more then the old bell weyghed  
 x li. xii d.

1591.

- R<sup>d</sup> for the Maye ale, all things discharged . . . . . vii li. xiiii s. x d. ob. <sup>a</sup>

1592.

- Fol. 96. R<sup>d</sup> of M<sup>r</sup> Cherry of Cublington for that his wife was buryed in Sainct Katheryns  
 ele . . . . . vi s. viii d.  
 R<sup>d</sup> for the Maye ale ⁊ all costes ⁊ charges borne . . . . . x li. x d.  
 P<sup>d</sup> for a Comunion booke . . . . . xi s. viii d.

1593.

- Fol. 97. It. p<sup>d</sup> for a sanctus bell and the bell metall . . . . . 1 s. x d.  
 It. p<sup>d</sup> for Iron for the May pole . . . . . xii d.

1594.

- Fol. 98. It. p<sup>d</sup> at Alesbury for expenses ⁊ a boke of articles <sup>b</sup> . . . . . iii s. i d.

1595.

- Fol. 99. It. p<sup>d</sup> for takyng downe of May poles ⁊ lainge y<sup>m</sup> up . . . . . x d.  
 It. p<sup>d</sup> for a booke of sermons <sup>c</sup> to be red in the Churche . . . . . viii d.

1597.

- Fol. 101. P<sup>d</sup> to Watkyn ⁊ Casy for mendyng the crosse . . . . . xx d.

1598.

- Fol. 102. R<sup>d</sup> for the May ale, althinges discharged . . . . . ix li. xvi s. iiiii d.

<sup>a</sup> This entry does not occur in the interval from 1582.

<sup>b</sup> The receipts for this year are partly wanting. An edition of the Thirty-nine Articles was published in 1593, and may be the book here referred to.

<sup>c</sup> Possibly the Second Book of Homilies.

P<sup>d</sup> for a parchement booke for a Regester for christeninges, weddynges, ⁊ buryalls,  
⁊ the byndyng of y<sup>a</sup> . . . . . xx s.

1599.

Fol. 103. It. p<sup>d</sup> for a bord was lost at the Maye . . . . . vi d.

1600.

Fol. 104. R<sup>d</sup> for the May ale, all thynges discharged . . . . . ix li. xii s.

P<sup>d</sup> for Jewell's booke . . . . . vi s. <sup>b</sup>

P<sup>d</sup> for an offerynge boxe . . . . . xviii d.

1603.

Fol. 107. P<sup>d</sup> for a booke for prayer for the king for Awgust <sup>c</sup> . . . . . xii d.

P<sup>d</sup> for ii. bookes of prayer in the plage tyme ⁊ y<sup>e</sup> Cownselles tres <sup>d</sup> . . . . . iii s.

P<sup>d</sup> for a comunion booke . . . . . vi s. viii d.

<sup>a</sup> The existing Register commences 1546, and is continued in the same book down to 1749. It would seem, therefore, that in this year the old book was added to, and rebound.

<sup>b</sup> I do not find any book of Jewel's published about this time.

<sup>c</sup> "A fourme of prayer, with thanksgiving, to be used yeerly on Aug. 5, for his highness deliverance from earl Gowry's traitorous attempt." 4to Lond. 1603.

<sup>d</sup> "Certaine prayers collected out of a forme of Godly meditations set forth by his majesty's authoritie, most necessary to be used in the present visitation." 4to Lond. 1603.



XXIII. *Journal of the Mission of Queen Isabella to the Court of France, and of her long residence in that country. Communicated by JOSEPH HUNTER, one of the Vice-Presidents.*

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Read Nov. 29, 1855.

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THE year 1325 is memorable in the history both of England and France as a time when very difficult negotiations were going on, and when the Queen-Consort of England undertook the office of mediator between her husband, the King of England, and the King of France, her brother.

A female diplomatist gives an interest of a peculiar kind to these negotiations. The matters in dispute were certain rights in Guienne, and the insisting by the King of France on the immediate render of homage by the King of England for the lands he held in the realm of France. In the end questions arose far more important than these, so that this and the following year may be regarded as a very remarkable crisis in our constitutional history.

There are few events which are related with greater unanimity, both in respect of facts and of policy, by the several writers who have treated on the history of this period; nor in bringing this subject under the notice of the Society am I about to disturb this unanimity, or to unsettle opinions which have been so long received. I wish, rather, to give increase of confidence in those opinions (with perhaps, however, slight exceptions,) by stating certain facts more clearly, more fully, more authoritatively, than they have hitherto appeared. I do not aspire to the honour of penetrating to the secret purposes of the principal actors in this business, or of unveiling dark designs and criminal intentions. These things belong to the historian, and demand the exercise of the higher faculties of the mind. It is for the antiquary to collect and arrange the facts for the historian's use, to examine into their claims on his reception, and to place them before him in exact and lucid order. Surely no unworthy occupation; a needful labour if history is not to degenerate into romance. This is what I now propose to attempt in respect of the portion of history before us.

Of course the Society will be prepared to receive facts, each singly considered very minute in itself, and possibly wearisome in the detail. But it is of the very

essence of antiquarian literature to condescend to great minuteness ; and facts in the transactions of eminent persons in long past ages, when they are placed on the firm basis of sufficient evidence, the most insignificant, may fructify and enrich the historical garden. Even to know that a particular person was at a particular place on a particular day may clear away a very important historical doubt.

A very slight sketch of the events which led to the part which the Queen took in these negotiations will be sufficient.

The party of which the Earls of Lancaster and Hereford may be considered as the leaders met with what was little less than its destruction by the death of the two earls, and of several of the more eminent of their adherents. This occurred early in the year 1322, and from that time the administration of public affairs was committed to the Spensers, who had almost uncontrolled sway. But their administration was unfortunate and unpopular. They were unsuccessful in the war with Scotland, and some little act of imprudence on the part of those who administered the affairs of Guienne involved them in a serious dispute with the King of France, or afforded him a pretext for acts of hostility against England, as by some writers the affair is represented. On behalf of an unfortunate prince it may be said, that, in respect of our foreign relations, he maintained a dignified attitude, making strenuous efforts to maintain by force what were his rights in the realm of France, and, at the same time, very desirous to maintain peace. It might, perhaps, be contended that he acted throughout the part of a patriotic sovereign in very difficult circumstances.

Not the smallest part of the difficulties in his position arose out of the evil terms on which he was living with his Queen, who was a Princess of France. She held him in great disesteem, and she disliked the Spensers extremely, whom she charged with instances of personal disrespect, as well as with offensive intentions towards herself in the part of their public policy which concerned the Duchy of Cornwall. She was sister to the King of France, who at that time was Charles le Bel, the last of the three short-lived brothers sons of Philip le Bel. That she was faithless, politically, to England, has not, I think, been insinuated ; but she was on the best terms with her brother, and appears to have looked up to him as her natural protector in the oppression which she alleged that she suffered from her husband, and especially his ministers. When affairs grew darker, and there was every prospect that the two nations must both put forth all their strength, recourse was had to the mediation of the Pope, in those days the great arbitrator between contending states and between sovereigns and their subjects. The Pope

sent the Archbishop of Vienne and the Bishop of Orange his nuncios to England. They remained here till the 21st of November in 1324, when they received a present of plate from the king's wardrobe at the Tower. This mission led to no immediate results. The King of France continued harassing the King's Acquitainian subjects. On the 5th of January, 1325, the King received letters from two Gascons, named Amanenus de Fossato and William de la Launde, and other persons of the Isle of Oleron, complaining that they were ejected by the power of the King of France, and were come to England to implore his assistance.

It was at this time that the determination was taken to make use of the influence which the Queen might have in composing these feuds; and she consented, not unwillingly it may seem, to visit the court of the King of France her brother, and, with the assistance of the English leiger-embassadors, to settle terms of amity and peace. It seems to have been a wise act of policy as respects the nation, a dangerous act as respects the King. Some even think that the whole design originated in French not English policy, but this I leave to the historians.

The measure was finally determined upon early in the year 1325, for it was on the 8th of March in that year that the King communicated his intention to the Pope. (Rymer, 595.) It was then, indeed, something more than an intention, for it was on the next day, the 9th of March, that the Queen landed at Whitsand, the usual place of disembarking, near Calais.

One historian says that she went with large attendance and circumstances of extraordinary magnificence. I believe this to be a mistake. At least I find no traces of such magnificence in documents where they might be expected to appear if the embassy was on any extraordinary scale of expense. A treasurer of her household was appointed, and the sum of 1,000*l.* placed in his hands, with permission to draw for more at Paris from the Bardi, great Italian merchants. John de Cromwell went in her suite, the same who was afterwards so great an enemy of the King.

It would be the duty of the treasurer, whose name was Sir Thomas de London, to make an exact report of the expenditure of the money thus intrusted to him. This report he made when his duties were over, and this report still exists among the Miscellaneous Computuses of Her Majesty's Exchequer. It is an unadorned fiscal document. It is of the expenses of the household of the Queen, not including private and personal expenditure, chiefly relating to the expenses of provisions for the table. Its chief value as an historical document is that it enables us to trace day by day the Queen's removes, to see in many cases what visitors she received, and we can collect from it one or two precise dates of

important events, which thus come to us on an unexceptional contemporary authority.

We will, then, follow the Queen, with the light which this honest chronicler holds out to us, day by day, from the 9th of March, 1325, when she landed near Calais, to the 29th of September, when the account closes.

The 9th of March in that year was on a Saturday. The Queen rested at Calais on the Sunday, and on Monday proceeded to Boulogne, where she slept. The next day she was at Montreuil, a town in the Earldom of Pontive, which had accrued to King Edward I. by his marriage with Eleanor of Castile. Here the Queen remained for three days. On the 15th she was at Cressy, the same Cressy (for there was another Cressy in Picardy) near to which the great battle was fought twenty years afterwards. On the 16th she slept at Araynes, and on Sunday, the 17th, she was at Poix.

Her route lay through Beauvais and Ybovillers to Pontoise, where she found the Queen of France, with whom she and part of her suite dined. She made no stay here, but on the next day removed to Poissy.

At Poissy there was a palace of the King of France, and a convent of Dominican ladies, which had been founded by Philip le Bel. At a short distance from Paris, this lay very conveniently for conferences, and such, no doubt, took place here during the ten days, from the 21st to the 31st of March, that the Queen remained here. We do not, indeed, know that the King of France or his ministers did resort to Poissy at this time, but we find the leiger-embassadors from England meeting the Queen, and remaining with her on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th of March. They were the Bishops of Norwich and Winchester, with John de Britannia, Earl of Richmond. They had received their Prestita in Michaelmas Term, 1324, so that, serious as the differences were, they had not led to the breaking off of all diplomatic relations between the two countries. We do not find the ambassadors dining with the Queen later than the 24th, and it may be presumed that they then took their departure, the Queen remaining at Poissy, where the two Bishops returned to her on the 30th, and were entertained in her closet.

On the 1st of April she entered Paris.

The palace of the Bois de Vincentz was assigned to her for her residence. She became established in it on the 3rd of April, and on the 7th, which was Easter Day, attended the celebration of mass in the neighbouring church of St. Anthony.

During the whole of her journey from the coast the daily expenses of her household were defrayed out of her own funds. She received however frequent presents of provisions from the King her brother; and it being the season of Lent



they consisted of fish, of which there was great variety—pike, bream, turbot, conger eel, sturgeon, lamprey, porpoise, carp, and a fish called luz, which is distinguished from the pike.

On the 10th of April she went into Paris to the chapel of the palace. It was a visit to the relics. On the 11th she and part of her suite dined with the Queen of France (Joan). From that day to the 17th of April the treasurer has inserted nothing in his account but the ordinary daily expenses at the Bois de Vincentz.

The remainder of the month of April was spent in an excursion to Poissy and places in its vicinity. She arrived there on the 18th, having passed through Saint Denis. On that day she entertained at dinner, at Poissy, the Bishop of Norwich and the Earl of Richmond, together with the Abbot of Saint Denis, Sir Louis de Claromonte, and the Countess of Foys. This entertainment appears to have been of some magnificence, the treasurer claiming for the expense 32*l.* 6*s.* 6½*d.*, while the ordinary daily expenses were but about 15*l.* On the 19th she was at Saint Hilary; from the 20th to the 25th at Poissy; on the 26th at Mantes; on the 27th at Saint Germain (Sanctum Germanum in lacu), and on the 28th she was returned to the Bois de Vincentz, where she remained stationary till the 13th of May.

No occurrences of these days are noticed by the treasurer, except that on the 7th of May the Queen attended the celebration of mass in the cathedral church of Nôtre Dame; and that on Sunday the 12th the Count de Claremont with a great part of his suite was received by her to dinner.

During the whole of the month of April the negotiations were proceeding, and by the end of that month, or the very beginning of May, the negociation, as far as the Queen was concerned, might be said to be brought to a conclusion; for the letter to the Pope (Rymer 599), in which the King of England relates what had been concluded, is dated on the 14th of May. He writes in a desponding tone, and was evidently very much dissatisfied with the result. A truce had been obtained, but it was to last only till the quindenies of Pentecost, which was about the 10th day of June. The whole of what was disputed territory was to be placed in the King of France's power, and this being done the King of England was to go in person to France there to do his homage, when the King of France would restore the greater part of the territory he had occupied; and as to the rest, it was to remain in his occupation till a solemn judgment was pronounced in the courts of France touching the right to it.

All this was matter for great deliberation in King Edward's Council, and historians represent that his ministers declined to advise, and wished that a par-



liament should be called. The Queen remained at Poissy and Bois de Vincentz, where she entertained Sir William de Ayremine, who seems to have come on a special embassy on the 18th. On Sunday the 19th she received the quarter of a wild boar and rabbits from the king's warren, and presents of this kind began to flow in to her more abundantly than before. But while in this state of suspense, waiting the decision of the English court, she took an excursion from Paris as far as Fontainebleau, going by Corbeil. On the 26th of May there was a large assembly of diplomatic people at Fontainebleau, the Archbishop of Vienne, the Bishop of Orange, the Bishop of Norwich, and the Earl of Richmond, who all dined with the Queen on that day, being the feast of Pentecost. On the 27th and 28th she returned to the Bois de Vincentz, where on the 29th she received a visit from the Countesses of Valois and Claremont, and the Duchess of Lorraine "*et plures magnates.*" Then on the 30th of May we have this definite entry on the margin of the treasurer's account:—"Isto die fuit Regina in Palatio Paris, coram concilio Regis Franciæ pro pace concordanda."

This is the treaty which we have in the *Fœdera*, p. 601, dated the 31st of May. It is stated in the treaty itself that it was made with the concurrence of the Queen and of the two prelates who represented the Pope, and it was signed by the Bishop of Norwich, the Earl of Richmond, and Sir William de Ayremine on behalf of the King of England.

It appears that the King of England had not been able to obtain any mollification of the hard terms of the treaty, of which a draft had been submitted to him. He had however, we see, been induced to accept the terms, as perhaps the best that could be obtained, and the treaty was now solemnly ratified. The point of rendering personal homage, one of the worst parts of the feudal system, when the persons concerned were men of high birth, high rank, high spirit, and of near equality in position, was conceded; and now Beauvais was the place agreed upon for the meeting of the two Kings, and the time fixed was the feast of the Assumption, the 15th day of August, which was changed for the quindenies of that feast, the 29th of the month. It was however stipulated, as if in prescience of what might happen, that if either King was hindered by sickness or any other strong impediment, the other stipulations of the treaty should nevertheless remain in force.

Some writers appear disposed to represent the King of England as not acting in good faith in the matter of the homage. An opportunity of examining documents relating to this affair has led me to a different conclusion. This at least is certain, that great preparation was made, and some expenses incurred, for the King's visit to Beauvais. He meant to go in royal state. A list is preserved of

317 persons to whom robes were issued from the royal wardrobe preparatory to this expedition. Among them were ten noble youths who happened to be at the time wards of the Crown. We find amongst them, Edward de Monthermer, Robert de Ferrars, John L'Estrange, and Hugh le Despenser. Each was to be attended either by a "maistre" or a "compaignon." Amongst the rest were 49 esquires. To transport them a little fleet was collected, which was to be ready at Dover on the 18th of August.

Men, horses, and baggage were actually sent to Whitsand, there to await the arrival of the King, going to France to do his homage for Guienne, as is expressed in the receipt for payment of port dues to the Earl of Boulogne. The men of Dover provided vessels, for which they declined to receive any compensation when the voyage did not take place; but they received something for a barge carrying the Bishop of Carlisle and Sir Robert de Well, sent by the King to the parts of France on secret business, while he was staying at Dover "for his own passage to France, there to do his homage for the Duchy of Guienne." The King's own barge, called the "Saint Mary of Westminster," was put in requisition, Andrew de Rosekyn the master being commanded by the King to follow him from Pontefract (a place so called, near London, or possibly Broken-wharf,) to Dover, to pass with him to the parts of France, should the King go thither. We find also that jewels, as well as provisions and other necessities, were sent to France on the King's service. Lastly, Sir Almeric le Zouch, porter of the King's hall, was sent to the parts of Crotey to make preparation there for the King's coming; and some preparation was also made at Beauvais.

During this agitating interval, the King was in frequent correspondence with France. On the 2nd of August, letters "sub secreto sigillo" were dispatched to Sir William de Ayremin. On the 27th of August, John de London, a messenger of the Bishop of Winchester, brought letters to the King, and returned with an immediate answer, when letters were also sent to the Queen, "sub privato sigillo," by a special messenger.

The accounts of King Edward's household for the 19th year of his reign are not now known to exist, so that we are deprived of the easiest and most certain means of learning the several removes of the court during that year. But by aid of the testes of various writs, we find that for the greater part of the month of July the King was at Westminster; on the 5th of August, at Hatfield, in Hertfordshire; on the 9th, at Havering at Bower; and on the 15th and 16th, at Pontefract, not the northern town so named, but the place before spoken of. He then moved in the direction of Dover, and on the 24th of August we have a writ

dated at Langdon, which was a monastery near to Dover. On the 2nd of September he was still at Langdon; on the 5th, at Dover; and, in the course of the month, he may be traced at Ledes and Merefield, returning towards Westminster.

He had thus, we see, overstepped the time when his presence was expected at Beauvais. Indeed, while he was at Langdon, on the 24th of August, five days before the time appointed for the meeting, he addressed the letter to his brother of France which we have in the *Fœdera* (p. 606), signifying that he had set out on his journey, but was unable to proceed by reason of sickness. There is no doubt that the mortification of being bound to perform a service so distasteful to him, working upon a mind like his, may have produced such derangement of the system as would quite incapacitate him for proceeding; and the length of the time during which he remained at Langdon Abbey and Dover seems to render it the more probable that it would have been at least unsafe for him to travel to such a distance, setting aside the consideration of any inconvenience he or his ministers might apprehend as possible, were he to put himself in the power of his Queen and the King of France. However, the personal part of the treaty was now over, and it could not but be a great disappointment to those who had signed it in the belief that thus all differences would be composed, and especially to the Queen, whose treaty it may be said to have been, and who might read in the event only further proof of the imbecility of the King, or perhaps even of the disposition of the Spensers to degrade and disgrace her.

To the Queen we must now return, whom we left at the close of the month of May, having witnessed the ratification of the treaty, which Walsingham says was concluded at the Bois de Vincentz. Sir William Ayremin was much with her at this period; but took his departure on the 5th of June. The Bishop of Norwich remained. On the day of Ayremin's departure, the Queen visited, at the Temple, Clementia, a queen dowager of France, widow of Lewis Hutin, the eldest brother of the king then on the throne. Queen Isabella dined with her on the 11th, and received her to sweet-meats and wine on the 14th. Of the English ambassadors, the Earl of Richmond also remained at Paris, and on the 16th supped with the Queen. The Countess of Foys was then also on a visit to her, remaining till the 26th, when the Queen visited the Minoresses at Saint Marcellus. On the 19th she had attended the celebration of mass at the Friars Predicants. On the 29th she visited another house of religion, the Carthusian Friars of Paris. We find, further, that the two prelates who represented the

Pope remained at Paris; for on the last day of this month of June, they and the Earl of Richmond dined with the Queen.

In the first fortnight of July nothing is recorded beside the ordinary daily expenses, except that, on the 13th, the Countess of Saint Paul partook of sweetmeats and wine with the Queen.

Anxiously watching, as she must have been, what was passing in England, she nevertheless left Paris on the 14th of July, nor did she return till the 9th of September. She established herself at the Palace of Chastel Neuf sur Loire and Jargaux, in the Orleannois, where she arrived on the 19th, having passed through Bourg la Reine, Chastre, and Estemp. She remained here till the 5th of September, making only one short excursion on the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd of August, to Saint Ey, Marchenoir, and Bois Jensy. The treasurer notices only two visits which she received while here, namely, from the Earl of Richmond, on the 1st of September, and from the Bishop of Winchester on the 2nd. They perhaps brought to her the intelligence that the King was unable to appear at Beauvais at the stipulated time. It appears also, by a letter in the *Fœdera* (p. 607), that the King of France was himself at Chasteau Neuf on the 4th of September, and had had conferences there with the Queen on proposals sent from England, which in that letter he accepted and ratified. This being done, on the 5th the Queen set out on her return to Paris, where she arrived on the 9th.

The King of England's inability to proceed to Beauvais was no doubt an untoward event, and the minds of the ministers of both countries would naturally be turned to the discovery of some means by which any evil effects of it might be obviated. Those means were found. Who first devised them, and by what means the two courts of France and England were brought in so short a time to adopt them, is among the mysteries of state policy not laid open to us. The means were these. The King of England was to be relieved from the obligation of personal homage. He was to surrender all his possessions in the realm of France to Prince Edward, then about 13 years of age, afterwards our renowned King Edward III. The Prince was to do the homage, and the other terms of the treaty were to be fulfilled as if the homage had been performed by the King himself. It was a resolution hastily formed, and, looking back upon it from these times, when we know what ensued upon it, it appears to have been fraught with much danger to the King. It placed the heir apparent in the power of the Queen and of her family.

The King of England assented to the arrangement, and at once made a formal cession of Guienne and Ponthieu, whatever indeed he held of the King of France,



to his son and heir apparent, who immediately proceeded to Paris, where, and not at Beauvais, the homage was to be performed.

When the Queen was returned to the Bois de Vincentz, she received the Earl of Richmond on the 12th of September, together with the Minister General of the order of the Friars Minors with his society. On the 13th, another diplomatic person appears upon the scene, Sir Otes de Grauntson, who dined with her on that day; and in the evening there was a large assemblage, including the Countess of Saint Paul, the Countess Devereux, a French archbishop, and the abbot of Cluny. On the 19th, Sir Otes again dined with the Queen; and on the 21st, the Earl of Richmond.

The Treasurer of the Household has next recorded that, on Sunday, the 22nd of September, Prince Edward arrived at Paris. He came attended by Sir Richard Hausted. On that day, 2,400 florins of the lamb, the value of each being 50 pence, were advanced to William de Cusance, the keeper of his wardrobe, for his expenses while in France. There was no delay; for the treasurer further informs us that, on Tuesday, the 24th, the Prince did his homage, and that the Queen of England on that day dined with the King of France, who also sent a present of four does to her larder.—“September 24: Isto die comedit Regina cum Rege Franciæ; quo die filius Regis Angliæ fecit homagium suum pro Vasconia.”

Thus were arranged all the ostensible and legitimate objects of the Queen's mission. And here we take leave of this honest if not very communicative chronicler; for he had nothing to record beside the ordinary daily expenses during the few remaining days of the month of September, the Queen still residing at Paris. The whole of the money accounted for as household expenses is 2,479*l.* 12*s.* 8½*d.* and for forinsec expenses, 361*l.* 4*s.* 2¼*d.*

But the history of the Queen's residence in France does not end here. And now begins the inquiry into secret purposes and motives, into which I do not propose to enter, taking upon myself the humbler office of the collector and arranger of facts. It appears to have been the duty of the Queen, now that the purpose of her mission was accomplished, to return to England, and to restore the young Prince thus incautiously placed in her hands to his father and sovereign. This, however, was not her intention; and, though the King wrote frequent letters to her imploring her to return, and commanding his son, the young Prince, to remember his promise at parting, that he would return as soon as the homage was performed, the Queen remained immoveable in her purpose of remaining abroad, and she kept the Prince, not absolutely near her person, but where he



seems to have been compelled to act under her control. Some accounts state that he went into Guienne.

She was living at Paris till the 14th day of November, and probably for the remainder of the year, except as she went on short excursions, with or without any political purpose. We have not the benefit of such an account as that of London for the six or seven weeks from the 29th of September to the 14th of November, but we have what well supplies its place when carefully studied, while it affords us many particulars of the Queen's private and personal expenses of which the treasurer of her household gives no account. And here it may be proper to mention that where we have accounts like that of the treasurer, we have also, if time and chance have spared them, *Particulæ Compoti*, being accounts rendered by subordinate officers to the great accomptant. Sometimes we have the account without the *particulæ*; this is the case with London's accounts. Sometimes the *particulæ* without the general account; this is the case with the Queen's expenses in the months of October and November. These *particulæ* are under the heads of Coquina, Speciaria, Panetria and Butellaria, Mariscalcia, and Necessaria, under which term Dona Eleemosyna and Nuncii are included.

By a comparison of these subsidiary documents, we learn that for the first fortnight of October the Queen remained in her old abode at the Bois de Vincentz. The Countess of Warren and the Lady Beauchamp were much with her. The two prelates nuncios of the Pope took their departure for Rome, when they received from her a present of plate, cups, pitchers, and basons, valued at 35*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* She sent messengers with letters to the Bishop of Viviers, also to Sir William de Heromval and the Abbot of Cluny. She gave with her own hands 5*s.* to Jeffery Boder and John le Petit, "infirmati de infirmitate inferni et restituti sanitati in ecclesia Beatæ Mariæ de Paris in presencia Reginae," offering at the same time 5*s.* at the image of the Blessed Mary, and 5*s.* at divers relics placed behind the high altar. To two boatmen who ferried her across the Seine to the church she paid 12*d.* She presents 13*s.* 4*d.* to a nun of the house De la Barre who had come to Paris to wait upon her, and the same sum towards the expenses of her return. On the minoresses of Saint Marcellus, near Paris, on a visit which she paid to them, she bestows 4*l.* in aid of their support. To the boatmen of the Port Nully, and other boatmen who ferried her, with her suite, carriage and horses, across the Seine, she pays 5*s.*

The last payment was made when she was on her way to Poissy, on the 14th of October. When there she presented 5*s.* to the carpenters, masons, and other

workmen who were employed about the church of the Predicant Sisters, to buy wine for themselves. She herself returned to Paris on the next day, leaving part of her suite at Poissy.

The Queen remained at Paris till the 22nd of October, leaving it, if at all, only for short visits to Poissy. During this time she dispatched letters to the Queen of France at Villars juxta Rees, to the Chancellor of France at Vivers in Cou-dray, and to the Archbishop of Vienne in reply to letters received from him. She gave small alms to a brother of William de la Licher, formerly valet of her chamber, to Ralph de Saint German, formerly porter of the kitchen to her mother, and to Ivo le Briton, a poor boy who had served in the Queen's court when she was an infant, and who came imploring alms.

On the 22nd of October she set out on a progress to Rheims. I cannot find in the French chroniclers that there was any grand solemnity to be performed in that city at which she had to assist, and perhaps the only inducement was that she might be present at the Feast of All Saints. The line of her progress lay through Bourget, Louvres, where she made a donation to the brethren and sisters of the Maison Dieu; Senlis, where she was met at the entrance by the Friars Minors, to whom she gave a pittance. She gave also small sums to sister Nichola, a minoress, to the nuns of the house of Saint Remigius, to the nuns of the Maison Dieu, and to two persons who came complaining of losses at sea. Alms to poor people and letters dispatched to Sir William de Boudon, at Paris, by the hands of Donald de Scotia, a messenger of the King of England, are the only incidents as she advanced to Perefontz. On the 28th she reached Soissons, where she was met, as before, by the Friars Minors, who received their pittance. Here the nuns of the house of Saint Stephen, the sisters of the house of Saint Lazarus, and the sisters of the Maison Dieu received small donations. She offered at the high altar of the church of Saint Mary 25*s.* to purchase a cloth of Lucca. She offered 5*s.* at the relics in that church, and the same sum at the relics in the church of Saint Viverius. John de Gysy was her host at Soissons. She passed through Fismes and arrived at Rheims on the 30th. These minute particulars may be interesting to the French antiquaries, as any such of a foreign traveller in England in the fourteenth century would be to ourselves.

Here the Queen passed three days. Cloths of Turkey-work, in their value in money, were offered at the high altar in the church of the Abbey of Saint Nicasius, at the church of Saint Remigius, and at the Cathedral Church. Offerings were also made at the relics in the churches of Saint Nicasius and Saint

Remigius; money to purchase a cloth of Lucca to the church of the Friars Minors; 5*s.* at the head of Saint Nicasius in the Cathedral Church; pittances to the Sisters Minoresses, the Friars Minors, the Carmelites, certain Cistercians, and to another religious foundation, the name of which is lost owing to an imperfection in the record. She made a special offering at the Ampulla, the sacred vessel containing the oil with which the Kings of France were anointed at their coronation. Large sums were here expended on rich apparel. A mercer of Paris received 40*l.* for cloth of the colour of Malbryn, with furs of minever and ermine, bought for the Queen against the Feast of All Saints, as is expressed in the record. Furs were given by the Queen's command to Eustace Poer, Richard Tuyt, and John de Bikerton, who appear to have been her pages. Small payments were made to persons who had acted as guides, conducting the Queen at divers points on the way between Paris and Rheims. Three shillings were expended on an escutcheon by Ralph Richepos, who is described as a minstrel, but the offices of minstrel and herald were in those times often united in the same person.

The liberality of the Queen to the religious of Rheims was not yet exhausted. On her departure she bestowed a pittance on the Augustine Friars; small sums on persons who are called *Filiæ Dei*, the Beguine Sisters, the nuns of Saint Anthony, and the nuns of the Hospital of Saint Peter. She also presented again at the relics shown on the altar in the church of the Abbey of Saint Nicasius; and as she passed by their house, in going between Toucherie and Fismes, she gave small alms to the nuns of Oremont.

She returned to Soissons, resting as before one night at Fismes. At Soissons she on this occasion presented a diaper cloth to the high altar of the church of the Abbey of Saint Mark, and offered at the relics. She gave a donation to the *Maison Dieu* near the church of Saint Gervase, to the sisters of the house of Saint Mark, and to two poor musicians "*vidulatores*" who played before her. She distributed a small sum among eight persons, officers as it should seem of the church of Saint Mark, but the record is injured in the place, "*ad nuces et poma sibi emenda.*"

As she was leaving Soissons she was met by three poor converts "*tribus conversis pauperibus*" imploring alms, to whom she ordered that 12*d.* should be given. She slept one night at Jansi, and on the 5th arrived at Compeigne, where she remained the whole of the 6th of November, and was scarcely less liberal to the religious than she had been at Soissons and Rheims. She offered at the relics in the church of the Abbey of Saint Cornelius; gave pittances to the Friars Predicants, the Friars Minors, the nuns of Saint John, the Beguine Sisters,

the nuns of the *Maison Dieu*, and to a convert named Marota. From hence she sent a runner of her wardrobe as a messenger to Paris, probably to make preparations for her return.

It is clear that this progress was conducted with much of state and magnificence, and we may presume that it was not undertaken without the sanction of the King of France. To the King of England it could not but have an air of defiance, as he was at the time so urgently pressing her return as essential to the peace and welfare of his kingdom. To the Spensers it would show a despite of their influence, and of the indignities she fancied that she had received at their hands. We have little more to relate concerning the progress. She moved rather slowly on her return to Paris. She passed through Pont Saint Maixence and Louvre; gave something to a sister of the *Maison Dieu*, who complained of the burning of their house; offered at the tooth of Saint Christopher, in the priory of Saint Christopher; and had again to make payment to guides.

About the 13th of November she reached Paris.

The proceedings of the Queen in the seven weeks which succeeded the rendering of the homage by her son are the more interesting when we view them in connection with what was passing in England, where the King was putting every engine in motion to enforce her return and the return of her son. On the 14th of October we find from the account of his forinsec expenses that he wrote under the secret seal to the Queen and to the Countess of Warren, and at the same time under the privy seal to Prince Edward and to the King of France. On the 19th of October he wrote again to the Queen, the King of France, and also to the Pope; and on the 22nd, the day on which she began her progress, to the Queen and Prince. The rapidity with which these letters succeeded each other manifests great anxiety, which, as the event proves, was not unreasonable. This anxiety shows itself in the letter which the King addressed to the Pope, of which a copy remains, printed in the *Fœdera* (p. 613); but more strikingly in a letter dated at Westminster on the 1st of December, addressed to the King of France, copies of which were transmitted to the most distinguished persons of the French court, refuting an opinion which the King of France had expressed—that his sister would not be safe in England as long as the Spensers retained their power over the King; and pressing in terms of earnestness, rarely manifested in modern diplomacy, that the French King should use all his influence to induce her to return, and that the young Prince should be delivered to him immediately. This letter is also to be read in the *Fœdera*, p. 615. At the same time he wrote to the Queen a most urgent letter to the same effect, and on the second of that month to



the Prince, commanding him to return, with the Queen or without, reminding him of the promise which he had made at Dover.

With special and original information, such as that which I have now laid before the Society, I am not provided touching the Queen's removes after the date at which the computuses fail us; but I am not willing that this communication shall be brought to a conclusion without giving a very faint outline of the important events which the historian has next to record. The King of France encouraged his sister in her resistance of marital and regal authority. Some historians give rather a different view of his policy; but that support given by him to her is made a part of the *casus belli* when the war between the two kingdoms began to be more earnestly prosecuted. As to the Queen, she put herself under the protection of the Count of Hainault, with whom she concerted measures for her return to England, in a manner very different from the return prescribed for her by her husband. She engaged that her son Prince Edward should marry Philippa, one of the daughters of the Count of Hainault, and the Count on his part engaged to furnish a small army—some accounts say about three thousand men—of whom his brother, John de Hainault, undertook the command. In the summer of that year the King of England laid an embargo on all French vessels in his ports; and on the 26th of August issued writs, dated at Clarendon, to the sheriffs of the several counties, setting forth that, "Because the King of France has made war against us by receiving our wife and eldest son in his dominions, whom lately we sent to him in full confidence of his love, and detains them contrary to our will, and by encouraging and comforting our enemies and rebels, and by invading our duchy with a great army, and distressing us and our faithful subjects in various manner of war by land and by sea; and now, as we are informed, all persons belonging to our realm and power passing through his kingdom, or dwelling in it, together with their property, he has commanded to be arrested, and kept in arrest—we straightly enjoin upon you that you apprehend all men of the power and dominion of France within your bailiwick, with their ships, goods, and all other things whatsoever, except men of religion, ecclesiastical persons, and those who within this our realm have fixed domiciles, children, and wives, and have now for a long time lived here as if natives born, and all Flemings and Bretons, as long as the truce continues between us and them, and that you keep them in safe and honourable custody till otherwise commanded by us." This writ is enrolled upon the Originalia of the 20th year; and I have recited it as being more definite and full in setting forth the



grounds on which the King rested his entrance into a more open war with France at that time than documents usually cited.

He gave the command of the eastern coast, when the descent of Isabella and the Hainaulters was become imminent, to his brother of the half-blood Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, who was also by birth cousin-german to the Queen. But the King had lost his influence. His orders were feebly responded to, so that he had no army to oppose the invaders. She and the Hainaulters landed at the mouth of the Orwell a little before the 27th of September. The Prince seems to have been with her. We have not the means of tracing her triumphant march from the time of her landing; but in November she was in Gloucestershire. On the 3rd of December she was at Woodstock, and there remained till the 22nd, when she and the Prince removed to Wallingford, there to keep their Christmas. Passing through Reading, Windsor, Chertsey, and Merton, they arrived at the palace of Westminster on the 4th of January; and on Sunday, the 1st of February, the King having been induced to resign, the Prince was crowned King as Edward III., and what may be called a new era in our history commences.

I do not speak of what happened to the poor King after this, it being matter of public history, and the history well narrated and generally known; and I bring this communication to a close with two remarks—

First, that in all the details of the Queen's expenditure, which have afforded us so much information, the name of Roger Mortimer never occurs; so that, as far as this evidence goes, we have no reason to suppose that he was present counselling the Queen in the negotiations, or in attendance upon her, to the 14th of November, 1325, when the book of these particular details is closed to us. The chroniclers inform us that he landed with the Queen and the Hainaulters, so that it would seem he might be taken into her councils while she was in Hainault.

Secondly, that these very authentic particulars show, I am sorry to say, how extremely ill-informed Froissart was concerning this period of history; yet he was himself born at Valenciennes only a few years after these events occurred. It is quite painful to compare what he has delivered as the story with what is the truth. On the other hand, the statement of our own Walsingham is well borne out by the evidence of these contemporary records, being supported by them in almost every particular.

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XXIV.—*Sépultures Chrétiennes de la période Anglo-Normande, trouvées à Bouteilles, près Dieppe, en 1855. Par M. L'ABBÉ COCHET.*

Read 14 June, 1855.

Du 20 Avril au 16 Mai 1855, j'ai exploré une partie du cimetière abandonné de l'ancienne paroisse de Bouteilles, supprimée en 1791, et dont l'église a été démolie en 1806. Le motif de cette recherche était le désir de recueillir et d'étudier des cercueils de pierre et des croix de plomb avec formule d'absolution, genre d'antiquités que l'on avait rencontrées en 1842, lors de la confection du chemin de grande communication No. 1, de Dieppe à Neufchatel. J'ai été assez heureux pour y trouver les objets que je cherchais.

L'espace exploré a été d'environ vingt mètres de long sur dix de large. C'est une langue de terre a peu près perdue entre deux chemins, l'ancien et le nouveau. Dans cette portion de terrain que nous avons remuée jusqu'au sol naturel, à une profondeur variant d'un à deux mètres, nous avons trouvé deux vases entiers et un grand nombre de fragments de vases, provenant de sépultures de diverses époques.

Les deux vases entiers (dont un seul a pu être conservé) étaient en terre blanche, fine et légère, mais vernissée de vert à l'intérieur. Tous deux avaient une anse, et un seul (celui qui reste) était percé sur la panse de quatre trous pratiqués après la cuisson, probablement pour l'évaporation du feu : car j'ai cru reconnaître dans son sein des restes de charbons. Selon toute apparence, il dut servir à renfermer les tisons et l'encens (*prunæ cum thure*) que nos pères avaient coutume de placer avec les corps, et dont parle Durand de Mende, dans son Manuel des Divins Offices.<sup>a</sup> Du reste, ce vase (Pl. XXI. fig. 6) a dû être placé neuf dans la sépulture, car il semble bien n'avoir jamais servi à des usages domestiques.

Les autres vases, qui n'étaient point forés sur la panse, ont dû être employés à recevoir de l'eau bénite (*aqua benedicta*), comme nous l'apprend encore le même évêque de Mende.<sup>b</sup>

Parmi les divers fragments recueillis çà et là, il y en avait de toutes les périodes.

<sup>a</sup> Rational ou Manuel, liv. vii. ch. 35, N° 35.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid.

On y reconnaissait la terre noire des temps mérovingiens et les restes de ces plateaux de grès qui durèrent parmi nous du xiv<sup>e</sup> au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle ; mais la poterie dominante était celle du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ce qui nous faisait surtout reconnaître cette dernière, c'était le vernis verdâtre dont les fragments étaient recouverts à l'intérieur. Désirant savoir si cette matière colorante était siliceuse ou à base d'oxide de plomb, je l'ai soumise à l'analyse de M. Girardin, qui m'a répondu que *ce vernis était siliceux*.

Nous avons encore trouvé dans cette terre, tant de fois remuée par les âges, plusieurs pavés émaillés entiers ou en morceaux. Quelques-uns représentent des fleurs de lis, des croix de Malte, des damiers, des feuillages, des bordures, des fleurons, des reines-marguerites, &c. Ce sont des débris provenant du pavage de l'église, du xii<sup>e</sup> au xv<sup>e</sup> siècle, époque de la prospérité saunière de Bouteilles.<sup>a</sup> Mais nous avons hâte de le dire, ces morceaux de vases et ces débris de pavés se rencontraient dans les terrains supérieurs aux tombeaux dont nous allons parler, et par là même leur étaient postérieurs.

La découverte la plus curieuse et la plus importante a été celle de neuf tombeaux en pierre calcaire, alignés le long d'un mur qui dut faire autrefois partie d'une église disparue. Ils se trouvaient ainsi placés sous la gouttière (*in stillicidio*), ce qui paraît avoir été conforme aux idées de ce temps. Pepin-le-Bref paraît en avoir inauguré l'usage parmi nous, en se faisant enterrer, en 768, dans le parvis de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis, sous la gouttière. Hugues Capet l'y suivit en 996. L'agiographie anglaise nous montre en 862 S<sup>t</sup> Swithin, évêque de Winchester, se faisant inhumer à la porte de sa cathédrale ; et l'agiographie française nous fait voir S<sup>t</sup> Loup, de Sens, enterré en 623 sous la gouttière de l'abbaye de S<sup>te</sup> Colombe.

Nos histoires et nos chroniques normandes nous apprennent aussi qu'en 996 le duc Richard I., mourant à Fécamp, demanda à être inhumé sous la gouttière ou le larmier de l'abbaye,<sup>b</sup> et que son fils Richard II. voulut l'y suivre en 1026.<sup>c</sup> Enfin l'évêque de Coutances, Geoffroy de Montbray, décédé en 1093, supplia

<sup>a</sup> Pour les salines de Bouteilles consulter—Les Mémoires de la Soc. des Antiq. de Normandie, t. xix. p. 256—268 ; La Revue de Rouen de 1852, p. 6—18 ; Le Bulletin des Trav. de la Soc. d'Emulation de Rouen pour l'année 1843—L'Histoire de Dieppe, par M. Vitet, 2<sup>e</sup> édition, p. 26—La Vigie de Dieppe, des 12 et 16 Décembre, 1851.

<sup>b</sup> "Cadaver tanti sceleris non requiescet infra aditum templi hujus, sed ad istud ostium, in stillicidio monasterii." Dudon, de Saint Quentin, pp. 56 et 57. Neustria Pia, p. 210.—Les Eglises de l'Arrondissement du Havre, t. ii. p. 40. Licquet, Hist. de Norm. t. 1<sup>re</sup>, p. 149. Fallue, Hist. de la Ville et de l'Abbaye de Fécamp, p. 86.

<sup>c</sup> Licquet, ibid. p. 219.

également qu'on le plaçât sous la gouttière de la cathédrale qu'il avait bâtie.<sup>a</sup> M. Auguste Leprevost, ce doyen vénéré de tous les antiquaires normands, pense qu'une croyance normande ou scandinave attribuait à l'eau des temples une vertu purifiante.

Ces tombeaux assis sur un fond d'argile jaune touchent au sol naturel : ce qui, pour le dire en passant, indiquerait assez qu'avant le xi<sup>e</sup> siècle on n'inhumait guères autour de nos églises. Leurs parois avaient été construites avec plusieurs pièces de moellon, et deux seulement avaient conservé leurs couvercles qui étaient entièrement plats. Il est probable que tous ont dû posséder des couvercles, mais que le fossoyeur les aura fait disparaître de temps à autre. Deux ou trois seulement ont donné trace du mortier qui avait servi à souder les parois ; les autres ne paraissent pas en avoir reçu.

La forme de ces cercueils était fort étrange. Les deux côtés n'étaient pas droits, mais ils affectaient la forme un peu bombée d'une nef ou d'un navire, suivant les ingénieuses expressions de nos anciennes lois, qui appelaient ce genre de cercueil une nau, "noffum vel nauffo."<sup>b</sup>

Le sommet du Sarcophage (figs. 4, 5), composé souvent d'une pièce et parfois de deux ou trois, présente une entaille circulaire disposée pour recevoir la tête du défunt qui s'y emboîtait parfaitement. Les morts que l'on déposait dans ces coffres de pierre n'étaient point renfermés dans des cercueils de bois, mais simplement enveloppés d'un suaire, car dans l'entaille dont nous parlons il n'y avait absolument que la place d'un crâne humain.

Ce genre de sarcophage bien connu des archéologues, dont on a retrouvé l'analogue dans le chœur de l'abbaye du Tréport<sup>c</sup> en 1840, et tout récemment aussi un fragment dans le cimetière de Martin-Eglise, est attribué au xii<sup>e</sup> siècle par tous les archéologues.<sup>d</sup> Rien en effet ne fait présumer que cette mode, un peu singulière, ait dépassé le xiii<sup>e</sup>.

La pierre est également très-caractéristique de l'époque. Ce n'est plus ni le Vergelé, ni le Saint Leu, si communs parmi nous du vi<sup>e</sup> au x<sup>e</sup> siècle ; c'est tout simplement la craie, la pierre du pays prise à même nos falaises ou nos carrières. C'est la même que l'on retrouve dans les couches les plus profondes des cimetières

<sup>a</sup> Sepultus est in stillicidio ecclesie, quod vivens humiliter et instanter postulaverat.—Gall. Christ. t. xi, p. 872.

<sup>b</sup> Liber Legis Salicæ, tit. xvii. N° 3 ; Parisiis, Jac. Rézé. 1652.

<sup>c</sup> Les Eglises de l'Arrond. de Dieppe, t. i, p. 175.

<sup>d</sup> Cours d'Antiquités Monumentales, t. vi, p. 313. Abécédaire d'Archéologie, p. 160. La Sépulture Chrétienne en France, p. 13.



de Martin-Eglise, d'Ancourt, de Quiberville, de Biville-sur-Mer, et de Hautot-sur-Dieppe. Ce genre de sarcophage, qui n'a guère duré que deux ou trois siècles, est contemporain du tuf que l'on rencontre à Longueville et à Bordeaux-en-Caux, dans le Grand-Val d'Etretat.

L'orientation était absolument celle des temps catholiques indiquée par nos vieux liturgistes, Jean Beleth et Durand, de Mende. "Ponuntur mortui capite versùs occidentem et pedibus versùs orientem," dit le premier; à quoi le second ajoute, comme toujours, son sens mystique: "Debet autem quis sic sepeliri ut, capite ad occidentem posito, pedes dirigat ad orientem: in quo quasi ipsa positione orat et innuit quod promptus est ut de occasu festinet ad ortum." Durand avait raison; le chrétien de son temps priait jusque sous la pierre du sépulcre. Un auteur du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle a écrit que les Grecs reprochaient aux Latins de ne pas croiser les mains ni les bras de leurs morts. Mais c'est là une erreur, car nos morts de Bouteilles, couchés sur le dos et face au ciel, avaient les avant-bras pieusement croisés sur la poitrine. Chose que je regarde à peu près comme certaine, c'est que les images gravées sur les tombeaux de cette époque n'étaient que la traduction matérielle, je dirais presque la contre-épreuve de ce que renfermait la sépulture.

C'était sous les bras ainsi croisés que l'on plaçait la croix de plomb contenant la formule d'absolution que nous allons citer (fig. 5). S'il était permis d'animer la mort, nous dirions que ces pauvres gens pressaient cette prière sur leurs cœurs comme leur dernier trésor en cette vie et leur plus chère espérance en l'autre.

Deux ou trois corps ont été trouvés couchés sur le côté droit, dans l'attitude du sommeil; mais leurs bras étaient également croisés sur la poitrine.

Un médecin de Dieppe, M. le Docteur Moriarty, présent à la découverte du corps d'un nommé Regnauld, nous a assuré d'après l'examen des ossements que c'était un homme de trente-cinq à quarante ans, d'une grande force physique, ayant possédé une belle tête, pleine d'énergie et de caractère.

Notre savant chimiste de Rouen, M. Girardin, ayant bien voulu analyser un fragment du crâne de Regnauld, à présent déposé au Muséum d'anthropologie de Paris, a trouvé la composition suivante sur 100 parties au poids:—

Eau interposée . . . . .	5.00
Matière organique azotée . . . . .	4.25
Phosphate de chaux des os . . . . .	80.00
Carbonate de chaux . . . . .	5.00
Silice . . . . .	5.75

100.00



"Cet os, comme on le voit, a perdu la plus grande partie de son tissu cellulaire azoté et toute sa graisse; il a donc séjourné pendant de longues années dans un terrain humide et assez meuble, propre à la décomposition des matières animales."

En effet le cercueil de Regnault, ainsi que tous les autres, était rempli de terre végétale, et il posait sur l'argile. Deplus, le cimetière de Bouteilles, assis dans une vallée, est très voisin de l'eau.

Ce nom de Regnault (Ragelnaude) que nous avons lu sur la croix de plomb placée sur la poitrine du défunt, était évidemment un nom de baptême; mais à cette époque reculée les noms de famille étaient assez rares chez le peuple, et chaque homme n'était guères connu que par le nom de son baptême. Et puis dans l'Eglise les hommes ne sont appelés que par leurs noms de baptême comme devant Dieu.

La longueur de ces divers cercueils était généralement de deux mètres; la largeur variait de vingt cinq à quarante-cinq centimètres, et la profondeur de trente à quarante. Quoique un peu renflés vers le milieu, ils étaient beaucoup plus étroits aux pieds qu'aux épaules.

Selon moi, le résultat le plus important de cette campagne a été la découverte de la croix de plomb que l'on plaçait sur les morts, tant en France qu'en Angleterre. Non seulement nous en avons trouvé ici trois précieux échantillons qui enrichiront le Musée de Rouen, mais encore, ce qui est plus utile pour la science, nous avons pu étudier la véritable place où on les mettait sur les morts, détails jusqu'ici restés inconnus.

Les ouvriers qui, en 1842, avaient trouvé les premières croix d'absolution, ne nous avaient rien appris à leur sujet. Il faut même les remercier d'avoir conservé ces frères monuments. A Saint Front de Périgueux, où pareille découverte a été faite,<sup>a</sup> les détails manquent aussi bien qu'à Lincoln, à Chichester,<sup>b</sup> et à Edmund's Bury, en Angleterre. Ici au contraire nous avons recueilli de nos propres mains trois croix placées sur le poitrine même des morts et comme pressées sous leurs deux poignets pieusement croisés sur leur cœur. Ainsi donc, le mystère est éclairci et la place est fixée désormais, au moins pour la Normandie; il faudra examiner si ailleurs elles occupent la même position, et qui est plus que probable, le moyen-âge ayant été universel dans ses idées et ses institutions.

Le côté de l'écriture était tourné vers le corps du défunt, et une pointe qui

<sup>a</sup> A. Murcier, *la Sépulture Chrétienne en France*, p. 27.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. W. Wylie, "Observations on certain Sepulchral Usages of Early Times;" *apud Archaeologia*, vol. xxxv. pp. 298—304.

termine deux d'entre elles, indiquait le bas, qui sur le mort occupait toujours la partie inférieure.

Les croix dont nous parlons ont la forme d'une croix de Malte, et rappellent assez bien les croix de consécration, les croix de cimetières, et les croix de carrefour du xii<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Jusqu'ici nous n'avons pu en déchiffrer entièrement qu'une seule (fig. 1), mais nous avons tout lieu de penser que les deux autres sont libellées de la même manière. Voici la formule que nous avons lue intégralement ; elle ressemble à cette absolution générale que le prêtre du diocèse de Rouen donne encore aujourd'hui au malade qui reçoit l'extrême-onction.

“Oremus. Dominus Jesus Christus qui dixit discipulis suis: Quodcumque solveritis super terram erit solutum et in cœlis, et quodcumque ligaveritis super terram erit ligatum et in cœlis, de quorum numero nos licet indignos esse voluit, ipse te absolvat, Ragelnaude, per ministerium nostrum ab omnibus criminibus tuis quæcumque cogitatione, locutione et operatione negligenter egisti, atque nexibus absolutum perducere dignetur ad regna cœlorum, qui vivit et regnat Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.”

L'autre croix, où nous avons pu déchiffrer quelque chose, appartenait à une femme, c'était celle qui n'avait pas de pointe (fig. 2) et près de laquelle s'est rencontrée la pièce de monnaie dont nous parlerons tout à l'heure. L'inscription n'en couvre qu'un peu plus des  $\frac{4}{5}$  ; la partie haute doit renfermer la formule ordinaire: “Oremus. Dominus Jesus, &c.” Mais à la fin on trouve l'oraison, “Absolve,” que le prêtre récite encore aujourd'hui sur le corps du défunt lorsqu'il est déposé dans la fosse et qu'il y a jeté trois fois de la terre. Nous n'avons pu lire très facilement que les mots: “Absolve . . . in resurrectionis gloriâ . . . resuscitata . . .” et de là nous croyons pouvoir conclure avec certitude l'oraison suivante: “*Absolve*, Domine, animam famulæ tuæ ab omni vinculo delictorum ut *in resurrectionis gloriâ* inter sanctos et electos tuos *ressuscitata* respiret, per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.”

L'écriture paraît avoir été tracée avec la pointe d'un style, et le fond destiné à la recevoir semblait avoir été réglé et rayé avec le même instrument, afin de diriger la main du scribe. Il s'en suivrait donc qu'au xii<sup>e</sup> siècle on avait encore conservé l'usage du style antique. Du reste, cela serait peu surprenant puisque nous retrouvons ces instrumens en très grand nombre dans les cimetières Francs des temps mérovingiens et même carlovingiens. L'histoire raconte que le célèbre Scot Erigène, qui vivait sous Charles-le-Chauve, fut tué à coups de styles par des moines Anglais auxquels il faisait la classe.

Afin de tirer de ce document archéologique tout le parti possible, j'ai soumis ces croix, avec leurs caractères et leurs inscriptions, à l'examen des hommes les plus compétents que renferme la capitale de la France, et surtout aux professeurs de notre Ecole des Chartes, le premier établissement paléographique de l'Europe. Voici la réponse qu'a bien voulu me transmettre M. Arthur Murcier, archiviste-paléographe, qui, dans cette affaire, s'est fait mon représentant. "J'ai montré," m'écrit-il, "vos croix à M.M. Lacabane, le comte de la Borde, Vallet de Viriville, Jules Quicherat, Natalis de Wailly, et Léopold Delisle. Tous, après les avoir examinées avec un vif intérêt, les ont attribuées au xii<sup>e</sup> siècle. M. Léopold Delisle, qui les a étudiées tout spécialement, se prononce nettement pour le xii<sup>e</sup> siècle.

"L'écriture est une minuscule, dont quelques-unes des lettres me semblent dériver de l'alphabet oncial dont l'emploi s'arrête au xi<sup>e</sup> siècle; mais M. Delisle et les autres éminents paléographes appuient leur opinion sur les caractères intrinsèques tels que le formule et le contexte, beaucoup plutôt que sur les caractères extrinsèques tels que l'écriture et les signes abrégatifs.

"Il est bien plus commun, en effet, de voir les scribes introduire dans leur écriture des variétés de forme que des formules nouvelles. Chacun a son écriture, bien que chacun n'ait que les mêmes lettres à sa disposition, ceci est incontestable. Vous me direz que chacun aussi a son style; oui, mais point dans la rédaction des actes où l'on est astreint à des formules déterminées. Or, au moyen âge, les scribes n'ont guère écrit que des actes. Ceci posé, je crois que le style des croix peut être rangé dans une catégorie à part, mais toujours dans une classe d'actes à peu près uniformes. Reste à savoir si la formule d'absolution est du xii<sup>e</sup> ou de tout autre. Nous la croyons du xii<sup>e</sup>, parceque nous la retrouvons la même dans la liturgie de ce temps. La latinité est celle du xii<sup>e</sup> siècle, les noms propres semblent également lui appartenir. Passé ce temps on ne les retrouve plus, ou leur forme a changé."

Soumises à l'examen de la chimie, mes croix n'ont offert à la perspicacité de M. Girardin, de Rouen, que du *plomb pur et sans aucun alliage*. Le cercueil de Gondrée, fille de Guillaume le Conquérant, dont j'avais rapporté un fragment de Lewes, en 1851, n'avait également présenté à notre savant professeur que du *plomb avec de légères traces d'étain*.

Enfin, j'ai de plus appelé sur ma découverte l'attention de la numismatique, et voici de quelle manière j'ai été conduit à provoquer un arrêt de cette science dont les décisions sont souvent sans appel.

Une circonstance minime en apparence mais très importante en réalité, surtout pour ses conséquences archéologiques, signala le 9 mai l'exploration de celui de nos tombeaux qui contenait la croix la plus lourde, la seule qui soit dépourvue de

pointe inférieure. En surveillant avec la plus grande attention l'enlèvement des terres qui entouraient les os du squelette, je recueillis une toute petite parcelle de métal entièrement oxydée et que je pris d'abord pour un ornement ou un bouton de cuivre. Après l'avoir nettoyée avec soin, je découvris que c'était une monnaie d'argent de forme à peu près carrée, ayant 13 millimètres dans tous les sens et pesant 30 centigrammes.

Etranger à la numismatique, mais comprenant tout le prix que pouvait avoir pour moi cette fragile pièce de métal, je m'empressai de la communiquer à M. Adrien de Longpérier, membre de l'Institut et conservateur du Musée des Antiques au Louvre. Voici quelle a été la réponse du savant antiquaire.

“ Votre petite monnaie n'est pas fort commode à lire, cependant j'oserais affirmer qu'elle n'est pas Normande. Elle a surtout l'aspect des pièces de Beauvais et d'Amiens. Les évêques de Beauvais ont conservé le monogramme de Charles-le-Chauve, sur leurs déniers, jusqu'à la fin du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle ; mais ce monogramme est quelquefois altéré. Il y a une douzaine d'années que j'ai expliqué, dans la *Revue Numismatique*, comment ce monogramme, qui se voit sur la monnaie de l'évêque Hervée, contemporain de Hugues Capet, avait ensuite été reproduit par l'évêque Henri (1148), et par Barthélemy qui lui succéda en 1162, trois siècles après Charles-le-Chauve. Votre fragment de monnaie est si maltraité par le temps, que je n'ose pas dire s'il est du xi<sup>e</sup> ou du xii<sup>e</sup> siècle. Mais vous pouvez soutenir sans crainte qu'il n'est pas du xiii<sup>e</sup> ni du ix<sup>e</sup>. ”

Cette conclusion est aussi celle de M. J. Y. Akerman, de Londres, l'un des plus savants numismates de l'Europe.

M. Thomas, avocat à Rouen et numismate fort distingué, ayant examiné la même pièce, a reconnu sur l'avvers un monogramme qu'il croit être celui de Charles, et sur le revers une croix un peu pattée. Dans son opinion cette monnaie est “ carlovingienne, mais de la fin de la période ; ” il la croit semi-royale et émise par un seigneur de Beauvais, d'Amiens, de Meaux, ou des ces contrées.

A présent, résumons-nous et concluons :

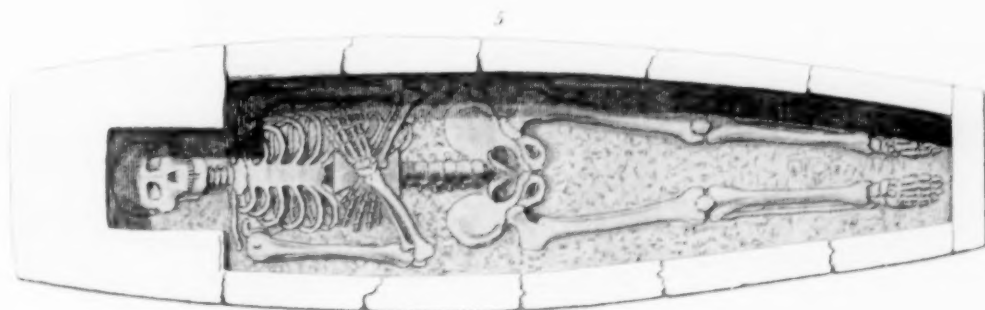
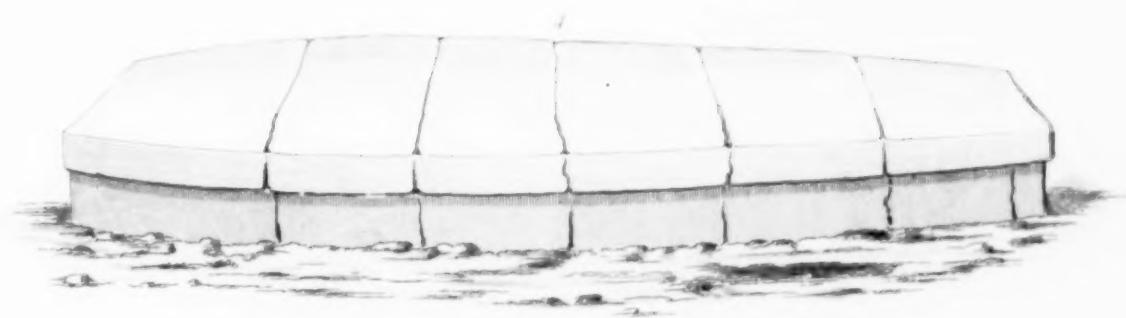
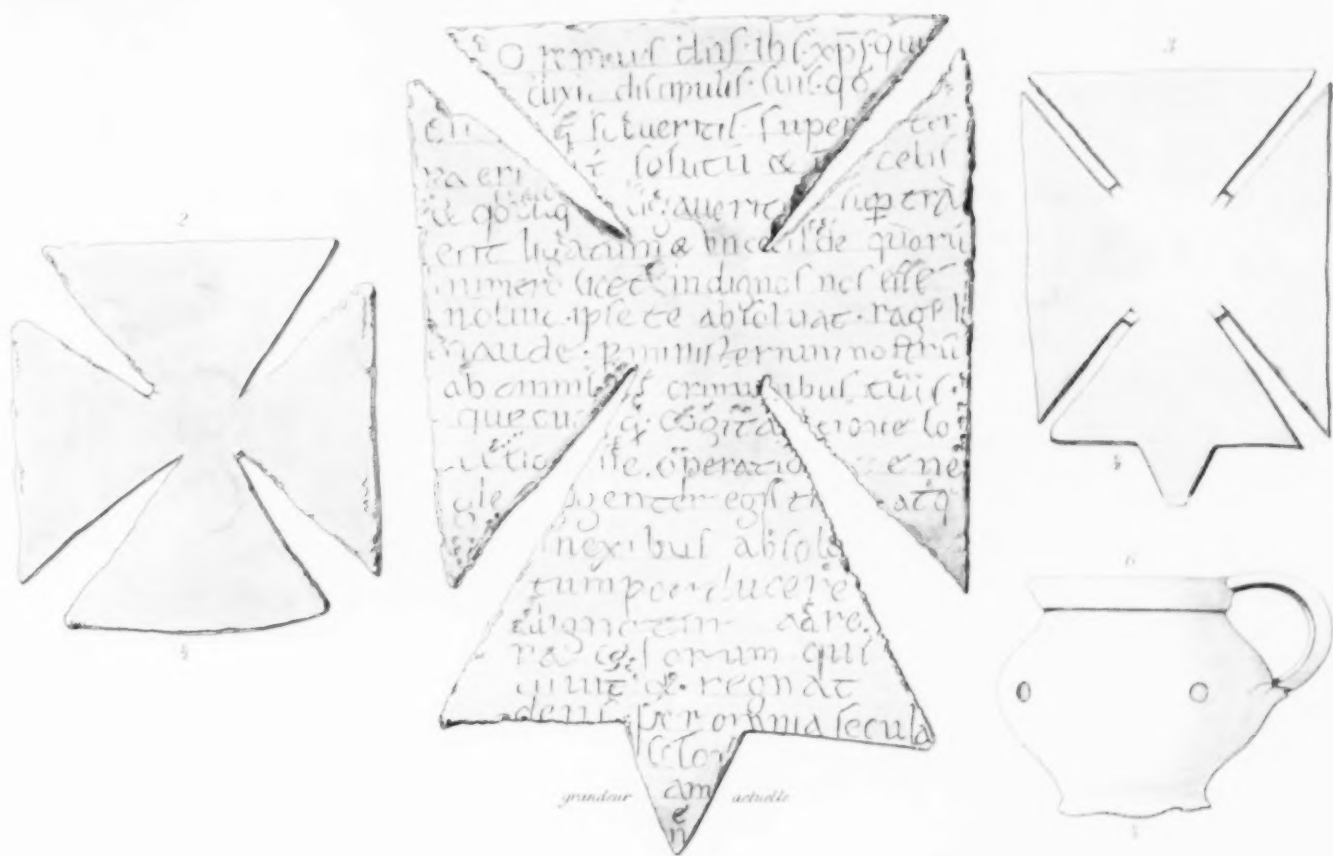
La matière et la forme de nos cercueils de Bouteilles appartiennent au xi<sup>e</sup> et au xii<sup>e</sup> siècle, d'après les principes de l'archéologie : leur position sous la gouttière est conforme à l'histoire Normande de ce temps ; l'orientation des corps et le croisement des mains sont dans les prescriptions de la liturgie d'alors ; le métal des croix, leur forme et leur emploi concordent avec ce que nous savons des arts, des traditions et des mœurs de la période Anglo-Normande ; les noms sont eux que l'on portait de Guillaume à Philippe-Auguste ; la monnaie qui accompagne les morts ne peut être reculée au delà du x<sup>e</sup> siècle, ni rapprochée en deçà de 1200.

L'histoire ecclésiastique nous montre des clercs illustres, contemporains de saint Bernard, rédigeant, pour leurs amis morts, des formules d'absolution que les rituels ont conservées ; enfin des croix analogues, appartenant au xi<sup>e</sup> siècle, ont été trouvées en France et en Angleterre ; d'où je conclus, avec toute la certitude que peut donner la science humaine, que nos tombeaux de Bouteilles appartiennent à la période Anglo-Normande qui va de Guillaume le Conquérant à Richard Cœur-de-Lion. Cette déduction est appuyée également par l'archéologie, l'histoire, la liturgie, la numismatique, et la paléographie.

L'ABBÉ COCHET,

*Inspecteur des Monuments Historiques  
de la Seine-Inférieure.*





## TOMBEAUX CHRETIENS

de la Période Anglo-Normande trouvée à Bouteilles près Dieppe

Published by the Society of Antiquaries at London 21<sup>st</sup> April 1856.



XXV. *Remarks upon two Original Deeds relating to Sir Thomas Swinford, the son of Catherine Swinford, who was afterwards the wife of John of Gaunt.*  
By JOSEPH HUNTER, Esq. Vice-President.

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Read 22 Nov. 1855.

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I HAVE the pleasure of laying before the Society an Original Deed which makes a trifling addition to the little which is known of Sir Thomas Swinford, the son of Catherine Swinford, whose connection with John of Gaunt, and subsequent marriage to him, make her and her son historical personages of the fifteenth century. It has been found amongst the Evidences of Mr. Wentworth, of Wolley, in Yorkshire.

The document has in itself no remarkable features. It is a conveyance to trustees, of whom Sir Thomas Swinford, Margaret Lady Darcy his wife, and William Swinford their son, are three, by the owner of lands and tenements in the parts of Lincolnshire near to those in which both the Swinford and the Darcy lands lay, that is, near the western border of the county of Lincoln. But it may be more satisfactory to the Society to have a brief abstract of the matter of the Deed.

Thomas Greese, of East Ferry, gentleman, grants to Thomas Swinford knight, Margaret Lady Darcy his wife, and William the son of the said Thomas and Margaret, Robert Kirkham, and Laurence Morgan, all his messuages and tenements, rents and services, with all their appurtenances, in the vills of East Ferry and West Ferry, which descended to him by right of inheritance, together with the reversion of all lands, tenements, rents, and services which William Cutwolf of Owston, and Margaret his wife, hold for term of the life of the said Margaret in dower. Then follow the usual clauses of services and warrantry. The witnesses are Thomas Poge, Esq. Robert Britte, Esq. William Cutwolf, Thomas Belwode, Thomas Grenefeld, and Robert Legett. Dated at East Ferry, on the 6th of May, in the fourth year of King Henry VI. which is A.D. 1426.

The premises are not undeserving of attention since so little is known of the topography of Lincolnshire. The ferry meant is that over the Trent by which

the people of the Isle of Axholm usually passed to the other parts of Lincolnshire, and the deed shows that in those times the two villis had arisen which are now there, and still known as East Ferry and West Ferry, while the ferry itself is known by the name of Kinnard Ferry, and is still much used. Whether the ferry itself passed under the term "appurtenances" is not shown, but the probability seems to be that this valuable property had descended in a family who bore the rare name of Greese.

The document shows, or at least raises a strong probability, that Sir Thomas Swinford, his wife, and son, were living in those parts of Lincolnshire where are Coleby and Ketelthorpe, which pertained to Sir Hugh Swinford, father of Sir Thomas (*Excerpta Historica*, 8vo. 1831, p. 157), and Knaith and other possessions of the family of Darcy, that is, that they lived there in the early years of the reign of King Henry VI.; nor does it appear from any other evidence that Sir Thomas Swinford, though uterine brother of the aspiring house of Beaufort, was ever drawn out of a decent obscurity to take part in public affairs. I believe the exact date of his death has not been discovered, nor is anything known of William the son, or Thomas the brother of William, except the little that Sir Harris Nicolas has brought together in the communication to the *Excerpta Historica* before referred to.

It seems extraordinary that where so little was to be told of Sir Thomas Swinford there should have been no notice taken of his marriage, especially as Sir William Dugdale, and, after him, other writers on the history of the family of Darcy, had told us that a Lady Darcy, the widow of John Lord Darcy, married Sir Thomas Swinford, not stating, however, the singular position in which he stood to the great house of Beaufort. If any doubt remained of the fact this deed would remove it, since she is distinctly called Lady Darcy, and also designated as the wife of Sir Thomas Swinford and mother of William his son. This lady, according to Dugdale, was a daughter of Henry Lord Grey of Wilton, an old baronial house, and had married John Lord Darcy, of another baronial house, who had left her a young and well-endowed widow. A few dates taken from original evidence may serve to show when she became the wife of Sir Thomas Swinford, and, also, that to any other felicities that might belong to her length of days was added. She had become the wife of Lord Darcy about 1397. Lord Darcy received his last summons to parliament in September, the twelfth of Henry IV. and died the 9th of December in the thirteenth year, that is, in Anno Domini 1411, as was found by inquisition taken at Retford on the Saturday next before the feast of St. Mary Magdalene, in the thirteenth of that reign. He left

Philip his son and heir, then aged 14, from which we infer the probable time of the marriage. This Philip died before his mother, leaving two daughters only, who were his co-heirs. I may add, though not material to the purpose of this communication, that another Lady Darcy, namely, Elizabeth, widow of Philip Lord Darcy, and mother of John Lord Darcy, died a few months after her son, namely, the Thursday next after the feast of St. Laurence, in the thirteenth of Henry IV. A.D. 1412, as was found by inquisition at the Castle of Lincoln taken the Saturday next after the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in that thirteenth year, when Philip her grandson, son of John, was found her heir, and aged 14. Margaret the widow of John, and the Lady Darcy of the document before us, was found, by inquisition taken at Morpeth on Monday before the feast of All Saints in the thirty-third of King Henry VI. to have died on the Saturday next after the Ascension of our Lord last past, which would be in the year 1454, when her son, Philip Lord Darcy, was dead, since his two daughters, Lady Strangways and Lady Conyers, were found her cousins and heirs, that is, her grandchildren, the one aged 36 and the other 32.

In the same collection of evidence at Mr. Wentworth's is another deed, in which Sir Thomas Swinford and Margaret Lady Darcy are principal persons concerned. This deed is dated at Ketelthorpe, the 25th of July, in the fifth year of King Henry VI. By this deed Sir John Talbot knight, Lord Talbot and of Furnivall, Sir Ralph Cromwell knight, Lord Cromwell and of Tateshall, Edmund Fitzwilliam esquire, Thomas Pensax esquire, appoint Robert Walshe of Lincoln, or Robert Kirkham, their attorney to deliver to Sir Thomas Swinford knight, and Margaret Lady Darcy his wife, the manor of Ketelthorpe and the advowson of the church of Ketelthorpe, with all its dependencies in Newton, Fenton, Laghterton, Torkesay, and Hardwyk.



XXVI. *On Mortuary Urns found at Stade-on-the-Elbe, and other parts of North Germany, now in the Museum of the Historical Society of Hanover.*  
*By JOHN MITCHELL KEMBLE, Esq. in a Letter to the SECRETARY.*

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Read June 21, 1855.

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DEAR MR. AKERMAN,

London, Nov. 1st, 1855.

Among the many interesting remains of heathendom, which, to the great benefit of comparative Archæology, you have recorded in your work on Saxon Pagandom, none have struck me more than certain vessels and utensils found at Eye in Suffolk, and described by you in Part xi. plate xxii. compared with Part ii. plate iv. As works of art they have not indeed much to recommend them; nor are they valuable for the sake of the material of which they are formed. And yet they are more than commonly remarkable. They are so, not only on account of their comparative rarity in this country, which renders them attractive merely as curiosities; but of their intimate connection with objects identical in form, which have been discovered in various parts of North Germany. You are, no doubt, aware that thousands of urns have been exhumed in that part of the continent within the last two hundred years; but, of them all, none approach more nearly in form to the English than those excavated last year at Stade-on-the-Elbe. A comparison of them with those which you have engraved, and those which we find in the "Saxon Obsequies," and other English works of archaeological interest, will, I trust, not be without value for you. It will serve to shew how complete, even in this matter of detail, was the resemblance between the Saxons in England, and those who remained behind in their old seats upon the Elbe.

I regret that I have so few drawings of these urns from Stade to send you: they are merely strays from my commonplace book, and do not even represent the most remarkable of the forms which I have seen. More than eighty vessels,\* all

\* Nearly a tenth of the whole Collection of urns in the Museum.

of which, without exception, are distinguished by features of interest, are deposited in the Museum of the Historical Society in Hanover, to which they were presented by the clergyman in Stade who assisted at their exhumation; and, could I have anticipated the pleasure of communicating with you upon this subject, I would have furnished myself with specimens, which would have formed a better illustration of the few remarks I have to make. You will see, however, even from these, that there are points of resemblance between the English and German *finds*, which the general character of the interments that have been most commonly noticed in England does not prepare us to expect. I will touch slightly upon some of these.

In the first place the urns at Stade, like these at Eye, were not merely the adjuncts of ordinary burial,—intended to hold either holy water, or (in the case of pagans) the *broth of sacrificial death-meals*.<sup>a</sup> They are vessels filled with the calcined bones and ashes of the dead themselves, mortuary urns in the strict sense of the term, containing, besides the remnants of the body, what ornaments and implements the piety of the survivors devoted to the service of the departed. Of these ornaments and implements a certain proportion have suffered by the funeral fire; and those are such as probably were about the person of the dead when consigned to the pile, as buckles, brooches, fibulæ, girdle-plates, buttons, and a profusion of glass beads of a variety of colours. Another portion, however, have not been subject to the action of fire, and were no doubt placed upon the bones, after these had already been collected into the urns, a practice which has repeatedly come under my notice in other German cemeteries, and for which there is plenty of written evidence in the Norse *Sögur*.

Generally speaking, the ornaments on mortuary urns in the sepulchres of Northern Europe are not of a complicated character. They are for the most part formed by indented lines or figures, dots, and the like, in combinations of the simplest description. These are scratched into the clay with a sharpened stick, a tooth, or some similar instrument. But the urns found at Stade, as well as those from Eye and Little Wilbraham, are what in Germany is called *getrieben*, beaten out or embossed, *en poussetter*,—hammered, we should say, were the material metal instead of clay. The raised parts were, in fact, in the great majority of cases most

<sup>a</sup> There has been a good deal of nonsense talked in England about sacrifices and the like. Once for all, let it be known that the sacrificial flesh of the Germans was boiled, not roasted, and was eaten on the spot by those who partook of the sacrifice; which, at stated seasons, the chiefs and kings, if not the whole people, were expected to do. When Hakonr the Good was in bad odour with the Northmen, on suspicion of Christianity, he was made to pass the *broth of boiled horseflesh* under his nostrils, and the people consented to take this as evidence that he had communicated according to the heathen rite.

likely pressed out with the thumb, and finished with a smooth stick, while the sides of the vessel were still moist. Urns of this character are, however, comparatively rare in German interments; for the bumps and knobs, straight and twisted lines, circular and semicircular discs, and other ornaments in high relief, have obviously been very often put on after the vessel itself was completed, and are not parts of the original work: they are consequently very apt to drop off when the vessel is exposed to damp; and, after it is removed from the earth, may be stuck on again with a little thin glue, or fine wet clay, without leaving any trace of disturbance. If any one of the bulges in the Stade urns were broken into, there would be a hole in the side itself: the raised ornaments not being stuck on, but portions of the original urn pressed out.

Again, the ornamental lines which are scratched in, or indented upon, the generality of mortuary urns, are rude productions of the free hand, and are, on this account, always more or less irregular. The principal ornaments, however, upon the urn in plate iv. of your work, is impressed by a rude punch, such as any schoolboy cuts at once out of a piece of smooth wood. It is a common one in urns of the class under consideration: it is found at Wilbraham, on the urns described in the *Hydrotaphia*, and on one at least from Northamptonshire, of which there is a representation in the first volume of the *Collectanea Antiqua* (p. 42). It is also the ornament of one half the urn marked 8 in the accompanying drawings (Plate XXI.): and the very fact that one half the ornament consists of one, the other half of another, pattern, proves how very rude were still the notions of harmony entertained by the potter from whose workshop the Stade urns proceeded. I may observe that this is perhaps the commonest characteristic of Saxon urns from English cemeteries. And yet this is obviously a more advanced stage of culture than that whose productions we see in the rude, ill-ornamented pots of half-baked clay which are so far more numerous in the graves of the Age of Burning. From your plate I infer that the round indentations upon the Eye urn were formed by pressing the tip of the little finger into the moist clay. Very many of the pots discovered at Stade were ornamented in this manner; and in some patterns it is evident that the tip of the thumb was used for a similar purpose. Like designs, executed in a like manner, though not absolutely identical with these, are found upon some of the urns dug up at Nienburg and Wölpe on the Weser, by Lieut.-Gen. the Count Münster, and by myself upon the banks of the Ilmenau, in the principality of Lüneburg,—all of which, amounting to many hundreds, are now to be seen in the Museum of the Historical Society in Hanover. But neither did the General, nor M. von Estorff,

nor I, meet with any urns embossed in the manner of those at Eye, at Wilbraham, and Stade: in all the cases known to us, the ornaments were incised or indented, save in a very few rare and exceptional instances. In three of these a sort of rude half-moon, with the horns turned upwards, was stuck, instead of a handle, upon the urn itself. (Plate XXIII. fig. 10.) In two or three cases there were four or more bumps or knobs applied upon the neck of the vessel: one has twelve small studs, like what used to be called sugarloaf buttons, entirely round the neck.<sup>a</sup> One has two large flat discs, about the size of crown pieces, stuck upon the belly of the urn, one upon each side of a wide handle. (Plate XXIII. fig. 6.) I cannot at this moment call to mind any other urns similarly ornamented.

The admixture of incised lines, usually disposed in acute angles, or *vandykes*, with circular indentations inclosed within them, sometimes forming triangular figures, but still more frequently a kind of star (Plate XXI. 5, 7), is common to the Eye and Stade urns, but is rare elsewhere: my own excavations supplied, among upwards of six hundred, no one with ornaments of this class, and Count Münster's (in more than four hundred) very few. They are hardly found in the museums of Berlin and Mecklenburg-Schwerin, nor do I remember any such at Dresden. But I must entreat you to bear in mind that I am citing now from memory only, and without any notes to assist my recollections, so that in this I may possibly be mistaken on the question of degree. Before I leave this question of ornamentation, I must call your attention to two peculiarities more of the Stade urns. In general, as you are aware, the German urns are found covered with a kind of bowl or saucer, so reversed over the neck as to keep the earth from falling upon the bones; and, where this is wanting, its place is mostly supplied by a flat stone. It is this unhappy arrangement which has caused the destruction of so many urns of the finer sort; the cover having been often broken by the weight of the superincumbent earth or stones of the kist, and forced into the neck of the urn, or so driven down upon this as to reduce it entirely to fragments. The usual form of this cover is, as I have said, that of a saucer or bowl: but some are of very large dimensions; and I found one placed over an urn of middling size, which may have been well used for setting cream in a primæval dairy, for it has a diameter of twenty inches. The urns at Stade, instead of this rude plan, are furnished occasionally with covers of their own, duly fitting into their necks, as the covers of our own jugs now do, and ornamented on the top

<sup>a</sup> Something similar, from Sussex, is found on an urn from the Mantell collection in the Brit. Mus.



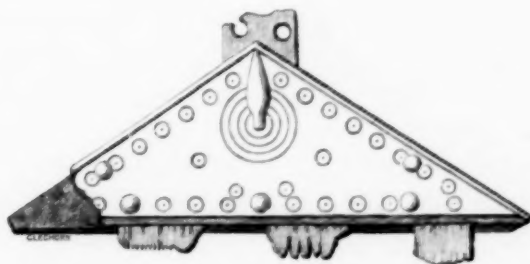
with what seem intended to represent the figures of animals, and the like. I have seen a drawing of an urn from Stade (unhappily not in the Hanoverian collection—indeed, I fear no longer in being), which resembles in the closest detail an urn found in Derbyshire, and published in the *Collect. Antiq.* vol. ii. p. 30. Only one of several hundred urns in the Münster collection had this peculiarity, of a cover made to the urn. A second, and perhaps still more observable one, is, that a very few of the Stade urns are so deeply impressed with patterns of a regular quadrangular form, that it almost appeared as if they had been cast in a mould. How the beading upon some of them could be produced, without the application of some sort of matrix, I am totally unable to conjecture. It is only to be accounted for by the supposition that, when the urn had been made, some form, deeply incised, was impressed upon its sides, in regular order, till the whole pattern was completed. And this supposition is confirmed by my having also discovered portions of urns ornamented with regular patterns of so complicated a kind that they could only have been executed by stamping. It would have required whole weeks to execute them by hand, with a graver; nor even then could the lines have been made so hard and sharp as they are. They are something like the labyrinths which, in my very young school days, used to be drawn by boys upon their slates, where the great object was to carry a continuous line unbroken through the innumerable sinuosities of a complicated pattern. But others, on the contrary, are so irregularly regular, that one can only imagine them to have been produced by mechanical means. They are not done with a punch, but with an incised stamp. At the same time this regularity is not the general characteristic of the urns at Stade: on the contrary, they are mostly of very rude execution, so *lopsided* that they very often do not even stand perpendicularly, and have obviously not been produced by the lathe, the feet being rarely quite flat, and, besides this, occasionally ornamented with a cross or other figure incised.\* In proportion as the urns decrease in size, do they, for the most part, improve in execution. The clay of them all is of a middling brown colour, rather coarse and soft, mingled as usual with pounded granite or felspar, and very im-

\* The bottoms of all these urns, like those in the British Museum, are so imperfectly made, that scarcely one stands really upright. There is no trace of a flat surface; but every base is irregular, probably made in the palm of the hand. There is a curious instance in Von Estorff's "*Heidnische Alterthümer*" (which contains numerous examples of urns and implements found in the Lüneburg district), of an urn bearing the distinct mark of a man's hand on the side. I do not remember this urn myself in his collection, but his draughtsman was in general accurate, and I am pretty sure that the impression was there. The urn, no doubt, was from some cause left *unfinished*.



perfectly burnt, so that, even when the urns are perfectly dried, they require to be handled with great tenderness.

The contents of the urns at Stade, at Eye, and other places in England, supply further points of resemblance which are by no means unimportant. Among those at Stade which seem most interesting, are the bone or ivory combs with triangular heads, pincettes or tweezers, with earpicks, and small scissors, or rather shears, of metal. The combs of Selzen, to which you refer—and to which may be added those of Nordendorf and Fridolfingen—bear, however, no resemblance in form to those of Eye and Stade. They are (like some found under similar circumstances in Kent) either with a straight back like our common combs, or with double teeth like a small-tooth comb, or with a folding case and hinge like a pocket-comb. Those, on the contrary, from Stade, are surmounted with a triangular top, richly ornamented with indented lines and concentric circles of different sizes. I subjoin the figure of one of these combs, in the natural size, and invite you to compare it with that represented in your twenty-second plate. You will see that they are essentially the same.



Like almost all other combs of this period, the back is made of two moveable pieces, between which the small flat plates to which the teeth belong are inserted, the whole being held together by rivets of metal, which are often worked up into parts of the concentric circles of which the ornament nearly always consists, although in the specimen before you the *punched* ornament is interfered with by the rivets, when it happened to come in their way.

And allow me here to observe, *par parenthèse*, that the recurrence of this particular ornament upon articles of bone or horn, at all periods and in almost all places, is very remarkable. You will find it alike upon Egyptian, Etruscan, and Greek relics: upon axeheads of horn taken from the graves which we attribute to

the earliest periods of Northern European culture; upon discs and combs of bone and ivory on the Continent as well as in England, at periods which, though not the earliest, still infinitely transcend our own; upon the implements even of the most savage nations of the Oceanitic race. And as there is nothing in the material itself to define *à priori*, and render as it were necessary, the kind of figure and the style with which it is to be ornamented; but, on the contrary, any description of lines, straight or curved, might with equal facility be scratched upon it, this identity in the taste of times and places so widely apart from one another, becomes a problem exceedingly difficult to solve, and suggests questions to which an answer cannot be very readily given. And it is further worth noticing, that these concentric circles, or circles with a central point, have never, or very rarely, been executed with the free hand: for this they are almost universally too regular; and one sees at once that they have either been stamped with a punch, or produced by some instrument upon the principle of the compasses. There are innumerable instances in which the use of the punch is placed beyond all doubt, by our finding one circle encroaching upon the circumference of another, either from unsteadiness of the workman, or a miscalculation of the room for the figure upon the surface: there are others so large, that a punch would not have sufficed to do the work required, without the application of so much force as must have put the material itself in peril: here we may be well assured a pair of compasses was applied. And I would further remark, that the same mode of ornament by circles with centres, generally diminutive, and forming parts of figures, triangles, squares, and quincunxes, is a not unusual ornament of bronze fibulae of the flat circular class; as indeed it lies in the nature of the thing itself, that the details of a figure bounded by a circle should consist only of the parts of circles, or circles themselves.

From your Plate I infer that the pincette found at Eye is of iron. I think I have seen accounts of one or two more in England, of that metal. Those discovered at Stade, of which the Hanoverian Museum possesses more than sixty specimens, are all of bronze. In fact, pincettes of iron are so rare in the German museums, that I remember hitherto never to have seen but one, and that one, differing in form from all others that I have seen in any metal, I myself took out of an urn in the Lüneburg heath. Another, I know, is mentioned as occurring in a grave at Sinsheim, with a skeleton: and I may mention a third, which is remarkable, inasmuch as the pincette itself—a very large one—although, as usual, of bronze, has a clasp surrounding it of iron. It was found by Lieut.-Gen. Count Münster, together with the calcined bones of a man and his horse, in

a tumulus at Nienburg on the Weser. And I would also suggest to you, that the occurrence of such clasps, which you will best understand from a drawing of the pincette I now refer to, throws some doubt upon the explanation generally given of these instruments: unless indeed it were meant merely to secure the implement, when not in use, from being damaged, by catching in anything which came in its way.

The occurrence of pincettes in Germany is far from rare. They are frequent in urns, and have been found with skeletons, as at Selzen. Though occasionally met with in the interments of men, as for example in the place I have just named, and in the valley of the Eaulne, they are certainly most frequent with the remains of women; and in this case are generally found accompanied by a small bronze knife, and a needle or awl of the same metal. The earlier forms—and I may add, by far the more general—are graceful, and for the most part richly ornamented. The one which I have drawn in the margin (fig. 1) is a fair specimen of this class, and shows the almost universal mode of ornament, one very essential element of which, is the working of the three knobs at the bottom *en repousset*, while all the rest is produced by the graver, more or less regularly applied. Hardly one in a hundred, of those I have seen, is without this peculiar feature. The later forms, to which the specimens from Eye and Stade must be reckoned, are of much simpler character; perhaps among the pincettes at Stade the majority resemble those which occur in Roman sepulchres, were still in use a few years ago, and may possibly still be found on some toilet-tables (fig. 2); but very many are perfectly identical in form with the one in your Plate: they differ in short in nothing but the material; a difference, however, of the utmost importance.

Still more remarkable, in my opinion, are the small shears or scissors of iron found at Eye. The urns at Stade also contained a number of these instruments, of bronze, which, in this size at least, are of very rare occurrence. Not being formed upon



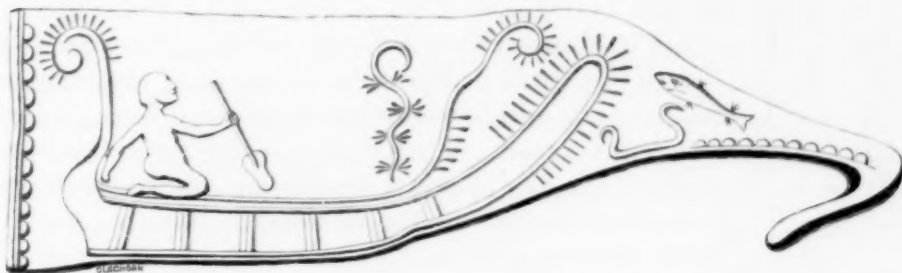
the principle of the lever, but in the same manner as our sheep-shears, these little scissors can hardly have been intended for any common use; indeed, they are often so very diminutive, that one is much tempted to look upon them as playthings. At the utmost, I should be disposed to regard them as articles of the toilet. Though they would neither suffice to cut skins, nor even linen, they might be used to remove superfluous hair from the face—a custom to which, as you well know, Sidonius Apollinaris alludes. You may be glad to see drawings (in the natural size) of the two smallest in the Hanoverian Museum: even the largest there are not twice the size.



The knife in your table presents nothing particularly remarkable to an archaeologist familiar with the collections of Northern Germany, except the metal of which it is made. The form in bronze is very common in the districts immediately north and south of the Elbe, especially in Ditmarsh and Holstein. The manner of turning back the tang, so as to form a ring at the end of the handle, is nearly universal in the specimens obtained from those countries. It was no doubt intended to furnish the means of suspending the knife or razor to the girdle; and these knives, although found in the urns of men, are much more usual in those of women, in which they are generally accompanied by a needle and a pincette, both of bronze. Your iron knife was probably never ornamented, or, if it were, oxydation has destroyed all traces of the patterns. The bronze knives of this form are always most elaborately engraved, and it is not without interest that one pattern is almost universal upon them. The figures invariably represent either water—symbolized by curved waves or ships, galleys with oars—much as these have been found represented upon blocks of stone, for which you may consult the *Old Norske Tidingar* of our Copenhagen colleagues. This is the case in the knives of this form found south of the Elbe, as well as those which occur north of that great channel of communication. I am happy to be able to present you the most perfect specimen yet known of such a knife, with its ornament. It forms the leading case, and explains clearly, for the first time, what we have long puzzled ourselves with in these implements. The engraving represents a man paddling in his ship, the true old *Snakr* or *Drakè* of the Northman. Lest any doubt should exist on the subject, fish are introduced, in true Nineveh fashion, to symbolize the water. This splendid and hitherto unique specimen is in the collection of Mr. Blumenbach, a Privy Councillor in Hanover, and son of the great founder of comparative physiology. Mr. Blumenbach has not been able to tell me where this



knife was found, but believes that it came from Ditmarsh or Holstein, and so north of the Elbe. From its form I think this very probable.



You will see from these remarks that an interesting correspondence exists between the articles found at Eye and at Stade. These forms are rare in Germany, as they are in England, and this renders their resemblance the more important and instructive. I believe there is no record of the circumstances under which the Suffolk antiquities were brought to light: those at Stade were deposited in a manner not unusual in the Elbe districts, side by side, in a large hill of sand, which in all probability is a natural one. Out of this hill, called the Perlberg, we have already received about eighty urns, all of characteristic and unusual shapes, and we have reason to expect that many more will be saved and sent to the museum in Hanover. No doubt at least thrice that number have been found incapable of being removed, on account of their ruinous condition. They all contain burnt bones and ashes. The articles found in them, besides those which I have spoken of already, are great quantities of glass and beads, very much injured by the action of fire, as well as fragments of bronze fibulæ, buckles, and clasps, in very considerable numbers. There are also various implements of bone or horn, discs—perhaps tesserae, or draughtsmen, for some game at tables,—and thin short cylindrical staves, whose use it is difficult to divine. All these implements, as well as the urns themselves, belong to a late period of heathendom, and may possibly be of the eighth century. There is a remarkable resemblance between the treatment of the buckles and brooches and that which we find on similar ornaments deposited with skeletons in Kent, in Normandy, and on the Rhine. The interments are most likely contemporary.

When I first wrote to you upon this subject, on my return to England, after a lengthened absence, during which I had no means of consulting any English works on archæology, or keeping pace with the discoveries made here,



I adopted the opinion entertained by some German archaeologists, that the urns found at Stade were of Slavonic origin, and consequently that those found at Eye might be so too, inasmuch as there was no valid reason to urge against the possible settlement of some small band of Slavonians on our eastern coasts. The discovery of urns of precisely the same character as that of the Stade ones, in Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Northampton, Derby, Sussex, the Isle of Wight, Gloucestershire, and Warwickshire, puts an end at once to this Slavonic hypothesis. These urns, agreeing in form, colour, size, and material, with those found in Germany, are obviously Germanic; and those found in Germany, and so closely agreeing with the English ones, are, by the same comparison, vindicated for the German race. The urns of the "Old Saxon," and those of the "Anglo-Saxon," are in truth identical, as there was every reason to suppose they would be. Keltic they are not, or they would not be found in Lüneburg; Slavonic they are not, or they would not be found in Warwickshire: one only race remains—they are Saxon in the one place as well as the other. The bones are those of men whose tongue we speak, whose blood flows in our veins. I know that I need not point out to an archaeologist of your skill and experience what important corollaries derive from this comparison of English and German antiquities; we are brought by it many steps nearer to our forefathers on the banks of the Elbe and its tributary rivers, and we can henceforth use indifferently the discoveries of Englishmen and North Germans for the elucidation of our national treasures. And, as this is so, allow me to put upon record some of the rarer forms of German mortuary urns, as types for comparison, and as an instruction for the English archaeologist. I inclose you a group of urns from the districts washed by the Ilmenau, a little river which bisects the great heath plains of Lüneburg. You may rely upon their authenticity, for I took them with my own hands from the repositories where they had rested for at least eleven hundred years; and you may see them, if you will honour the museum of the Historical Society in Hanover with a visit.

I am, dear Sir,

Your very obedient Servant,

J. M. KEMBLE.

The Plates contain :—

I. Urns from the Perlberg, near Stade.

II. Urns principally excavated by Count Münster at Nienburg, on the Weser, in the ancient district of Westphalia.

III. Urns excavated by myself in the old territory of the *Ostfali*, and especially in the government district of Oldenstadt, and the villages of Molzen, Oitzen, Oitzendorf, Masendorf, Riestädt, and Ripdorf.

With these are to be compared the urns found in Derbyshire, and described by Professor Henslow in the second vol. of the Journal of the Archæological Association; an urn found by Mr. Hillier in the Isle of Wight, described in a late number of the same work; urns figured by Mr. G. Milner, and subsequently by Mr. C. Roach Smith, in the second vol. of the *Collectanea Antiqua*; and, above all, those given in the Saxon Obsequies of the Hon. Mr. Neville. But the student will do well to see the dozen or thirteen Saxon urns (in Hanover we have 870!) in the British Museum. You may wish for a description of the urns in the third Plate, and it is reasonable that you should have it.

1. This urn was of a deep red colour, was rather more than 18 inches high, and stood in the earth, between two and three feet deep, under the roots of a larch, which had fed upon the bones within it, and broken it to pieces. It contained a long hair-pin, and a small cup of clay, which, as usual, had never been in the fire, and was filled with nothing but the pure sand, which had silted into the large urn, over the bones. The urn had a cover, as almost all had which, like this, were excavated at Molzen. It had been broken before it was put into the earth, and a large piece of it was wanting in one of the sides, and could not be found by the most accurate and painful search.

2. The largest urn, I believe, yet found, of a form not altogether uncommon in Germany. It lay about four feet deep in a cemetery at Riestädt, surrounded with heavy stones and a kist, which had well nigh crushed it to pieces. The other urns (about 25) in this cemetery were mostly of the same form, but smaller. Two of them only contained anything beside the bones and ashes, namely, in each case a knife, awl, and pincette of bronze. This large pot is ornamented on the under side with lines, apparently intended to represent basket-work. Its dimensions are as follows: height, 10.5 inches; width at the mouth, 14.5 inches; greatest width, 16.25 inches; diameter of the foot, 5 inches.

3. This urn, which is a little more than 19 inches high, was found, like the last described, in a cemetery at Riestädt, a little to the south and west of two magnificent barrows, under a heavy pavement of stones. This upper pavement often extends for

two or three hundred yards in length, and from fifty to sixty in breadth. It generally lies upon the south-west side of barrows, which, when opened, are mostly found to contain nothing beyond a cairn of stones, a small portion of charcoal, and an infinitesimal bit of bronze,—sometimes a little bit of an arm or finger ring, or the point of a dagger, and the like. This large urn was accompanied by five others, of jug and cup shapes, with one large handle, the biggest of which was about 5 inches high. They contained nothing but sand. It had been covered with a flat stone, upon which stood another urn, entirely crushed to pieces by the weight of the superincumbent pavement. There was nothing whatever in it besides the calcined bones and ashes. The kist was most carefully constructed of flat split stones, five or six rows deep, set upon their edge, and closely touching the sides of the urn, which was nevertheless tolerably entire. It fell to pieces after standing several hours in the shade, but has since been carefully repaired, and is quite perfect. Width of foot, 7 inches; of mouth, 12.5 inches; and greatest width of belly, 17.5 inches.

4. A tall, well-shaped urn, with four very diminutive handles put on just below the neck. It was dug up not far from the Elbe by Mr. Einfeldt, the Secretary to the Council of the Historical Society. It is to be observed that sometimes the German urns have not only two or four, but three and five handles, and that these are occasionally so diminutive that nothing thicker than a packthread can be passed through them.

5. Urn found in the level ground at Molzen, due south of a barrow, surrounded with a heavy cairn and well-made kist, and covered with a stone pavement.

6. From a cemetery formed in the level ground, also at Molzen. This urn has one very large handle, and has circular plates or discs applied as an ornament. In a kist of stones.

7. From a cemetery on the slope of a sandhill at Ripdorf, close to the town of Uelzen. It has two handles. The neck, the upper part of the belly, and the foot, are smooth and polished; the middle part of the belly is ornamented by being made perfectly rough.

8. This urn was one of about 120 found in a low but wide barrow, also at Ripdorf, inclosed in kists of stones. They are beautifully hard, perfectly black, have a fine polish, and are of graceful shape. They are very thin, and the dark colour goes through the whole clay, which is mixed with fine powdered felspar. They have mostly one handle, and are richly ornamented with lines and fine dots. Urns of this form are also found in Mecklenburg, but they are among the rarest.

9. From the cemetery at Molzen. It is of a bright red colour but very soft



*1 nat. size*

MORTUARY URNS FROM STADR ON THE ELBE.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 19 1886.*

*J. H. Thompson*





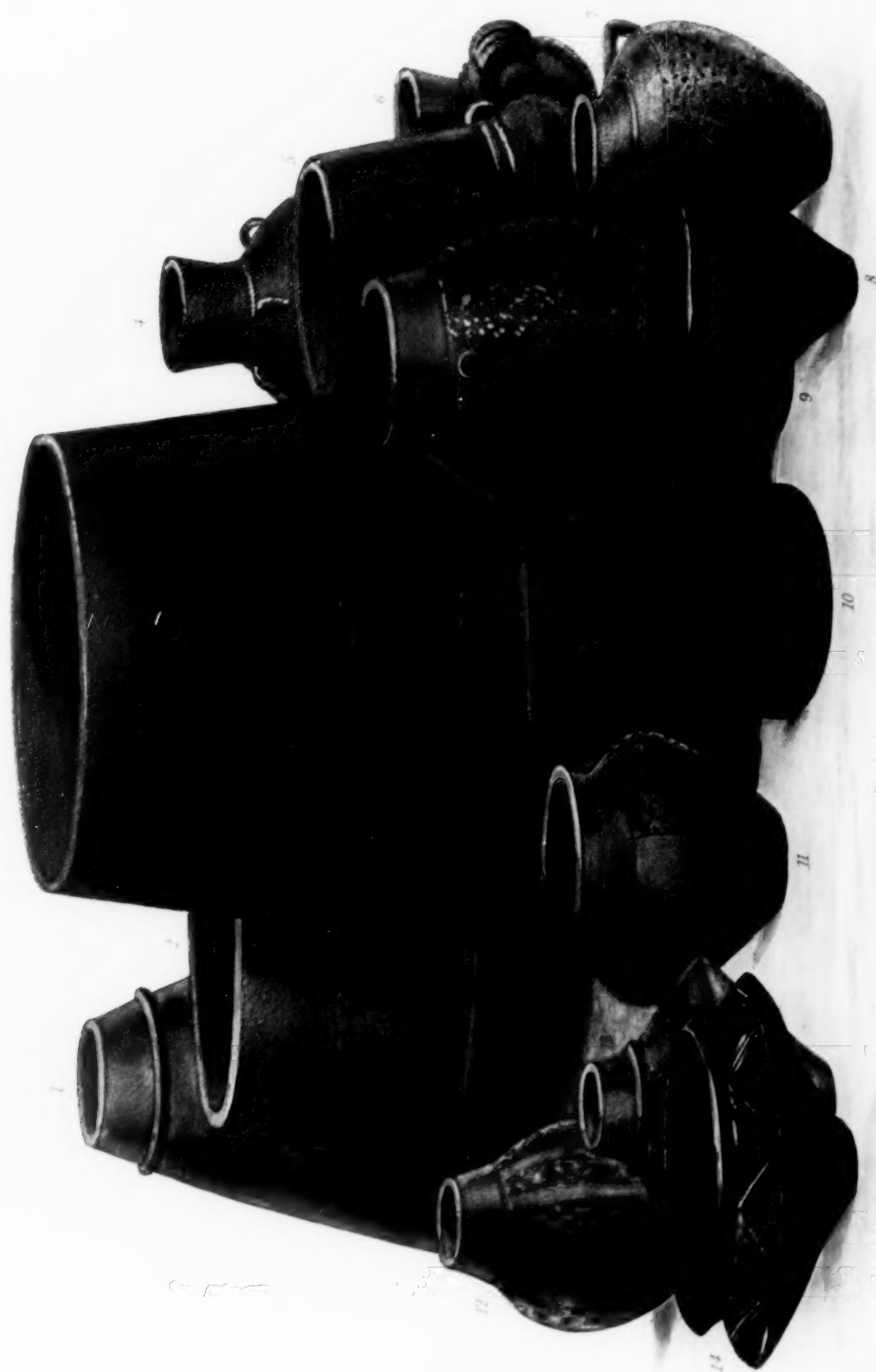


MORTUARY URNS FROM HOYA, NIENBURG, WÖLFPE,  
and the Neighbourhood of the WESER.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 18 1881.

J. Russell sc.





MORTUARY URNS FROM THE WATERSHED OF THE ILMENAU AND ITS ARCHAEOL. LYENEBURG.

if not also

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 1881



clay. The neck and foot are smooth, the belly rough, and just below the neck are four small circular discs, stuck on by way of ornament. In a kist of stones.

10. From the same cemetery at Molzen. An urn of the rarest shape, and probably unique. It is of beautifully hard, smooth, polished clay. Upon one side is a half-moon, in strong relief. I found a precisely similar portion of such another vessel in a cemetery at Ripdorf, but could not recover any more of it. There were other urns at Molzen which approached this form, but still were distinguished from it by the colour, the shape, and the fact of having one small handle. In a kist of stones.

11. From a cemetery called the Potberg (Pot-barrow) near the Oitzen mill. In this the urns lay loose in the light sand, nor was there any trace of kists or pavements. In this urn the ornamentation is produced by alternate lines of smooth and rough, six in number.

12. From the cemetery at Molzen. Ornamented with alternate stripes of smooth and rough. In a kist, and under a pavement of stones.

13. From the same cemetery. The ornament here is a sort of collar placed round the neck. The shoulder is also marked with very rude triangular lines.

14. A beautiful urn of smooth, black, polished pottery, from the cemetery at Ripdorf, close to Uelzen. It is the finest specimen I ever saw.



XXVII. *Extracts from the Private Account Book of Sir William More, of Loseley, in Surrey, in the time of Queen Mary and of Queen Elizabeth. Communicated in a Letter from JOHN EVANS, Esq. F.S.A. to J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq. Secretary.*

Read January 10, 1856.

Nash Mills, Hemel Hempsted,  
Dec. 10, 1855.

MY DEAR SIR,

I HAVE again the pleasure of sending you a transcript of some of the numerous documents of antiquarian interest preserved in the Muniment Room of Loseley House, near Guildford, for access to which, as on a previous occasion, I am indebted to the kindness of their proprietor, James More Molyneux, Esq. of Loseley, a Fellow of this Society.

The papers which I now transmit to you, for the purpose of their being laid before the Society, are extracted from a MS. book in folio, mostly in the handwriting of Sir William More, whose private account-book it appears originally to have been. The first is an inventory of all the goods in his possession in 1556, and is of considerable interest, as showing not only the contents and furniture of a country gentleman's house at that period, but also the value of each separate article, as appraised by Sir William More himself.

Though the inventory of the whole house was never completed, we have the contents of the hall, the parlour, the children's chamber, Sir William More's own chamber, and the closets of himself and his wife, so that the contents of those rooms are faithfully recorded, which are the most important and instructive in throwing a light on the domestic arrangements and habits of the time of Mary.

The furniture of the hall is excessively scanty and plain, consisting of but a single table and two forms, of the total value of 4s. 6d. In the parlour, however, is a much greater abundance of furniture, as, in addition to the main table, there is the side table and another small table, a chair and six stools with embroidered cushions, besides footstools; while for the decoration of the room we find a portrait of Henry VIII. and hangings of green saye, and, for the amusement of

the family and guests, a pair of virginals, a base lute, and a guitar, with chess and backgammon boards for those not musically inclined. The children's chamber, or nursery as we should call it, is comfortably provided with bedding and nursery requisites, and contains a cupboard, two coffers, and a great wicker hamper, as receptacles for the clothes, &c. The allowance of blankets appears but small, being only one pair to a bed, either in the nursery or the bedroom of the master of the house. The latter room is provided with a walnut-tree bedstead, adorned with green fringe, and having a coverlet of tapestry, a walnut table, chairs and stools, curtains for the windows of green saye, a warming-pan, and, as a ready means of defence against thieves or intruders, a pole-axe. In an inner closet, leading out of this room, are four stills, for the use of the lady of the house.

Sir William More's own closet is so well appointed that it might almost serve for a model for the morning-room of a country squire of the present day. On the walls hang maps of the World, of France, of England, and of Scotland, and a picture of Judith, a little chronicle, and a perpetual almanack in frames. Among the accessories are a globe, a slate to write on, and a counterboard and cast of counters, with which to make calculations and cast accounts, in the manner then in vogue. On the desk are a pair of scales and a set of weights, a pair of scissors, a penknife, a whetstone, a pair of compasses, a foot-rule, a hammer, a seal of many seals, and an inkstand of pewter, with a pounce-box, and pens both of bone and steel. Around the room is a collection of about 120 volumes of books; among them are some of the best chronicles of the time, as Fabyan, Langton, Harding, Carion, &c.; translations from the classics, as well as some in their original language; for magisterial business there are the statutes of Henry VIII. Edward VI. and Mary, and all the statutes before, as well as the New Book of Justices, and other legal works; for medical use we find a Book of Physic, the Glass of Health, and a book against the Sweat, as well as a Book of Medicines for Horses; while for lighter reading there are such books as Chaucer, Lydgate, Skelton, and others, not only in English but also in French and Italian; and for religious study, besides a Bible and Testaments in various languages, the Scala Perfectionis, Flores Bibliæ, &c. The whole catalogue is worthy of attentive perusal by the bibliographical antiquary, and affords the titles of some English works which are not, I believe, at present known.

In the closet of the lady of the house are a few more books, principally of prayers, a large collection of trunks and boxes, a number of glass vessels of various forms and uses, and a few of enamel or china, with trenchers, knives,

shears, graters, snuffers, moulds, brushes, and other miscellaneous properties of a good housewife.

The inventory of plate belonging to Sir William More is appended, and comprises a goodly assortment. It was made out two years subsequently to the other inventory.

Of the size and relative position of the rooms in the house we know nothing, the house of which they formed a part having been pulled down at the time the present Loseley House was built, and probably some of its ornaments and fittings transferred to the new house. It is an account of the expenses of the erection of the present building by Sir William More that is entered in the same book as the inventory, and which likewise I have transcribed, and send you. The building commenced in 1561, and extended over a period of eight years, till 1569, involving an outlay of £1,660 19s. 7½*d.* The account is of interest, as giving the rate of wages of the various artificers, and the prices of various building materials, including the cost of making bricks and burning lime. It likewise furnishes some illustrations of the manners of the time in relation to the payment and treatment of the workmen. We find, for instance, masons engaged by the year, with their meat and drink, and two liveries found them: indeed, meat and drink were provided for nearly all the workmen, except some few employed at a distance from the house, who "found themselves."

I know that some excuse is necessary for not having abridged this account, but it is so difficult to foresee for what purposes it might be consulted, and many things which appear of no general interest so often possess a local interest to those who are the most likely to refer to it, that I thought it better to send it to you in extenso, and leave any abridgement that may be considered advisable to be made by abler hands.

For a description of Loseley House I must refer you to the Preface to Kempe's *Loseley Manuscripts*, 1835, 8vo. and the county historians of Surrey. Suffice it for me to say, that the portion of the house built by Sir William More remains very nearly in the same state now as when he lived there. The lofty hall, the mullioned windows, the panelled walls, and grotesquely-carved chimney-pieces, all carry us back to the early Elizabethan era.

It remains now merely to give some slight account of Sir William More, that, his position and standing being known, a value may be given to documents throwing a light on his domestic life, which they would not otherwise possess: and here I shall again be largely indebted to Mr. Kempe's Preface.

I have hitherto by a slight anachronism called him Sir William More, but he

was not knighted until 1576, when he was dubbed by the Earl of Leicester, in the Earl of Lincoln's garden at Pirford in Surrey, Queen Elizabeth being present. He was born in January, 1520, the eldest of five sons and two daughters of Sir Christopher More of Loseley, twice Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, to whose estates he succeeded in 1549. He represented the borough of Guildford several times in Parliament in the reigns of both Mary and Elizabeth; and, under the latter, was like his father twice Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, and also Vice-Admiral of the latter county, as well as Treasurer and Master of the Swans of Surrey. He married twice; and by his first wife Margaret, the daughter of Ralph Daniel, of Swaffham, Norfolk, had three children; the eldest, George, born in November 1553, and one of the occupants of the children's chamber when this inventory was made. Beside the house at Loseley, Sir William had a house at the Black Friars in London, which had formerly belonged to Sir Thomas Cawarden. His clear yearly income, or "the valewe of his living," arising from landed property, was, as appears from an entry in the book from which the extracts I now send you were made, in 1557, £146 11s. 6d. There are other entries made, showing a gradual increase in the property from time to time, until, in 1567, he held in reversion and in possession to the annual value of £401 5s. 9d., of which, however, but £312 6s. 5d. was in possession; beside which he farmed the ulnage or right of measuring and stamping cloth in Surrey, worth yearly £62. The improvement in the value of the property was partly owing to a judicious exchange of lands, but mainly to the careful attention paid by Sir William to all matters of business, as is amply evidenced by the account-book now before me.

With such an income it seems surprising how he could have borne the expense of building his house, amounting to upwards of £1,600; but it will be found that a number of items carried out as being worth so much in money did in fact cost nothing, being either presents, or stone and timber found on the estate. He must also probably have had some money left him by his father, and was evidently considered a man of good property, as a Privy Seal<sup>a</sup> of Queen Mary, levying upon him a sum of £20 by way of benevolence, is preserved at Loseley. Queen Elizabeth took her benevolences from him in kind, having on three<sup>b</sup> occasions been a guest, and apparently not always a welcome one, within his walls. Sir William More was, however, in great esteem with the Queen, and on intimate terms with many members of her Court. That he was a man of education, and attached to study, appears from the number of his books, to which he was constantly making addi-

<sup>a</sup> Kempe, p. 217.

<sup>b</sup> Kempe, p. 265.

tions, as is shown by a much enlarged list made at a subsequent period to that I now send you. This love of books was inherited by his son Sir George More, who in 1604 received the thanks of the University of Oxford for a present of books, accompanied by £40 in money to purchase more.

At the time of the present inventory being made, and the house being built, Sir William (or rather Mr.) More had not attained to the high position in his native county which he afterwards enjoyed, but must be regarded as a country gentleman of good family, and of easy yet not ample means, possessing good taste (as evinced by his house) and some literary acquirements, with good faculties for business of every kind, and a desire to advance himself in the world; and as illustrations of his character, the documents I now send you will, I think, repay perusal, while at the same time they are instructive, as conveying a good idea of the domestic economy and building expenses of the middle of the sixteenth century.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

JOHN EVANS.

J. Y. Akerman, Esq.

Sec. Soc. Ant., &c. &c. &c.

# I.

AN INVENTORIE of all suche GOODS as I WILL<sup>m</sup>. MORE, Esquiere, had the 20<sup>th</sup> day of August, A<sup>o</sup> Dñi 1556.

In the haule.		
fyrste one great table . . . . .	ij s. vjd.	Item. one ioyned cheyre . . . . . xvj d.
Item. one ioyned forme . . . . .	xx d.	Item. footstoles . . . . . viij d.
Item. one lyttle ioyned forme . . . . .	iiij d.	Item. a syde-table ioyned . . . . . iiij s. iiij d.
Sum <sup>a</sup> iiij <sup>s</sup> vj <sup>d</sup>		Item. one other lyttle ioyned table . . . . . xij d.
		Item. hangyngs of grene saye <sup>a</sup> . . . . . vj s. viij d.
In the parlere.		
fyrst a table of chesnut w <sup>t</sup> a frame ioyned to		Item. a table <sup>b</sup> of kyng henry theight . . . . . xx d.
the same . . . . .	vj s. viij d.	Item. a payre of tables <sup>c</sup> . . . . . v s.
Item. vj ioyned stoles of chesnut . . . . .	viij s.	Item. a chessebord w <sup>t</sup> a sette of chesmen . . . . . iiij s.
		Item. vj cussyhys wrowght upon flannell w <sup>t</sup> red
		cruell <sup>d</sup> . . . . . x s.

<sup>a</sup> Saye; a kind of woollen stuff or serge.

<sup>c</sup> Tables for playing at backgammon and similar games.

<sup>b</sup> Table; picture of King Henry VIII.

<sup>d</sup> Cruell; worsted.



Item. a payre of crepers<sup>a</sup> . . . . . xij d.  
 Item. a fyre forke . . . . . xx d.  
 Item. a payre of virgenals . . . . . xl s.  
 Item. a base lute . . . . . vj s. viij d.  
 Item. a gittorne<sup>b</sup> . . . . . viij s.  
 Item. an old carpet . . . . . ij s.  
 Item. a grene carpet of carrys<sup>c</sup> . . . . . iij s. iiij d.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> v li. xj s.

In the Entrey from the parler to the chambres.

ffyrste one hangyng of blewe saye . . . . . xij d.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> xij d.

In the childerns chambre.

ffyrste one bedsted ioyned . . . . . x s.  
 Item. one fetherbed w<sup>t</sup> a bolstere . . . . . xxvj s. viij d.  
 Item. one mattres of floks . . . . . ij s.  
 Item. a coulet of red clothe . . . . . xl d.  
 Item. a mantell . . . . . xx d.  
 Item. a payre of blankets . . . . . xl d.  
 Item. a cradell . . . . . xvj d.  
 Item. a pyllowe in the same . . . . . ij s.  
 Item. a ioyned Cubbard . . . . . ij s.  
 Item. one cofere w<sup>t</sup> a loke . . . . . ij s.  
 Item. one other cofer w<sup>t</sup>owt a loke . . . . . viij d.  
 Item. the hangyng of blew saye . . . . . ij s.  
 Item. a curtayne of red and yellow saye . . . . . iiij d.  
 Item. a lyttle fyre shovell . . . . . viij d.  
 Item. a great wykere hampere . . . . . xij d.  
 Item. ij. lyttle close stoles for childerne . . . . . xij d.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> lx<sup>a</sup>

In the chambre wherein I lye.

ffyrst a ioyned bedsted of walnuttre w<sup>t</sup>  
 the grene ffrenge to the same . . . . . xl s.  
 Item. ij. fetherbeds . . . . . lxxvj s. viij d.  
 Item. one bolstere . . . . . vj s. viij d.  
 Item. a canvas fyld w<sup>t</sup> strawe . . . . . ij s.  
 Item. a payre of blankets . . . . . ij s. viij d.  
 Item. a counterpoynte<sup>d</sup> of tapstree . . . . . xiiij s.  
 Item. ij. pyllows . . . . . v s.  
 Item. a square table of walnut tree . . . . . vj s.  
 Item. a polaxe . . . . . v s.  
 Item. iij. curtayns for the wyndows . . . . . iij s.  
 Item. v. curtayns of grene saye for the  
 bed . . . . . xiiij s. iiij d.  
 Item. lyttle ioyned chayre . . . . . xvj d.  
 Item. one other ioyned chayre . . . . . iij s.  
 Item. iij. ioyned stoles of chesnuttree for women . . . . . iiij s.  
 Item. a payre of andyerns . . . . . ij s.  
 Item. a fyre pan . . . . . xij d.  
 Item. a payre of tongs . . . . . vj d.  
 Item. an yron to rake the fyre . . . . . iiij d.  
 Item. a pan to coul the fyre . . . . . iij s. iiij d.  
 Item. a warmynge<sup>e</sup> . . . . . v s.  
 Item. a lyttle p<sup>se</sup>se to p<sup>se</sup>se clothes . . . . . iiij d.  
 Item. a gardevyance<sup>f</sup> . . . . . vj s. viij d.  
 Item. a lyttle close cheyre . . . . . vj d.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> ix li. xij s. iiij d.

Item. the lyttle corte w<sup>tin</sup> the same chambre.  
 iij stylls<sup>g</sup> . . . . . x s.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> x s.

<sup>a</sup> Crepers; andirons or small low irons between the andirons.

<sup>b</sup> Gittorne; a cittern or guitar.

<sup>c</sup> Carpet of carrys; possibly of kersey (Fr. carisée), or of Cairo (Fr. Cairen, a turkey carpet); carrel is given as fustian by Halliwell; and cary as a kind of coarse cloth, Piers Ploughman, p. 475.

<sup>d</sup> Counterpane.

<sup>e</sup> Warmynge. Probably a warming-pan, of which article this is I think the earliest recorded notice.

<sup>f</sup> Gardevyance. A gardeviand or gardemanger; a chest or bag in which to keep food.

<sup>g</sup> Stills.

In myne owne closette, a map of the world	xx s.	Iīm. the byble . . . . .	x s.
Iīm. a lyttle map of the world . . . .	xij d.	Iīm. St Thom <sup>a</sup> s Eliots Dictionary	iiij s. iiij d.
Iīm. a map of ffraunce . . . . .	xx d.	Iīm. a calapyne <sup>f</sup> . . . . .	v s.
Iīm. a map of England . . . . .	xx d.	Iīm. all the Statuts of Henry theight	xij s.
Iīm. a map of Scotland . . . . .	xx d.	Iīm. all the Statuts before . . . .	vj s. viij d.
Iīm. a lyttle cronicle in frame . . . .	xij d.	Iīm. all the Statuts of Kyng Edward the	vj <sup>t</sup> ij s.
Iīm. a slate to wryte in . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.	Iīm. all the Statuts of the Quene . .	ij s.
Iīm. a ppetuall Kalender in a frame . .	viiij d.	Iīm. policronicon . . . . .	v s.
Iīm. a lyttle <sup>a</sup> of Judythe . . . . .	iiij d.	Iīm. flabyans Cronicle . . . . .	v s.
Iīm. a counterbord <sup>b</sup> of chesnut tree . .	v s.	Iīm. chausore . . . . .	v s.
Iīm. a ioyned chayre of chesnut tree . .	ij s. vj d.	Iīm. a boke of orders of London <sup>e</sup> . .	xij d.
Iīm. a close cheyre of strawe . . . .	vj s. viij d.	Iīm. a boke of papere . . . . .	xij d.
Iīm. a deske of chesnut tree . . . . .	ij s. vj d.	Iīm. a boke of Tholomye . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.
Iīm. a lyttle other deske to wryte on . .	iiij d.	Iīm. the dystruecon of Troye . . . .	ij s.
Iīm. a lyttle coffyne <sup>c</sup> of boxes . . . .	ij s.	Iīm. the faule of prynces . . . . .	iiij s.
Iīm. a standyshe <sup>d</sup> of pewter . . . . .	xvj d.	Iīm. gowre de confessione amantis	iiij s. iiij d.
Iīm. a sette of weyghts . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.	Iīm. the Storye of Thucidides . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.
Iīm. a lesser sette of weyghts . . . . .	xij d.	Iīm. a boke of geometrea . . . . .	xvj d.
Iīm. a payre of ballans . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.	Iīm. a ppetuall almynake . . . . .	viiij d.
Iīm. a boxe w <sup>t</sup> a lyttle payre of ballans	vj d.	Iīm. a wrytyng boke of parchment .	ij s. vj d.
Iīm. a globe . . . . .	iiij d.	Iīm. the old Justice . . . . .	viiij d.
Iīm. ij. toche stones . . . . .	iiij d.	Iīm. a boke to lerne to wryte by . .	vj d.
Iīm. a dust boxe <sup>e</sup> of bone . . . . .	viiij d.	Iīm. a boke of songs . . . . .	iiij d.
Iīm. a payre of sesers . . . . .	ij d.	Iīm. a wrytten boke of pverbs . . . .	iiij d.
Iīm. too whetstones . . . . .	j d.	Iīm. ij. pnosticacions . . . . .	iiij d.
Iīm. a haere of bone to be made a sele	vj d.	Iīm. a papere boke bounde in past . .	vj d.
Iīm. a penne of bone to wryte w <sup>t</sup> . . . .	iiij d.	Iīm. tullyes officys translated . . . .	viiij d.
Iīm. a payre of compasses . . . . .	ij d.	Iīm. ij. bokes of machevales works, in	italion
Iīm. a Sele of many Seles . . . . .	ij d.		iiij s. iiij d.
Iīm. a hamere . . . . .	ij d.	Iīm. the curtesan, in french . . . .	xx d.
Iīm. a penknyf . . . . .	j d.	Iīm. Cato's precepts . . . . .	iiij d.
Iīm. a foote rule . . . . .	j d.	Iīm. ij. boks conteyning tully's philosophy	ij s. vj d.
Iīm. a pene of yron . . . . .	j d.		ij s. vj d.
<sup>v</sup> Iīm. munsters cosmografye . . . . .	xvj s.	Iīm. ij. lyttle boks of ffrench . . . .	viiij d.
Iīm. cronica cronicarū . . . . .	xx s.	Iīm. a newe testament in ffrench . .	xx d.

<sup>a</sup> Sic in orig. Probably a picture.<sup>b</sup> A board on which to cast accounts with jettons or counters.<sup>c</sup> Coffyne; a coffin or chest.<sup>e</sup> For pounce.<sup>f</sup> A boke of the orders of divers matters in London.<sup>d</sup> Standyshe; inkstand.<sup>f</sup> Calepino's Vocabulary of the Latin Tongue.

(Qy. Arnold's Customs of London) 2nd Catalogue.

Iīm. the Curtesan, in Italian . . . . .	xij d.	Iīm. the doctor & Student . . . . .	viiij d.
Iīm. a new testament, in Italian . . . . .	xxj d.	Iīm. a boke of brygements . . . . .	xvj d.
Iīm. petrark, in Italian . . . . .	xvj d.	Iīm. a pap boke in past . . . . .	viiij d.
Iīm. an other newe testament, in Italion ij s. vj d.		Iīm. a boke of land mesurying . . . . .	x d.
Iīm. the historye of Argentyne, in Italion . . . . .	xvj d.	Iīm. hanibal's warre . . . . .	xvj d.
Iīm. boccas, in Italian . . . . .	xvj d.	Iīm. hardyng's cronycle . . . . .	ij s. vj d.
Iīm. Ovyd's epistiles, in Italian . . . . .	vj d.	Iīm. a newe testament . . . . .	ij s.
Iīm. an Italion Diccionary . . . . .	xx d.	Iīm. Scala pfeccionis . . . . .	xij d.
Iīm. gardanus de mirabilibus . . . . .	ij s.	Iīm. the tryumph of petrark . . . . .	vj d.
Iīm. suetonius . . . . .	xij d.	Iīm. a boke of fables . . . . .	xij d.
Iīm. a newe testament, in lattyn . . . . .	xij d.	Iīm. the prayse of follye . . . . .	xij d.
Iīm. Carion <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	xij d.	Iīm. the Instruccion of a woman . . . . .	xij d.
Iīm. Tully's offices . . . . .	x d.	Iīm. the Curteors lyfe . . . . .	vj d.
Iīm. Cezars Commentarys . . . . .	xvj d.	Iīm. Utopea . . . . .	viiij d.
Iīm. horace . . . . .	xij d.	Iīm. Adagis . . . . .	xij d.
Iīm. a boke of the turk . . . . .	vj d.	Iīm. Marcus Aurelius . . . . .	xij d.
Iīm. pallengenius . . . . .	xij d.	Iīm. A papere boke . . . . .	j d.
Iīm. Juvenall . . . . .	x d.	Iīm. a lyttle cronicle . . . . .	j d.
Iīm. Vincens Lirinensis . . . . .	iiij d.	Iīm. Skelton's works . . . . .	iiij d.
Iīm. Scintille Scripture . . . . .	vj d.	Iīm. Alexander Severus . . . . .	viiij d.
Iīm. the boke of the spyder & flye . . . . .	xx d.	Iīm. a tretys of the newe India . . . . .	vj d.
Iīm. Lanctons Cronicle . . . . .	ij s.	Iīm. a boke of physyke . . . . .	iiij d.
Iīm. de ptu hominis . . . . .	vj d.	Iīm. the glasse of helthe . . . . .	ij d.
Iīm. flores bibblie . . . . .	ij s.	Iīm. a boke agaynst the Swette . . . . .	ij d.
Iīm. Apuleus de asino . . . . .	xvj d.	Iīm. a boke for the title to Scotland . . . . .	ij d.
Iīm. physiognomiæ . . . . .	iiij d.	Iīm. the Comentary of Ladys . . . . .	j d.
Iīm. Albert de secretis . . . . .	ij d.	Iīm. for the apparell of women . . . . .	j d.
Iīm. a boke cauled fflowres gathered owt of Tyrrence <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	x d.	Iīm. the defense of good women . . . . .	ij d.
Iīm. mores gentiū . . . . .	viiij d.	Iīm. a boke of women . . . . .	j d.
Iīm. perkyns . . . . .	viiij d.	Iīm. a boke of french hods . . . . .	j d.
Iīm. Lytteltone tenures . . . . .	viiij d.	Iīm. a boke of pverbs . . . . .	ij d.
Iīm. natura breviū . . . . .	viiij d.	Iīm. the boke of Codrus . . . . .	j d.
Iīm. magna Carta . . . . .	vij d.	Iīm. Lydgats proverbs . . . . .	j d.
Iīm. an other magna carta . . . . .	xij d.	Iīm. Ragman's Role . . . . .	j d.
Iīm. the new boke of Justices . . . . .	vj d.	Iīm. the bodge of the Court . . . . .	j d.
Iīm. the brygements of Statuts . . . . .	iiij d.	Iīm. the maydens dreame . . . . .	j d.
Iīm. a boke of Instruments . . . . .	viiij d.	Iīm. Alexander's barkleys Eglog . . . . .	j d.
		Iīm. a boke of medsyns for horses . . . . .	j d.

<sup>a</sup> Carion's Chronicle, printed by Walter Lynne, 1550.

<sup>b</sup> Flores Terentii ad loquendum Latine.

Item. Legenda Aurea . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.	Item. a thyke wooden chest . . . . .	ij s.
Item. xxv <sup>th</sup> H. viij. . . . .	ij d.	Item. a great ioyned chest . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.
Item. a boke of pffys of the remembrancer's office . . . . .	—	Item. a trussyng cofere . . . . .	x s.
Item. xxvij <sup>th</sup> H. viij. . . . .	ij d.	Item. a fayre deske . . . . .	xv s.
Item. xxxiiij <sup>th</sup> H. viij. . . . .	ij d.	Item. a lyttle cofer bound w <sup>t</sup> yron . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.
Item. a note of wards sold . . . . .	—	Item. iiij. little ioyned cofers of chesnut. . . . .	iiij s.
Item. a certificat of the barons deth . . . . .	—	Item. ij. hampers . . . . .	ij s.
Item. a boke of pcydents . . . . .	ij d.	Item. a great casket . . . . .	iiij s.
Item. a note for payments of fynes levyde . . . . .	—	Item. a lesser casket . . . . .	ij s. vj d.
Item. a note of the knights fees in Surrye . . . . .	—	Item. a borded capcas <sup>e</sup> . . . . .	viiij d.
Item. two pap boke concernyng Shryfs . . . . .	—	Item. iiij. workyng baskets . . . . .	ij s.
Item. an old boke of Surgery . . . . .	iiij d.	Item. a borded capcas . . . . .	xij d.
Item. a boke of statuts of H. vij. . . . .	xij d.	Item. a square boxe . . . . .	ij d.
Item. an wrytten magna carta . . . . .	ij d.	Item. xxv. glassys for waters . . . . .	v s.
Item. xxxij <sup>th</sup> Henryci viij. . . . .	iiij d.	Item. j. great bottell glasse . . . . .	vj d.
Item. a papere boke . . . . .	—	Item. a blewe potte for flowers . . . . .	j d.
Item. a petigree of the Kyng . . . . .	j d.	Item. an ewrynnall . . . . .	j d.
Item. an old cut mattens boke . . . . .	—	Item. a glasse bottell w <sup>t</sup> wycker . . . . .	ij d.
Item. a lyttle ballet boke . . . . .	—	Item. a glasse w <sup>t</sup> a co <sup>d</sup> to drynke bere in . . . . .	viiij d.
Item. a boke of leches . . . . .	j d.	Item. a lyttle pot whyte emayled . . . . .	iiij d.
Item. a papere boke in redd florrell <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	—	Item. a glasse ewere gilt . . . . .	viiij d.
Item. pt of frosard, in ffrench . . . . .	ij s.	Item. a lyttle blewe bereglasse . . . . .	ij d.
Item. an old boke of fables . . . . .	—	Item. a lyttle bereglasse of whyte and grene . . . . .	vj d.
Item. the festyvall . . . . .	iiij d.	Item. an other lyttle potte whyte eneyled . . . . .	ij d.
Item. a lre of Doctinall . . . . .	—	Item. a great Jug coverd w <sup>t</sup> tyne . . . . .	xij d.
Item. a great boke of pcydents . . . . .	—	Item. iiij. other iugs uncoveryd . . . . .	vj s. vj d.
Item. other paps pelemacons & scross <sup>b</sup> knyt to gethers . . . . .	—	Item. ij. glasses for conserves . . . . .	iiij d.
Item. a lyttle purse w <sup>t</sup> a cast of Counters in hit ij d.	ij d.	Item. ij. other lyttle glasses . . . . .	j d.
Sum <sup>a</sup> xij li. xvij s. vij d.		Item. a bere glasse . . . . .	ij d.
In my wyfs closet.		Item. a pypkyn . . . . .	ij d.
ffyrst a ioyned table of chesnut tree . . . . .	v s.	Item. iiij. lyttle barrels for sukket <sup>d</sup> . . . . .	ij d.
Item. an old carpet to the same . . . . .	xij d.	Item. iiij. dosen of round and square trenchers . . . . .	iiij s.
Item. a ioyned Cubberd . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.	Item. a lyttle boxe for spyes . . . . .	ij d.
		Item. an howreglasse . . . . .	ij d.
		Item. a grater . . . . .	xij d.
		Item. a case of knyves . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.
		Item. a mold for pastree . . . . .	ij d.

<sup>a</sup> Cover of a book.<sup>b</sup> Scrolls.<sup>c</sup> Capcase; a small trunk: "a cappecase for to carrye y<sup>e</sup> letters in. Archaeol. XXV. 559.<sup>d</sup> Sukket; sweetmeat.

Item. iij. Rubbers . . . . .	iiij d.	Item. iij. Juggs of Stone, garnished w <sup>t</sup> Sylv <sup>l</sup> & gilt.	
Item. a payre of great shers . . . . .	ij d.	Item. a salte gilt, w <sup>t</sup> a Cristall in yt, waynge 28 oz.	
Item. a boke de ptu mulieris . . . . .	ij s. vj d.	Item. one othere great gylte salte waynge 20 oz. di. & q <sup>t</sup> .	
Item. the pomeaunder of prayers . . . . .	iiij d.	Item. a lesser salte w <sup>t</sup> a Cov <sup>l</sup> , gylte, waynge 8 oz. di. di. q <sup>t</sup> .	
Item. iij. other bokes of prayes . . . . .	vj d.	Item. a lyttle salte, sutable to the same, wayng 2 oz.	
Item. a lyttle bottell for sweete water . . . . .	j d.	Item. a lyttle salt w <sup>t</sup> a Cov <sup>l</sup> , gylte, w <sup>t</sup> a lyon thereon, wayng 4 oz.	
Item. a combe brushe . . . . .	ij d.	Item. another lyttle salte w <sup>t</sup> a Cov <sup>l</sup> , gilt, wayng 2 oz.	
Item. an heron brushe . . . . .	xij d.	Item. a Castyng bottell, <sup>a</sup> gylte, waynge 4 oz. di. q <sup>t</sup> . & di. q <sup>t</sup> .	
Item. a great brushe . . . . .	iiij d.	Item. a bason & an ewer, pcell gylte, poiz. 63 oz.	
Item. a payre of Snufflers . . . . .	iiij d.	Item. vj. gret Spones waynge 8 oz.	
Item. a lyttle glasse for water . . . . .	j d.	Item. j. other great gylt Spone waynge	
Item. iij. glasses lyk chalisys . . . . .	xij d.	Item. a neste of bowles, whyght, waynge 43 oz.	
Item. ij. bole glasses . . . . .	xvj d.	Item. 4 spones, whyght, waynge 4 oz.	
Item. a glasse bottell colored . . . . .	ij s.	Item. a lyttle cuppe w <sup>t</sup> a Cov <sup>l</sup> , whyght, waynge 5 oz. di. & di. q <sup>t</sup> .	
Item. a glasse ewere . . . . .	viiij d.	Item. a great Stone Juge garnisht w <sup>t</sup> Sylv <sup>l</sup> , whight, wayng 8 oz. & di.	
Item. a great glasse ewere to keepe oyle in . . . . .	xx d.	Item. a lyttle spone, pcell gilt, wayng 2 oz.	
Item. a lyttle glasse for aqua composita . . . . .	j d.	Item. a neste of bowles w <sup>t</sup> a Cov <sup>l</sup> , duple gylt, waynge	
Item. ij. bere glasses . . . . .	iiij d.	Item. a Spiceboxe, whyght, w <sup>t</sup> a spone waynge	
Item. a bere glase w <sup>t</sup> a cov <sup>l</sup> . . . . .	xij d.	Item. a tankerd, whyght, waynge oz.	
Item. a ewere of glasse brode . . . . .	vj d.	Item. an othere Tankerd, whyght, waynge	
Item. a bottell glasse . . . . .	vj d.	Item. a lyttle bowle, whyght, waynge	
Item. a bere glasse w <sup>t</sup> ij. handles . . . . .	iiij d.	Item. a payre of potts, gylt, poiz. 82 onz. di.	
Item. ij. glasses for waters . . . . .	iiij d.	Item. ij. cups w <sup>t</sup> ij. covs gilt, poiz. 38 onz. di.	
		Item. ij. gilt spones, poiz. 4 onz.	
		Item. a gret salt w <sup>t</sup> a cov <sup>l</sup> , poiz. 10 onz.	
		Item. xij. spones, pcell gilt, poiz. onz.	

A note of my plate 12<sup>mo</sup> Decembris, A<sup>o</sup> 1558.

ffyrste a bason & an Ewere, pcell gylte, waynge 76 oz. & di.  
Item. a neste of bowles w<sup>t</sup> a cov<sup>l</sup>, pcell gilte, waynge 82 oz.  
Item. a dozen of Spones, pcell gilte, waynge oz. & q<sup>t</sup>.  
Item. iij. bere cups w<sup>t</sup> a Covere, duple gilte, waynge  
Item. a mawlden cup w<sup>t</sup> a Covere, dubble gilt, wayng 24 oz. & q<sup>t</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> A bottle for sprinkling perfumes.



## II.

## AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXPENSES OF BUILDING LOSELEY HOUSE.

Tymbre bowght and geven, 1561.

fyrste bowght of wynsor my lord mountagew's man fortye lodes . . . . .	x li. x s.
Item. bowght of Brodfold xl. lode at iij s. ij d. the lode . . . . .	vj li. vj s. viij d.
Item. of Chamelere of Ashe for xv. lode . . . . .	iiij li.
Item. of John Peyton j. lode . . . . .	vj s.
Item. of my Cosen hill iij. lode . . . . .	xv s.
Item. of Mr. Lushere geven me one lode di. . . . .	viij s.
Item. of Phillip Mellershe geven me viij. lode . . . . .	xl s.
Item. of Mr. Braye geven me xvj. lode . . . . .	iiij li.
Item. a lode of lathe . . . . .	xvj s.
Item. ij. lode of myne own tymbre . . . . .	x s.

Sm<sup>a</sup> xxix. li. xj s. viij d.

The caryge of the tymbre bowght of wynsor at xx d. the lode . . . . .	lxvj s. viij d.
The Caryage of the tymb bowght of Brodfold at ij s. iij d. the lode . . . . .	iiij li. xiiij s. iij d.
The caryage of the tymbre bowght of Chamelere at ij s. the lode . . . . .	xxx s.
Item. the caryge of the tymbre bowght of Peyton . . . . .	xvj d.
Item. the caryge of y <sup>e</sup> tymbre bowght of my Cosen hill at ij s. the lode . . . . .	vj s.
Item. the caryge of the tymbre had of Mr. Lusher . . . . .	xvj d.
Item. the caryge of the tymbre had of Phillip Mellershe at xx d. the lode . . . . .	xiiij s. iij d.
Item. the caryge of the tymbre had of Mr. Braye at ij s. the lode . . . . .	xxxij s.
Item. the caryge of a lode of lathe . . . . .	ij s. iij d.
Item. the caryge of my own tymbre ffrom vaspiche . . . . .	ij s.
Item. the other lode at home . . . . .	iiij d.

Sm<sup>a</sup> xij li. viij s. viij d.

ffor makynge of Sawpyts to breke <sup>a</sup> the sayd tymbre . . . . .	vj s. viij d.
Item. to the Sawyers for sawynge the tymbre into borde, quaters, and fframyng tymbre by the Carpynter to be wrowght . . . . .	xv li. viij s.

Sm<sup>a</sup> xv li. xiiij s. viij d.

Item. to Shamblere the Carpenter for his werke . . . . .	iiij li. xix s. x d.
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Sm<sup>a</sup> of all my tymbre, sawynge, and workynge of the same from  
mydsom<sup>1</sup> 1561 tyll xptmas followynge lxij li. xiiij s. x d.

Item. payd to Shamlere y <sup>e</sup> Carpenter, left owt of this booke . . . . .	xlviij s. x d.
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<sup>a</sup> Breke. To cut up: conf. to "break up" a deer.

The chargis of makynge of a Clampe of brycke.

ffyrste payd to the bryckmaker for makynge syxe score thowsand at xvij d. the thowsand w <sup>t</sup> odde thowsands . . . . .	ix li. ix s. ix d.
I <sup>tem</sup> . the makynge and showyng <sup>a</sup> w <sup>t</sup> yron of the mold . . . . .	ij s. vj d.
I <sup>tem</sup> . a hundred lode of wood to burne the same . . . . .	x li.
I <sup>tem</sup> . afterwards xl. lodes more to burne the brycke ageyne bycause hit was not well burnt before . . . . .	iiij li.
I <sup>tem</sup> . the Caryage of sande to the place for makynge thereof . . . . .	xx s.
I <sup>tem</sup> . strawe for the same . . . . .	xl s.
I <sup>tem</sup> . meate & drynke for the brycke makers durynge all the tyme of theyre worke . . . . .	vij li.
Sm <sup>a</sup> xxxiiij li. xij s. iij d.	

The makynge of lyme and lyme bowght.

ffyrste dyggyng of xxx. lode of Chalke . . . . .	v s.
I <sup>tem</sup> . the caryage of the same . . . . .	x s.
I <sup>tem</sup> . the burnyng of the same w <sup>t</sup> my brycke . . . . .	xxx s.
I <sup>tem</sup> . for makynge and burnyng of a kill of lyme and lyme bowght of sondrye psons . . . . .	vij li.
Sm <sup>a</sup> ix li. v s.	

The dyggyng of Roughe Stone & stone in the quarye at Guldford.

Payd to Dorye, Whyght, Nymes & Brykleton for dyggyng stone syna mychelmas 1560, untill x <sup>p</sup> tmas 1561 . . . . .	xxiiij li. xij s. xj d. & ob.
I <sup>tem</sup> . carynge of xvj. lode of hewyd stone ffrom Guldford to my howse . . . . .	xxj s. iij d.
I <sup>tem</sup> . the carynge of iij <sup>c</sup> lode of rowghe stone from the quarrye to my howse . . . . .	x li.
I <sup>tem</sup> . xx. lode of rowghe stone at my howse of old dyggyng . . . . .	xxvj s. viij d.
Sm <sup>a</sup> xxxvj li. xj d. ob.	

The hewynge of stone for wyndowes, watertables, & coynyng<sup>b</sup> stones.

Payd to Mabbanke for hymself & his man for hewynge of stone . . . . .	xiiij li. xj s. iij d.
Sm <sup>a</sup> xiiij li. xj s. iij d.	

Workes done by the masons and laborers.

Payd to the masons for theyre worke . . . . .	ix li. xj s. j d.
I <sup>tem</sup> . to the mortermakers & laborers in caryng of stone & mortar . . . . .	iiij li.
Sm <sup>a</sup> xiiij li. xj s. j d.	

The Tyle & Tylynge, Tyle pyns, & lathe nayle.

ffyrste tyle pyns iij. peks . . . . .	ix d.
lathe nayle . . . . .	v s. ix d.

<sup>a</sup> Shoeing.

<sup>b</sup> Corner-stones, or quoins.

tyle vj. M. at ix s. the thowsand . . . . .	liij s.
Item. the caryage at xvj d. the lode . . . . .	vij s.
Item. the tyler and his man to serve hym . . . . .	xvij s.
Item. a boye to pynne tyles & and to helpe w <sup>t</sup> mortar . . . . .	ij s.

Sm<sup>a</sup> iij li. vij s. vj d.

Item. nayles & yron worke for the dores & wyndowes . . . . .	xx s.
Item. ij. lode of bryke to make a chymney, w <sup>t</sup> the old bryke . . . . .	x s. vij d.

Sm<sup>a</sup> xxx s. vij d.

My whole charge growynge ffrom mychelmas 1560 untill xptmas 1561, as well for such buildynge as I made, viz. a bruchowse & y<sup>e</sup> stone wall goynge from the same to my mylkehowse, and the stone wale goyng ffrom my stable to the garden, as also my pviçons then had for my buldyng to cum, is . . . . . clxxix li. v s. iij d. ob.

M<sup>d</sup> a wyndowe of stone browght from Blechynglye<sup>a</sup> worthe w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> caryage . . . . . xl s.

My chargis ffrom xptmas 1561 untill the 22 daye of ffeberary 1561.

ffyrste to the sawyers after xx d. the hundred, and a pottell of bere evye daye . . . . .	xxv s. iij d.
Item. to the Sawyers by the daye, after xj d. the daye to theym both w <sup>t</sup> meate & drynke . . . . .	xv s. xj d.

Sm<sup>a</sup> xlj s. iij d.

Item. to Shameler the carpyntere and his too men for xxij. dayes, hymself after vij d. y <sup>e</sup> daye, and vj d. eythere of his men . . . . .	xxxvj s. vij d.
Item. to Dorye Whyght & Nymes after vij d. the daye, and fynde theymselves, for dyggynge of rowghe stone . . . . .	lxij s. vij d.
Item. to Mabbanke the mason and to his man, hymself after x d. the daye, and his man vj d. besyds meate and drinke, for hewynge of stone . . . . .	xxvj s.
Item. to a mason that hewyd stone w <sup>t</sup> hym after iij s. iij d. the weeke, broke & hole, besyds meate & drynke . . . . .	xij s. iij d.
Item. for borynge of theym durynge that tyme of theyre worke at ffarnh <sup>a</sup> m . . . . .	xxvij s. v d.
Item. to the mason y <sup>t</sup> cam from Oxford, for his costes in comyng from thens . . . . .	ij s. iij d.
Item. to Mabbanke's man for his costes in fettynge hym from thens . . . . .	ij s.
Item. for mendynge of theyre tooles when they wrowght at Wavleye . . . . .	ij s. j d.
Item. for ij. shovels occupyed there . . . . .	xiiij d.
Item. to certayne laborers there for dyggynge of stone after dy <sup>v</sup> s rates, theyre wagis . . . . .	xxx s.
Item. for caryinge of xxvij. lode ffrom Wavley aforesayd, after ij s. the lode, whereof xvij. lode of caryage geven me . . . . .	lvj s.
Item. for borynge of Shameler and his ij. men xxij. dayes aforesayd . . . . .	xxvij s. vj d.
Item. for borynge the sawyers durynge the tyme of theyre worke . . . . .	xij s.
Item. to Mabbanke the tylare for ij. dayes xij d., and his labour ij. dayes vij d. . . . .	xx d.
Item. theyre meate and drynke . . . . .	xvj d.
Item. for a grynstone . . . . .	vj s.

<sup>a</sup> Probably from Sir T. Cawarden's house.

Item. xl. fathome of base rope . . . . .	ij s. iiij d.
Item. nayles to make scaffolds . . . . .	x s.
Item. a lode of ashe pole fette ffrom Wanburrowe Wood, w <sup>t</sup> the caryage . . . . .	v s.
Item. for fellynge of x. trees in Wanburrowe woode . . . . .	iiij s.
Item. the caryers meate & drynke for carynge the sayd stone frō Wavley . . . . .	ix s. iiij d.
Item. iiij <sup>or</sup> lode of mortar caryed from Alburye, at vj d. the lode, besyds the caryage beyng worthe ij s. ye lode geven . . . . .	x s.
Item. the stone fette from Wavley, besyds the caryge & dyggyng, xx d. the lode . . . . .	xlvj s. viij d.
Sm <sup>a</sup> totalis from Chrystmas 1561 tyll the 22 of february 1561, xxj li. xix s. ix d.	
Sm <sup>a</sup> of the hole from Mych <sup>a</sup> 1560 tyll 22 of february 1561, ccij li. v s. ob.	

The chargys of makynge of my lyme keele, besydes bryke.

ffyrste, to Dyrreke y <sup>e</sup> brykleyer and his man for x. dayes . . . . .	x s.
Item. theyre bordynge . . . . .	viiij s. iiij d.
Item. to Norryce and his boye for iij. dayes . . . . .	ij s.
Item. theyre bordynge . . . . .	ij s.
Item. Mabbanke the mason's man for v. dayes . . . . .	ij s. j d.
Item. his borde . . . . .	ij s.
Item. to Thomas Mabbanke the brykleyere for ij. dayes . . . . .	xij d.
Item. his borde . . . . .	viiij d.
Item. to Mychaell the lyme burno <sup>r</sup> to helpe make the kyll for xxij. dayes . . . . .	xj s.
Item. his borde all that tyme . . . . .	ix s.
Item. to ij. laborers to carrye stuf to the masons xj. dayes . . . . .	vij s. iiij d.
Item. theyre borde . . . . .	vij s. iiij d.
Item. the caryage of the bryke, to the quantytye of x M., and of whyght stone, to fill the walls w <sup>t</sup> all . . . . .	x s.
Sm <sup>a</sup> lxij s. v d.	

My chargis ffrom the 22 daye of februarye untill y<sup>e</sup> 28 of marche 1562.

ffyrste to Dorry, Nymes, and Whyght for dyggyng of rowghe stone and chalke to make lyme, 62 dayes amongst theym . . . . .	xliij s.
Item. to Mychaell the lyme burnere, for burnynge ij. kills of lyme conteyng 60 quarters, and an 2000 of bryke, after vj d. the day & vij. the nyght y <sup>t</sup> he watched . . . . .	xv s. iiij d.
Item. to a laborer y <sup>t</sup> helpe him to burn after vj d. y <sup>e</sup> daye & nyght . . . . .	v s. vj d.
Item. bothe theyre bordynge duryng the tyme of theyre worke, the one xvij. dayes, the other x. dayes . . . . .	ix s.
Item. to those psons that helpte to brynge chalke to the bryke kyll, and to carye the same away after burnynge, where yt shold be made . . . . .	vj s. viij d.
Item. xxviij. lode of wood, to burne both kils, as xvj. lode to the fyrst, & xij. for the secund, worthe w <sup>t</sup> the caryge & makynge ij s. viij d. the lode . . . . .	iiij li. xiiij s. viii d.
Item. the caryage of chalke from the place of dyggyng to the kill, for bothe kills, after iiij d. the lode . . . . .	xij s.

Item. meate & drynke to the caryers of the chalke . . . . .	iiij s.
Sum of the chargis of makynge lx. q <sup>rs</sup> of lyme & ij M. of bryke, vj li. xix s. j d.	
Item. for carynge of xxx. lode of sande to make mortere . . . . .	vj s.
Item. to the sawyers, after xx d. the hundred and a pottell of bere e <sup>v</sup> ye daye of theyre workynge, for (2000) sawynge . . . . .	xxxv s.
Item. for ij. whelebarrows . . . . .	iiij s.
Item. for makynge of iiij. dosen of wattels to make scaffolds . . . . .	vij s.
Item. to Shamelere the carpyntere, & his too men; hymself viij d. the daye, and e <sup>v</sup> ye of his men vj d. the daye, for lxxix. dayes amongst theym all . . . . .	xliij s. viij d.
Item. to George Udes, carpyntere, after vj d. the daye for xvj. dayes . . . . .	vij s.
Item. to Beldam, carpynter, after v d. the daye for xxij. dayes . . . . .	ix s. vij d.
Item. theyre bordynge duryng the sayd days, after iiij d. the daye apece . . . . .	xxxix s. iiij d.
Item. to Mabbanke the mason, after x d. the daye for hymself, and v d. the daye for his man, for lv. dayes, by theym bothe wrought . . . . .	xlj s. ix d.
Item. to a Stonehewre, after ij s. iiij d. the weeke, broke and hole, for v. weeks . . . . .	xvj s. viij d.
Item. to Dyrreke, mason, after viij d. the daye for xxij. dayes . . . . .	xiiij s. viij d.
Item. to Norrys, mason, and his boye, after viij d. the daye both, for xlij. dayes . . . . .	xiiij s.
Item. to Cheteyr, mason, after vj d. the daye for iiij. dayes . . . . .	ij s.
Item. the bordynge of all the sayde masons duryng all the sayd days at iiij d. the daye apece lijs. viij d.	
Item. to Mabbanke the mortar maker, after vj d. the daye, for xxj. dayes . . . . .	x s. vj d.
Item. to certayne laborers that dyggyd the foundacon, made mortar, caryed stone, and servyd masons, to the nūbre of v. after iiij d. the daye, for cv. dayes . . . . .	xxxv s.
Item. the bordynge of the mortermakers and laborers all the said dayes, after iiij d. the day . . . . .	xlij s.
Item. the caryge of ij. lodes of stone frome Wavley, after ij s. the lode; w <sup>t</sup> the stone, after xx d. the lode . . . . .	vij s. viij d.
Sm <sup>a</sup> of my charge ffrom the 22 daye of february 1561 untill the 28 of march 1562 . . . . .	
xxxj li. iiij s. ij d.	
Sm <sup>a</sup> of my hole charge from Mychilmas 1560 untill the sayd 28 of Marche 1562 . . . . .	
ccxxxiiij. ix s. ij d. ob.	

## My chargis ffrom Easter 1562 untill Whytsontyde folowyng:—

ffyrste to Dorye, Whyght, and Nymes, for dyggyng Rowghe stone and chalke, ffrō Ester to Whytsontyde, after ix d. the daye . . . . .	lx s. iiij d.
Item. to Shamelere my Carpynter, after x d. the daye duryng the sayd tyme, besyds his meate & drynke . . . . .	xiiij s. ij d.
Item. to hym, for hewynge xxj. lode of tymber in the same tyme . . . . .	xxx s.
Item. to v. carpynters workynge w <sup>t</sup> Shamler at se <sup>v</sup> all pces duryng the tyme aforesayd of his daye worke, besyds meate & drynke . . . . .	xlvj s.
Item. meate & drynke for all the sayd Carpynters, after v d. the daye apece, for cxviij. dayes, amongst theym all . . . . .	xlx s. ij d.
Item. to the sawyers, sawynge after xx d. the hundred, and a pottell of bere & brede e <sup>v</sup> ye daye of theyre worke . . . . .	xx s.



Item. to ij. other sawyers, after xij d. the daye for vj. dayes, besyds meat & drynke	vj s.
Item. there meate and drynke for vj. dayes	v s.
Item. to Mabbanke my mason, after x d. the daye, ffrom Estre to whytsontyde for xxxj. dayes	xxv s. vj d.
Item. to his man for xxxvij. dayes after v d. the daye	xv s. v d.
Item. to Jeram the stonehewere for iiij. weekes and ij. dayes, after iij s. iiij d. the weeke xiijs. viij d.	
Item. to his man for xxvj. dayes, after iiij d. the daye, for xij. dayes, and iij d. a daye for the reste	vij s. viij d.
Item. to Dyrreke, after viij d. the daye, for xxviij. dayes	xviij s. viij d.
Item. to Thomas Mabbank, after vj d. the daye, for xxxiiij. dayes	xviij s.
Item. to Chetey, after vj d. the daye for xij. dayes	vij s.
Item. to Bradbryke, Trygge, Smythers, Jelye, Kryspen, and Netter, after iiij d. y <sup>e</sup> day sum of theym, and sum of theym iij d. w <sup>t</sup> a boye after j d. the daye, for Ciiij <sup>xx</sup> xv. dayes di. lvj s. x d.	
Item. to Mychaell the lyme burnor, for xiiij. dayes, after vj d. the daye, and steyne nyghts aftere vij d. the nyght, and his man for xv. dayes, and certeyn nyghts after iiij d. the daye and ij d. the nyght	xix s. iiij d.
Item. the meate and drynke for the sayd masons and laborers, after v d. the daye for iiij <sup>e</sup> and xl. dayes amongst theym	ix li. iij s. iiij d.
Item. for caryage of v. lode of stone ffrom Wavlye, whereof iiij <sup>or</sup> lode caryage geven, after ij s. y <sup>e</sup> lode	x s.
Item. to othere caryers for carynge of rowghe stone and sande and chalke v. dayes, whereof one geven	vij s. iiij d.
Item. theyre meate and drynke durynge the tyme of theyre caryage	v s. viij d.
Item. a teme to carye contynuallye chalke and wood for the lyme kele, rowghe stone, and sand, for xxxvij. dayes, w <sup>t</sup> theyre meate and drynke, after ij s. viij d. the daye	iiij li. xviij s. viij d.
Item. the v. lode of stone fette from Wavlye, besyds y <sup>e</sup> dyggynge and caryage	vij s. iiij d.
Sm <sup>a</sup> of the hole xxxvj li. xxiiij d.	
Sm <sup>a</sup> of all my chargis from Mychelmas 1560 untill whytsontyde 1562	cclxx li. xj s. jd. ob.

My chargis ffrom whytsontyd 1562 untill the xvj. daye of August followynge.

ffyrste, to Shamelere the carpynter for his worke for lv. dayes	xxxvj s. viij d.
Item. his sonne for lxj. dayes	xxx s. vj d.
Item. to George Yods for xliij. dayes	xxj s.
Item. to old Beldam for xliij. dayes	xviij s. vj d.
Item. to yonge Beldam for xlv. dayes	xxij s. vj d.
Item. to Shamelers man for xij. dayes	vj s.
Sm <sup>a</sup> vj li. xiiij s. vij d.	
Item. theyre bord after v d. the daye for cclviij. dayes	v li. vij s. vj d.
Item. to the Sawyers for xliij. dayes	xliij s.
Item. theyre meate and drynke durynge that tyme	xxxvj s. viij d.

Item. for the caryage of xv. lode of tymbre from frythynghurst at iij s. the lode, the caryage geven	xlvi s.
Item. for meate and drynke for the carryers	v s.
Item. to Matchwyke for ij. lode of harte lathe, <sup>a</sup> browght to my howse, for the w <sup>ch</sup> was payd xx s., the rest geven	xxxiiij s.
Item. to the sawyers for sawynge in Wanburrowe wood, fyndynge theym selfs	xij s.
Item. for the carynge of v. lodes of stone from Wavly, at ijs. viij d. the lode, all w <sup>ch</sup> was geven me	xij s. iij d.
Item. for v. lodes of poles pyld w <sup>t</sup> the caryage, the poles and caryage geven me, and nothyng payd for the same, but onely for the fellyng and pyllynge, and monye geven in reward, iij s. iij d. worth the lode w <sup>t</sup> the caryage v s.	xxv s.
Item. for Tymbre trees bowght of wynsore, out of Wanburrowe wood, to the nūbre of tenne, at viij s. the ocke	iiij li.
Item. xiiij. lodes of woode at xiiij d. the lode	xv s. ij d.
Item. for a pece of oke to make pyns	ij s.
Item. to Mabbanke the mason, and his man, for lj. dayes worke, the one x d., the other v d. a daye	iiij li. iij s. ix d.
Item. to Richard Dyrryke, and his brother Androo, for xxxij. dayes the pece, after viij d. the daye	xlij s. viij d.
Item. to Dyrryke's man for xij. dayes, after v d. the daye	v s.
Item. to Redknappe for l. dayes, after viij d. the daye	xxxiiij s. iij d.
Item. to his boye for xlvij. dayes, after iij d. the daye	xj s. ix d.
Item. to Cheteyr for xxiiij. dayes, after vj d. the daye	xij s.
Item. to Mabbanke the brykleyere, for xxxix. dayes, after vj d. the daye	xix s. vj d.
Item. to Hooke, for v. dayes, after vj d. the daye	ij s. vj d.
Item. to Wyfold, iij. dayes, after ix d. the daye	ij s. iij d.
Item. to Crawks, for j. daye, after vij d. the daye	vij d.
Item. to iiij <sup>or</sup> laborers to serve y <sup>e</sup> sayd masons and to make mortar, after iij d. a daye the pece, for lxj. dayes, amongst theym	iiij li. xvj d.
Item. to a boye to carye mortar, after j d. the daye, for xvj. dayes	xvj d.
Item. to one other laborer, after xvij d. the weeke, for v. weeks	vij s. iij d.
Item. to too masons more, for viij. dayes, after vj d. the daye the pece	vij s.
Item. for the meat & drynke of all the sayd masons & laborers duryng all the sayd tyme of theyre worke, beyng vclviij. dayes, amongst theym, after v d. the daye	xj li. xij s. vj d.
Item. to iiij <sup>or</sup> dyggers of rowghe stone, after ix d. the daye, fyndyng theymselves, for xvij. dayes di. amongst theym	lv s. ij d.
Item. for dyggyng of Chalke for the kyll	vij s. vij d.
Item. for makynge iiij <sup>or</sup> pytts in Wanburrowe woode to sawe in	iiij s.
Item. for taylynge <sup>b</sup> of xiiij. lode of woode & di. for the kyll	iiij s. x d.
Sm <sup>a</sup> totalis, lvij li. viij s. viij d.	

<sup>a</sup> Harte lathe; laths made from the heart of the tree.<sup>b</sup> Taylynge; cutting to pieces (Fr. *tailler*).

Item. to Mychaell the lyme burn<sup>9</sup>, for hymself, after vij d. the daye and vij d. the nyght; his man  
 iiij d. the daye and ij d. the nyght, for lvj dayes and xij. nyghts, betwen theym xxxiiij s. viij d.  
 Item. theyre meate and drynke durynge that tyme, after v d. the daye . . . xxiiij s. iiij d.

My charges from the xvijth daye of August untill the xxiiij<sup>th</sup> of Decembre 1562.

ffyrste to Shameler the carpenter, for iiij<sup>xx</sup> xv. dayes, after viij d. the daye . . . iij li. iij s. iiij d.  
 Item. to his sonne for iiij<sup>xx</sup> xvij. dayes, after vj d. the daye . . . . . xlvij s. vj d.  
 Item. to Shameler's boye, for xij. dayes, after iij d. the daye . . . . . iij s.  
 Item. to old Beldam, for iiij<sup>xx</sup> iij dayes, after v d. the daye . . . . . xxxiiij s. vij d.  
 Item. to yonge Beldam, for iiij<sup>xx</sup> iiij<sup>or</sup> dayes, after vj d. the daye . . . . . xliij s.  
 Item. to George Yodes, for xxxviij. dayes, after vj d. the daye . . . . . xix s.  
 Item. to an other carpynter for xiiij. dayes, after vj d. the daye . . . . . vij s.  
 Item. theyre meate for iiij<sup>e</sup> xxiiij. dayes, after v d. the day amongst theym apeece . . . . . viij li. xvj s. iiij d.

Sm<sup>a</sup> xix li. xiiij s. viij d.

Item. to too sawyers for xv. dayes the pece, after xj d. the day between theym . . . . . xiiij s. ix d.  
 Item. theyre meate and drynke for xxx. dayes betwene theym, after v d. the daye . . . . . xij s. vj d.

Sm<sup>a</sup> xxvj. iij d.

Item. to Mabbanke the ffreemason, for iiij<sup>xx</sup> xij. dayes, after xij d. the daye . . . . . iij li. xvj s. viij d.  
 Item. to hym, for xvj. dayes more, after the rate aforesayd . . . . . xiiij s. iiij d.  
 Item. to hym, for his man, after v d. the daye, for iiij<sup>xx</sup> xvij. dayes . . . . . xl s. x d.  
 Item. to hym, for vj. dayes, after the sayd rate . . . . . iij s. vj d.  
 Item. to Wyfolde, a ffreemason, after ix d. the daye, for lx. dayes . . . . . xlv s.  
 Item. to Andro Dyrcke, brykleyer, after viij d. the daye, for xliij. dayes . . . . . xxviij s.  
 Item. to Rychard Dyrcke, brykleyer, after viij d. the daye, for xvj. dayes . . . . . x s. viij d.  
 Item. to Mabbanke the brykleyer, after vj d. the daye, for lxxv. dayes . . . . . xxxviij s. vj d.  
 Item. Robt. Crawks, brykleyer and tyler, after vij d. the daye, for xxx. dayes . . . . . xvij s. vj d.  
 Item. to Chetey, brykleyer, after vj d. the daye, for vj. dayes . . . . . iij s.  
 Item. to Hoke, brykleyre, after vj d. the daye, for vj. dayes . . . . . iij s.  
 Item. to Boylet, tylere, after vj d. the daye, for xxxiiij. dayes, in tylynge and stone leyng . . . . . xvij s.  
 Item. to Cowpere, after vj. the daye, for x. dayes . . . . . v s.  
 Item. to one other stone leyere for x. dayes, after v d. the day . . . . . iiij s. ij d.  
 Item. the meate and drynke for all the sayd Masons for v<sup>e</sup> and j. daye amongst theym, after v d.  
 the daye . . . . . x li. viij s. ix d.

Sm<sup>a</sup> xxv li. xij s. xj d.

Item. to viij. laborers, after iiij d. the daye apeece, for iiij<sup>e</sup> xliij. dayes . . . . . vij li. vij s. iiij d.  
 Item. to a boye, after xvj d. the weeke for xxviij. dayes . . . . . vj s. ij d.  
 Item. to one other laborer, after iij d. the daye for xiiij. dayes . . . . . iij s. vj d.  
 Item. the meate and drynke for all the sayd laborers for iiij<sup>e</sup> iiij<sup>x</sup> iiij<sup>or</sup> dayes amongst theym, after  
 v d. the daye apeece . . . . . x li. xx d.

Sm<sup>a</sup> xvij li. xvij s. viij d.

Item. to Dorye the stone dyggere, after x d. the daye, for xxxiiij. dayes dyggynge of stone  
 and chalke . . . . . xxviij s. vj d.

Item. to Crockford, Gellye, and Cotes, after ix d. the daye apece, for dyggynge stone and  
chalke, iiij<sup>xx</sup> and v. dayes . . . . . lxij s. ix d.  
Item. to Dorye, for ix. dayes dyggynge, after x d. the daye . . . . . vij d. vj d.

Sm<sup>a</sup> iiij li. xvij s. ix d.

Item. to Mychaell the tyle maker and lyme burner, for xxxvj. dayes, after vij d. the daye . . . . . xxj s.  
Item. to hym and his boye, for viij. nyghts burnynge ij kylls of tyle, after vij d. hymselfe and ij d.  
his boye . . . . . vj s.  
Item. to hym and his boye, after vij d. the daye hymself, and iiij d. the daye hys boye, for  
x. dayes . . . . . ix s. ij d.  
Item. to Mychaell, upon the lyke rate, for burnynge of lyme xj. dayes . . . . . x s. j d.  
Item. to hym, for v. nyghts . . . . . ij s. xj d.  
Item. to his boye, for xj. dayes . . . . . iiij s. viij d.  
Item. his boye, for v. nyghts . . . . . x d.  
Item. his boye, for xvij. days turnynge of tyle, &c. . . . . v s. viij d.  
Item. to his boye, for xv. dayes . . . . . v s.  
Item. for bothe theyre meate and drynke, duryng l. dayes between theym, after x d. the daye for  
theym bothe . . . . . xlj s. viij d.

Sm<sup>a</sup> v li. vj s.

Sm<sup>a</sup> totalis from the xvij<sup>th</sup> daye of August 1562 till Chrystmas followynge

lxxvij li. xij s. iij d.

Sm<sup>a</sup> of all my charges frō Mychelmas 1560 untill Chrystmas 1562 . . . . . ccccv li. xij s. ob.

Whereof in tymbere . . . . .

Item. in caryage of the same . . . . .  
Item. Sawynge of the same . . . . . xxvij li. x d.  
Item. the Carpynters worke . . . . . liij li. xij s. vj d.  
Item. in Masonrye worke and stone leyng . . . . . iiij<sup>xxv</sup> li. xj s. x d.  
Item. the Laborers to theym . . . . . xlvj li. vij d.  
Item. in bryke . . . . . xxxlv li. xv s. v d.  
Item. in Rowghe stone . . . . .  
Item. in hewen stone . . . . .  
Item. in caryage . . . . .  
Item. in lyme . . . . .

Item. my charges from Mydsom<sup>n</sup> 1563 untill Mydsom<sup>n</sup> 1566.

ffyrst, In lyme, viij. kylls, after xv s. a kill the burnynge . . . . . vj li.  
Item. wood, after xvj. lodes to evye kyll, after ij s. vj d. the lode . . . . . xvj li.  
Item. the dyggynge and caryage of Chalke to the same; vz. xv. lode to evye kyll, after viij d.  
the lode . . . . . iiij li.

Sm<sup>a</sup> xxvj li.

Item. for the dyggynge of v<sup>c</sup> lxij. lodes, after viij d. the lode of Rowghe Stone . . . . . xvij li. xiiij s. viij d.  
Item. the caryage of the same, after vj d. the lode . . . . . xiiij li. xij d.

Sm<sup>a</sup> xxxij li. xv s. viij d.

Iīm. for caryage of xij. lodes of Stone from halfpenye lane, to make steps and coynes . . . . .	xx s.
Iīm. for caryage of stone from Hascombe, to make pyllors and coynes, beyng xv. lode, after ij s. vj d. the lode . . . . .	xxxviij s. vj d.
Iīm. for dyggynge of the same stone at Hascombe . . . . .	xviij s.
Sm <sup>a</sup> iij li. xv s. vj d.	
Iīm. for the dyggynge and caryage of ccc. lodes of sande to make the mortre, after iij d. the lode . . . . .	v li.
To the masons, after vj d. the daye and iij d. alowed for theyre meat and drynke, evye one by the daye . . . . .	xx li. xvj s.
To the laborers for 3ving of the masons after iij d. the daye for theyr wages, and iij d. the daye for theyre meat and drinke . . . . .	xij li. xiiij s. viij d.
To Gyllane, a free mason, for his yers wages . . . . .	iiij li.
ffor his meate and drynke, after iij d. the daye . . . . .	vj li.
for his too lyvves . . . . .	xx s.
for certeyne tooles bowght for h̄y . . . . .	v s. x d.
To Perowe for his wagis, too yers, after iij li. x s. the yere . . . . .	ix li.
ffor his Lyvves . . . . .	xl s.
ffor his meate and drynke . . . . .	xij li.
To Brykleton, one other mason, but entred to lere <sup>a</sup> for his wagis, for one yere . . . . .	xxxiiij s. iij d.
for his Lyvve . . . . .	xiiij s. iij d.
for his meat and drynke . . . . .	vj li.
To one frencheman that hewed stone xxviij. dayes, his wagis . . . . .	xiiij s.
his meat and drynke . . . . .	ix s. iij d.
Iīm. the caryage of x. lode of Stone from Gatton . . . . .	iiij li. vjs. viij d.
Iīm. the p̄ce of the same stone at the quarrye, after ij s. the lode the dyggynge and scaplynge <sup>b</sup> x s.	
Iīm. the hyryng of the quarrye at Guldford, ij. yers . . . . .	liij s. iij d.
To the Smythe for battrynge of the masons tooles, makynge of the sellers wyndowes, loks and henges for dores, makynge of all the masons tooles that 3vyd me by the yere, w <sup>t</sup> the yron by hym found . . . . .	xviij li.
To the carpenters for stantasyng <sup>c</sup> the walls of the newe buttrye and the lyttle chamb <sup>9</sup> by hyt, the framynge of postes to bere the hole frame in the lardere, and the makynge of the centers to bere the vawls, w <sup>t</sup> theyre meate and drynke, after iij d. a man by the daye vij li. iij s. iij d.	
To the sawyers for sawynge of the centers, sawynge of borde, and other tymb <sup>9</sup> , after vj d. a pece by the daye, and iij d. a pece for theyre meat and drynke . . . . .	v li. ij s. iij d.
To the glasyere, after vjd. the daye, and iij d. for his meat evye daye . . . . .	xvj s.
To the tyle burn <sup>9</sup> , as the glasyer, w <sup>t</sup> vij d. the nyght when he watchyth . . . . .	xl s. viij d.
Iīm. too lodes of hart lathe . . . . .	xxxiiij s.
Iīm. Lathe nayle . . . . .	xx s.

<sup>a</sup> To learn ; a sort of apprentice ?

<sup>b</sup> Scaplynge; to scapple to rough-hew stones.

<sup>c</sup> Stantasyng; shoring, propping ? (Fr. *etançonner*).



Item. other payle for dyvise purpose . . . . .	xxv s.
Item. the tymb <sup>r</sup> to make the centers and postes, &c. . . . .	l s.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> cxxv li. xiiij s. x d.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> totalis from Mydsom <sup>i</sup> 1563 untill
	Mydsom <sup>i</sup> 1566 . ciiij <sup>xx</sup> viij li. v s.

Item. my charges from Mydsom<sup>i</sup> 1566 untill Mychylmas 1567.

To the lyme burn <sup>r</sup> for the burnyge of xij. kylls after xv s. the kyll . . . . .	ix li.
Item. woode after xvj. lodes to evye kyll, after ij s. vj d. y <sup>e</sup> lode . . . . .	xxiiij li.
Item. for caryage and dyggynge of Chalke to the same, vz. xv. lode to evy kyll, after viij d. the lode . . . . .	vj li.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> xxxix li.
Item. for the caryage and dyggynge of iiij <sup>e</sup> xl. lodes of sande to make morter, after iiij d. the lode . . . . .	vij li. vj s. viij d.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> vij li. vj s. viij d.
Item. for dyggynge of whyght stone, after vj d. the lode, and after viij d. the daye, fyndynge theym-selves . . . . .	viij li. vj s. iiij d.
Item. the caryage of the sayd stone from the quarry of Guldeford, after x d. the lode, ccc. lode . . . . .	xij li. x s.
Item. the rent of the quarry for too yers, after xx s. by the yere . . . . .	xl s.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> xxij li. xvj s. viij d.
Item. for dyggynge of Rowghe stone, after vj d. the lode, and after viij d. the daye, fyndynge theym-selves . . . . .	xxiiij li. xiiij d.
Item. for the caryage of the sayd stone, after vj d. the lode, ix <sup>e</sup> xxiiij. lode . . . . .	xxiiij li. xiiij d.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> xlvj li. ij s. iiij d.
Item. for vj. lodes of stone fette from Gatton, after vj s. for evye lode . . . . .	xxxvj s.
Item. for the caryage of the same, after vj s. iiij d. for evye lode . . . . .	xxxviij s.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> iij li. xiiij s.
Item. for xxiiij. lodes of whyghte stone fette from Wavleye, after iiij s. the lode there . . . . .	iiij li. xvj s.
Item. the Caryage of the same, after ij s. viij d. for evye lode . . . . .	iiij li. vj s.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> viij li. ij s.
Item. xiiij. lodes of Asheler fette from the fryers in Guldeford, after v s. the lode . . . . .	iiij li. x s.
Item. the caryage of evye lode after viij d. the lode . . . . .	ix s. iiij d.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> iij li. xix s. iiij d.
Item. too lodes of Mesthame stone fette from Merrow, w <sup>t</sup> the Caryage . . . . .	xiiij s. iiij d.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> xiiij s. iiij d.
Item. iiij <sup>or</sup> lodes of hethe stone from Godalmynge, hewen, w <sup>t</sup> the caryage . . . . .	x s.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> x s.
Item for dyggynge of stone at halfpennye lane . . . . .	xxxij s. xd.
Item. the caryage of xxx. lode from thenis . . . . .	xxx s.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> iij li. ij s. x d.

I <sup>tm</sup> . for dyggyng stone at Hameldon . . . . .	xiiij s. iiij d.
I <sup>tm</sup> . the caryage of the same . . . . .	xiiij s.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> xxvij s. iiij d.
I <sup>tm</sup> . for dyggyng of the stone I had at Wavlye owt of the rubyshe . . . . .	xx s.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> xx s.
I <sup>tm</sup> . to the stone leyers, after sondrye prices, besydes theyre meate and drynke . . . . .	xix li. vj s. xj d.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> xix li. vj s. xj d.
I <sup>tm</sup> . for theyre meate and drynke, after iiij d. the daye one w <sup>t</sup> an other . . . . .	xiiij li. viij s. vj d.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> xiiij li. viij s. vj d.
I <sup>tm</sup> . to the Laborers to serve the leyers, after sondrye prices by the daye, besydes theyre meat and drynke . . . . .	xx li. ix s. ij d.
I <sup>tm</sup> . for theyre meat and drynke, after iiij d. the daye one w <sup>t</sup> an other . . . . .	xxviij li. x s.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> xlvij li. xix s. ij d.
I <sup>tm</sup> . to the ffreemasons and hewers of stone, after sondrye prices by the daye . . . . .	xxviij li. ij s. iiij d.
I <sup>tm</sup> . for theyre meat and drynke, after iiij d. the daye . . . . .	xxx li.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> lvij li. ij s. iiij d.
I <sup>tm</sup> . for tymbere bowght, after sondrye prices, vz. v. lodes from Wytleyghe, xx. lode from Frythynhurst, ij. lodes from Catteshull, vij. lodes from Goseden, v. lode from Wanburrow, vj. lodes at Loselye, too lodes from Alfold, viij. lodes from Shylllynglye . . . . .	xij li. vj s. viij d.
I <sup>tm</sup> . for the caryage of the same . . . . .	vj li.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> xvij li. vj s. viij d.
I <sup>tm</sup> . for the sawyng of the same by the daye . . . . .	ix li. xvj s.
I <sup>tm</sup> . for theyre meat and drynke, after iiij d. the daye . . . . .	vj li. x s.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> xvj li. vj s.
I <sup>tm</sup> . to the Carpenters by the daye, after sondrye pryces, for framyng the sayd tymbere, besydes theyre meate and drynke . . . . .	x li. viij s.
I <sup>tm</sup> . for theyre meat and drynke, after iiij d. by the daye . . . . .	viij li.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> xvij li. viij s.
I <sup>tm</sup> . to the smythe for batterynge of Toles for the masons, and for Iron werke for the dores and wyndowes, o <sup>v</sup> and besydes Iron bowght at the forge and Iron of myne own, after x s. c. workyng . . . . .	xvj li. ij s. viij d.
I <sup>tm</sup> . myne own Irne . . . . .	l s.
I <sup>tm</sup> . bowght at the forge after viij li. x. the tonne . . . . .	x li. xij s. vj d.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> xxix li. v s. ij d.
I <sup>tm</sup> . for wattels, ix. dosen . . . . .	xxxvj s.
I <sup>tm</sup> . Scafolds poles, xvj. lodes . . . . .	xlvi s.
I <sup>tm</sup> . bastyng lyne for the scaffolds . . . . .	iiij s. iiij d.
I <sup>tm</sup> . great nayles for the scaffolds . . . . .	xij s.
I <sup>tm</sup> . other nayles for the hodes and tubbs . . . . .	ix s.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> v li. vj s. iiij d.

Item. planche borde after iij s. iij d. the c. delyved at my howse from sondrye psons, vz. from my cosen Jonys iij<sup>e</sup>, from James Hirste M., from hym also iij<sup>e</sup>, from baller M., from my brother Scarlet ij M. . . . . iij<sup>m</sup> vij<sup>e</sup>—vij li. xvj s. viij d.  
 Item. for a M. of borde of Ashe, after iij s. the c. . . . . xl s.

Sm<sup>a</sup> ix li. xvj s. viij d.

Sm<sup>a</sup> of my charges from mydsom 1566 untill Mychelmas

1567 . . . . . ccclxxiij li. xix s. iij d.

Totalis . . . . . 968 li. 17 s. 3 d. ob.

Item. my charges from Mychelmas 1567 untill Whytsontyde 1568.

To the lyme burnere for burnynge ix. kylls of lyme, after xv s. the kyll . . . . . vj li. xv s.

Item. woode after xvj. lode to e<sup>v</sup>ye kyll, after ij s. vj d. for e<sup>v</sup>ye lode . . . . . xvij li.

Item. for caryage and dyggyng of chalke for the sayd kylls, after xv. lode to e<sup>v</sup>ye kyll, after viij d. y<sup>e</sup> lode . . . . . iij li. x s.

Sm<sup>a</sup> xxix li. v s.

Item. for caryage and dyggyng of iij<sup>e</sup> l. lode of sande, after iij d. y<sup>e</sup> lode . . . . . iij li. xvj s. viij d.

Sm<sup>a</sup> iij li. xvj s. viij d.

Item. for dyggyng of whyt stone, after vj d. the lode and viij d. the daye, fyndynge theymselves . . . . . xij li. x s.

Item. for the caryage of the sayde stone from the quarrye of Guldeforde, after x d. the lode, beyng iij<sup>e</sup> xxx. lode . . . . . xvij li. xvij s. iij d.

Item. the rent of the quarrye for half a year, after xx s. the yere . . . . . x s.

Sm<sup>a</sup> xxx li. xvij s. iij d.

Item. for dyggyng of rowghe stone, after vj d. the lode, beyng cclx. lodes . . . . . viij li. x s.

Item. the carryage of the same, after vj d. the lode . . . . . viij li. x s.

Sm<sup>a</sup> xvij li.

Item. for dyggyng stone at halfpennye lane, after xvj d. the lode, and after viij d. the daye, fyndynge theymselves . . . . . xxj s. iij d.

Item. the caryage of the same, after xij d. the lode . . . . . xvj s.

Sm<sup>a</sup> xxxvij s. iij d.

Item. for xv. lode of whyghte stone fette from Wavlewe, after iij s. the lode there . . . . . iij li.

Item. the carryage of the same, after ij s. viij d. for e<sup>v</sup>ye lode . . . . . xl s.

Item. for dyggyng of the same stone owt of the Rubbyshe . . . . . xij s.

Sm<sup>a</sup> v li. xij s.

Item. the makynge and burnynge of xij M. of brycke, and burnynge iij. lode of lyme, at e<sup>v</sup>ye kyll, beyng too kylls, w<sup>t</sup> the wood to the same . . . . . vj li.

Sm<sup>a</sup> vj li.

Item. to the stone leyers, aftere vj d. the daye, besydes meate and drynke, and v d. the daye . . . . . xij li. xvij s. vj d.

Item. theyre meat and drynke, after iij d. the daye, one w<sup>t</sup> another . . . . . x li. viij s.

Sm<sup>a</sup> xxiiij li. vj s. vj d.

Item. to Laborers to ſve the masons after ſondrye pces, beſyde theyre meate and drynke . . . x li.  
 Item. theyre meat and drynke, after iiij d. the daye one w<sup>t</sup> another . . . xij li. xiiij s. iiij d.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> xxij li. xiiij s. iiij d.  
 Item. to the freemasons and hewers of ſtone, after ſondrye pryces, by the daye . . . xxiiij li. xvj s.  
 Item. theyre meate and drynke, after iiij d. the daye, one w<sup>t</sup> an othere . . . . . xx li.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> xliij li. xvj s.  
 Item. in tymbere w<sup>t</sup> the carryage, x. lodes . . . . . iij li. vj s. viij d.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> iij li. vj s. viij d.  
 Item. for the ſawynge of the ſame, and othere tymbere, by the daye, after xij d. the daye, to bothe  
 the ſawyers, beſydes meat and drynke . . . . . xxxij s.  
 Item. to theym, theyre meat and drinke, after iiij d. the daye apece . . . . . xxj s. iiij d.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> liij s. iiij. d.  
 Item. to the Carpenters, by the daye, after ſondrye pryces, beſides meat and drynke . . . . . vj li. viij s.  
 Item. for theyre meate and drynke, after iiij d. the daye . . . . . iij li. xviiij s. iiij d.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> xj li. v s. iiij d.  
 Item. to the Smythe, for batterynge of tooles for the masons, and for yron worke for the dores and  
 wyndowes, ov<sup>e</sup> and beſydes the yron bowt at the forge . . . . . ix li. xj s. iiij d.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> ix li. xj d. iiij d.  
 Item. too lodes of hart lathe w<sup>th</sup> the carrage . . . . . xxx s.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> xxx s.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> totalis, from Mychylmas 1567 untill Whyt-  
 ſontyde 1568 . . . . . ccxij li. xj s. iiij d.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> totalis, from 1561 untill Whytſontyde 1568  
 Mciiij<sup>as</sup> li. xviiij s. vij d. ob.

Item. my chargis from Whytſontyde 1568 untill Mychylmas 1569.

To the lyme burnor, for burnynge vij. kylls of lyme, after xv s. the kyll . . . . . v li. v s.  
 Item. wood to the ſame, after xvj. lode to ev<sup>e</sup>ye kyll, after ij s. vj d. for ev<sup>e</sup>ye lode . . . . . xiiij li.  
 Item. for caryage and dyggyng of ev<sup>e</sup>ye lode of Chalke, after xv. lode, to ev<sup>e</sup>ye kyll, after viij d. the  
 lode . . . . . iij li. x s.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> xxij li. x s.  
 Item. for caryage and dyggyng of ij<sup>e</sup> lode of ſand, after iiij d. for ev<sup>e</sup>ye lode . . . . . iij li. vj s. viij d.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> iij li. vj s. viij d.  
 Item. to the brykmake for makynge bryke and pavyng tyle . . . . . iij li. xvij s. vj d.  
 Item. the meat and drynke for the brykemakers and pavyng tile makers . . . . . iij li. x s.  
 Item. the dyg and caryage of the cleve from Shalford, after xviiij d. the lode, and owt of other  
 grounds nere to my houſe, after iiij d. the lode; and for ſand, after iiij d. the lode . . . . . liij s. iiij d.  
 Item. for the burnynge of v. kylls, after xv s. the kyll . . . . . iij li. xv s.  
 Item. wood for the burnynge of the ſame, after xv. lode to ev<sup>e</sup>ye kyll, after ij s. vj d. ev<sup>e</sup>ye lode  
 . . . . . ix li. vij s. vj d.

Sm<sup>a</sup> xxiiij li. iiij s. iiij d.

Item. for dyggyng of whyght stone, after viij d. the daye, fyndynge theymselves	vj li. viij s.
Item. the caryage of the stone, beyng ij <sup>e</sup> lode, after xij d. the lode	x li.
Item. for the rent of the quarrye for ij. yers	xl s.
Item. tenne lode of stone fette from Wavlye the cariage	xxvj s. viij d.
Item. for dyggyng of the same stone owt of the rubbyshe	x s.
Item. the valewe of the sayd tenne lodes dygged, after iiij s. the lode.	xl s.
Sm <sup>a</sup> xxj li. iiij s. viij d.	
Item. the dyggyng of stone at halpene lane, after viij s. the daye, fyndynge theymselves	xv s.
Item. the caryage of the same	xv s.
Sm <sup>a</sup> xxx s.	
Item. the dyggyng of iiij <sup>e</sup> xxij. lode of rowghe stone, after vj d. the lode	x li. xj s. vj d.
Item. the caryage of the same, after vj d. the lode	xl. xj s. vj d.
Sm <sup>a</sup> xxj li. iiij s.	
Item. to the freemasons and stone leyers, after sondrye pces by the daye	xlviij li. iiij s.
Item. theyre meat and drynke, after iiij d. the daye one w <sup>t</sup> an other	xv li.
Sm <sup>a</sup> iiij <sup>xx</sup> vij li. iiij s.	
Item. wages to laborers to serve them, after sondrye pces by y <sup>e</sup> daye, monethe, and weeke	xvj li. iiij s. vj d.
Item. theyre meate and drynke, after iiij d. the daye	xxxiiij li. v s.
Sm <sup>a</sup> xl li. ix s. vj d.	
Item. for stone hewen by the floote	iiij li. v s. x d.
Sm <sup>a</sup> iiij li. v s. x d.	
Item. in tymbere w <sup>t</sup> the caryage xxx. lodes, after vj s. viij d. the lode	x li.
Item. in sawynge of the same	iiij li. v s. viij d.
Item. in planche borde from Dydesfold w <sup>t</sup> the caryage, after iiij s. iiij d. the hundred	x <sup>m</sup> v <sup>e</sup> —xvij li. x s.
Item. in planks of too ynches thyke	ix <sup>e</sup> . . . . . l s.
Item. to the Carpenters and theyre men at sondrye pces	xiiij li. x s. ix d.
Item. for theyre meate and drynke, after iiij d. the daye	ix li. xij s. viij d.
Item. for hewyng of certayne tymbere o <sup>v</sup> and besydes the tymbre aforesayd	xvij s. vj d.
Sm <sup>a</sup> lvij li. xix d.	
Item. the smythe for casements, after iiij s. a duble casement, barres for wyndowes, henges, and other yron worke	xvj li. x s. ij d.
Item. yron bowght	xiiij li.
Sm <sup>a</sup> xxx li. x s. ij d.	
Item. to ij. carpenters, fyndynge theymselves	xxiiij s.
Sm <sup>a</sup> xxiiij s.	
Item. for iiij. figures sette o <sup>v</sup> my porche w <sup>t</sup> the caryage from London	v li.
Sm <sup>a</sup> v li.	



Item. fyve score of lathe nayle . . . . . iij li. vj s. viij d.  
 Item. in plancke nayle, brodes,\* and other nayle . . . . . v li.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> viij li. vj s. viij d.

Item. led for gutters, and otherwyse ymployed o<sup>v</sup> the porche and the vasyes, and for the glasyer  
 . . . . . xij li. xiiij s. iiij d.

Item. to the plumere, w<sup>th</sup> his meate and drynke, and for sodere . . . . . xxx s.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> xiiij li. iiij s. iiij d.

Item. to the payntere for his wagys and meat and drynke . . . . . xix s. iiij d.  
 Item. to hym for whyght led and oyle and red led . . . . . xxvj s. viij d.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> xlvj s.

Item. to the stone leyres for theyre wagis at sondrye pces by the daye, besydes theyre meate and  
 drynke . . . . . v li. viij s. ij d.  
 Item. theyre meate and drynke, after iiij d. the daye . . . . . iij li. x s.  
 Item. wagis to laborers to serve theym at sondrye pces the daye . . . . . xxvij s. iiij d.  
 Item. for theyre meate and drynke as aforsaid . . . . . xxvij s. iiij d.  
 Item. to one other stone leyere w<sup>th</sup> his meate and drynke . . . . . xvij s. v d.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> xij li. ix s. iiij d.

Item. Horshehame stone to covere my howse, beyng<sup>e</sup> iiij<sup>4</sup> and v. lode, for the w<sup>ch</sup> I payde vijs. vjd.  
 for xl<sup>th</sup> lodes, and viij s. for e<sup>v</sup>ye lode of the reste at the dell . . . . . xxxvij li.  
 Item. the caryage of the same from Horsham to Cranleye, after xix d. the lode at the leaste, and at  
 a greater pce . . . . . viij li. x s. v d.  
 Item. ffrom Cranleye to my howse worthe the caryage e<sup>v</sup>ye lode ij s. iiij d. but geven . . . . . xi li. xx d.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> lvj li. xij s. j d.

Item. to Baker for rydge tyle . . . . . iij s.  
 Item. vij. lodes of harte lathe, at xv s. the lode, w<sup>t</sup> the caryage, vij. lodes . . . . . v li. v s.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> v li. viiij s.

Item. for bastynge rope . . . . . x s.  
 Item. hurdels to mak scaffolds . . . . . x s.  
 Item. scaffold nayles and poles . . . . . xij s.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> xxxij s.

Item. to the glasyers after vj d. and v d. the daye, besydes theyre meate and drynke v li. xix s. viij d.  
 Item. theyre meate and drynke, after the rate by the day aforesaid . . . . . iij li. iiij s.  
 Item. oyle and rosen to syment w<sup>t</sup> all, redde led to coll<sup>r</sup> the barres and casements w<sup>th</sup> sodeyr . . . . . xl s.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> xij li. iiij s. viij d.

Item. xj. cases of glasse w<sup>th</sup> the caryage to my howse, after xxix s. the case . . . . . xv li. xix s.  
 Sm<sup>a</sup> xv li. xix s.

\* A kind of nails so called, probably *hodie* "brads." Halliwell refers to Florio, p. 68, ed. 1611.

Item. for ij. armes in my haule wyndowe*	x s.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> x s.
Item. to the joyn <sup>rs</sup> , aftere ij s. iiij d. the weeke to one of theym, and v li. x s. yerely to one other of theym, besydes theyre meate and drynke	xiiij li. v s. vj d.
Item. theyre meate and drynke, after the rate aforesayd	xv li.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> xxviij li. v s. vj d.
Item. to the glasyrs one other tyme more then aforesayd	vij s. vj d.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> vij s. vj d.
Item. to the smythe more then aforesayd	xiiij s.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> xiiij s.
Item. to the carpenters more then aforesayd	xxvij s. iiij d.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> xxvij. iiij d.
Item to a plastrer more then aforesayd	x s.
	Sm <sup>a</sup> x s.
Sm <sup>a</sup> totalis from Whytsontyde 1568 untyll Mychylmas 1569	cccciiij <sup>xx</sup> li. xij d.
Sm <sup>a</sup> totalis of all mye buldynges from 1561 untyll Mychylmas 1569	Mvj <sup>l</sup> x li. xix s. vij d. ob.
Sm <sup>a</sup> totalis as aforesayd	Mvj <sup>l</sup> x li. xix s. vij d. ob.

\* In the bay window of the Hall at Loseley are still the arms of More: Azure, a cross argent, charged with five martlets sable, with the date 1568.—Kempe.

XXVIII. *Medieval Architecture in Aquitaine ; in continuation and conclusion of previous Papers. A Letter addressed to the EARL STANHOPE, President, by JOHN HENRY PARKER, Esq., F.S.A.*

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Read April 19, 1855.

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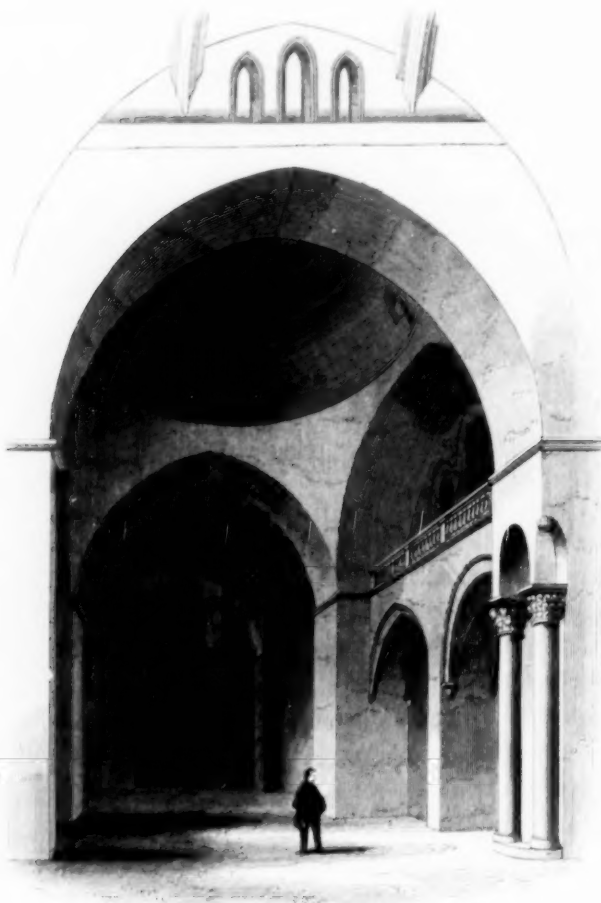
MY LORD,

Oxford, March, 1855.

In my last letter I gave some account of the celebrated Cloister of Moissac ; after which I visited Toulouse, which I consider to have been the head quarters of a very remarkable school of sculpture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries ; but which did not form part of the English province of Aquitaine, and therefore is not included in this series of letters. The next place that I visited was the town of CAHORS, which is finely situated amongst the hills, and was strongly fortified, as it was a border town between the dominions of the Kings of England as Lords of Guienne, and the Counts of Toulouse. A considerable part of the fortifications remains, including a very perfect bridge, of which I will presently give some description ; but according to custom it is, perhaps, best to begin with

CAHORS—THE CATHEDRAL.

This is a very remarkable church, and has an evident connection with St. Front at Perigueux, and the other churches of Byzantine character in this part of France. The plan is oblong, with an apse and side chapels, but without aisles ; the two western bays are square, and covered by cupolas of very wide span, about sixty feet. The arches carrying these cupolas are slightly pointed, very massive, with plain flat soffit and square edges. There is a simple impost moulding continued as a string, and a similar string moulding round the base of the cupola ; immediately above which in the lower part of the dome is a small pointed window in each face, now blocked up. These domes were evidently the only roof originally,



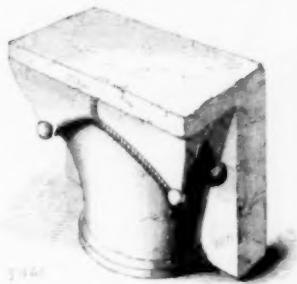
INTERIOR OF CHOIR, CAHORS CATHEDRAL.

but have afterwards been covered by a wooden roof, probably because the stone domes were not found impervious to the weather.

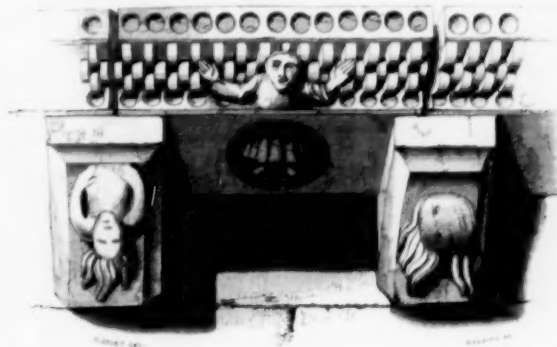
The apse and apsidal chapels appear to be original up to the springing of the vault, but the apse has not had a cupola, and the present vault with the windows are of the fourteenth century. The arches, which are pointed and plain, are original in great part; some of the capitals are very curious and early, of a very marked type, which I afterwards found in other examples, and consider to be clearly of the eleventh century. Other capitals and bases enriched with ornaments are later. At the west end are two towers, which with the wall

between them, making up the whole west front, are chiefly late in the twelfth century, with parts added in the fourteenth.

The western cupola has a small original square bell-cot on the top; the other is terminated in an obtuse point. They have evidently been originally open, but are now enclosed under a roof, which is carried partly on the side walls of the cupolas and partly on pieces of wall built up between them, leaving a small part only of the sides of the cupolas open to view, sufficient, however, to show a portion of the original cornice or corbel-table: some of the corbels are ornamented with heads,



CAPITAL, CAHORS, c. 1096.



CORBEL-TABLE, CAHORS.

others are merely rounded off. The additional walls are of brick with pointed arches; this alteration must have been made at an early period, and the corbel-table has been copied to make it all look original, but the older work is of stone of a peculiar kind, while the later work is of brick, none of it is later than the twelfth century. The additions of the fourteenth century are of a different kind of stone. The vaults of the side chapels belong to that period; but the arches opening into them are part of the early work, and are round-headed; the original windows are also round-headed and have the billet ornament only: there are three in each bay, the central one has been raised.

At the east end in part of the original work are small pointed windows in panels, resembling some at Angoulême: in this part there is also a very rich cornice and corbel-table in evident imitation of those at St. Séverin at Toulouse: it has a pattern in the soffit, and an ornament closely resembling the Early-English tooth ornament; the prevailing ornament is a triple or quadruple row of billets. On the north side of the west bay is a very rich doorway and shallow



porch, resembling our late Norman work ; this also has a rich cornice and corbel-table closely resembling the one at the east end, but of a little earlier character ; this doorway is dated 1119.

On the south side of the nave is another doorway of a very Byzantine character,



SOUTH DOORWAY, CAHORS CATHEDRAL.

with a trefoil head under a semicircular arch ; this doorway may be part of the early work, but that on the north side is evidently an addition, cutting off the lower part of the original windows. A rich cornice of billets is carried along both sides of the church, in addition to the early cornice of the cupolas. All these later parts are in the style of Toulouse, the earlier parts much more of the Byzantine style. The original church is said by the best informed local antiquaries to have been built between 1096 and 1100, and, as the French antiquaries are more apt to give too early a date to their buildings than too late, there is probably good historical ground for the date assigned. The rich north doorway is dated 1119, and the remainder of the rich work was probably carried on from that time for

twenty or thirty years, or to about the middle of the twelfth century, or rather earlier than similar rich work in England, but not much.<sup>a</sup>

On the south side of the choir is a rich Flamboyant cloister, tolerably perfect, with a fine doorway of that style; also a chapel, probably the Lady Chapel, with a singular vault, the springing of which is like that of fan-tracery. This cloister and chapel are said to have been built between 1485 and 1509.<sup>b</sup>

The Chapel of the Penitents<sup>c</sup> is a good small building of Transition Norman character, with pointed arches, and Norman details; the vault groined with square ribs, and good Norman capitals; the doorway good Transition Norman, with rich foliage on the imposts.

Close to this is the house in which Henri IV. was lodged—a very good Flamboyant house, with a rich doorway and staircase.

The small Church of St. Urcisse is said to have been built about 1340, and is a very pretty specimen of the French Decorated style, especially the west front and porch, with a richly-moulded doorway.

The house called the Palace of Pope John the Twenty-second, but built by his brother between 1320 and 1334,<sup>d</sup> has been a really fine palace, but is now in a ruinous state. It has, however, a fine and lofty tower, and some of the original windows are preserved; they are small, of two lights, divided by a shaft with a good capital of foliage and square abacus. Other windows opening into the court are larger, and have Decorated tracery; there is a good corbel-table, a lion's head, with the springing of the ribs of a vault in the entrance passage. Adjoining to this palace is the Church of St. Bartholomew, built at the same time; it is good but rather plain work for the period, with a tower at the south-west corner. In the upper part are three ranges of windows of single lights, lancet-shaped, with Decorated impost and dripstone, otherwise quite plain. Under the tower is a porch and doorway of good Decorated work, with some sculpture, but not very rich.

<sup>a</sup> Geraldus Hector III., who was Bishop of Cahors for more than fifty years, and died about the year 1200, is said to have enlarged the monastery at great expense, and was buried in the middle of the choir of the church, the place usually assigned to the founder. He was, therefore, probably considered as the second founder, and the greater part of the alterations I have described were probably made in his time. These alterations were so extensive that the bishop who directed them might fairly be considered as the second founder of the church. (See *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 470.)

<sup>b</sup> They were begun by Bishop Antonius Allemand II., and finished by his successor, Antonius de Luzzech III. (*Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 473.)

<sup>c</sup> This was probably part of the work of Bishop Geraldus Hector, A.D. 1150—1200.

<sup>d</sup> William de Labroa was Bishop of Cahors from 1318 to 1324; he left 2000 florins for carrying on the work. (*Gall. Christ.* tom. ii. p. 472.)



CHIMNEY, CAHORS.

In the outskirts of the town are some Roman remains, consisting of part of a theatre or amphitheatre, and at some distance from it a Roman gateway, the arch of which is perfect, and a window over it; the arch is formed chiefly of stone, but with tiles introduced at intervals near the top, as if to strengthen it. There is also a single row of tiles, like a dripstone, round the arch; the layers of tiles are some single, others double; the tiles are smaller than is usual in Roman work. The wall is chiefly of rubble, faced with the usual small ashlar work.

A house of the fourteenth century, with a tower of good character, and some elegant windows of two lights, with a pierced trefoil over them, is now used as the prison.

Another fine house of brick, with a remarkable tall chimney, appears to be of about the end of the thirteenth century.

A considerable part of the FORTIFICATIONS remains. They appear to be of the end of the fourteenth century, and consist of a wall with a parapet, and square towers at intervals. They are said to have been built about 1390.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of this town is the BRIDGE, which I believe to be the most perfect medieval bridge with its towers that we have remaining in Europe. It was built at the expense of the town, as shown by the archives, still preserved, and was commenced in 1265, and completed in 1383.\* It has three towers perfect, and

part of the fourth, which seems to have been a sort of Barbican, not so high as the others. The arches are pointed, except one; there is a passage through the

\* For the dates of the buildings in Cahors I am indebted chiefly to the information of M. Plunarvergne, who is (or was in 1851) Professor of History in the college there, and had studied them very carefully by the help of the original Archives of the town, which are well preserved, and to which he had free access. I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to him for his kindness on the occasion of my visit to that very interesting city.

piers a little above the water, as at Montauban, probably for the purpose of stopping boats in taking toll from them.

Cahors was one of the frontier towns of the English province of Guienne or Aquitaine, where it touched on the dominions of the Counts of Toulouse. The inhabitants were noted for their zealous attachment to the English Crown, and many traditions of that period are still current among them.

#### VILLEFRANCHE D'AVEYRON.

A few miles to the south-east of Cahors is the town of VILLEFRANCHE D'AVEYRON. This is one of the free towns or bastides founded by Edward I. and, as was often the case, so judiciously situated, that it is still a flourishing town, and has increased at the expense of its neighbours, some of which are much decayed. It is also built on the same regular plan which I have described in my book on the domestic architecture of the fourteenth century. The streets are arranged in straight lines parallel to each other at regular distances, with narrow lanes or mews between, and cross streets at frequent intervals, to connect one main artery of traffic with another. In the centre of the town is the market-place, with a street leading into it at each corner, so that the traffic passes under the houses, leaving the central space undisturbed for the market people. This space is surrounded by arcades or piazzas; some of the arches of which, with their buttresses, are of the fourteenth century, but the greater part of the houses are of the sixteenth or later. There is one very good house of the Renaissance period, with a stone stair turret carried on a wooden corbel, projecting very boldly over the street, and a rich doorway opening into a little square court, with an embattled wall. In one of the rooms is a fine fireplace, with the usual heads of Francis I. and his Queen.

Another house has a very rich corbelled projection over a small door, like an oriel window, but the wall of the house is continued flush with the face of the window. This is late Flamboyant work, but very good. The church stands at one corner of the market-place, according to the usual plan of these towns. The tower is carried on arches, forming a porch, and at the same time a continuation of the piazza. It is good Flamboyant work, rather early in the style. It has no aisles, but chapels between the buttresses, and an apse with apsidal chapels. The windows of the apse are long and narrow, of two lights, with Flamboyant tracery, early and good. The buttresses are tall and massive, but not arched. Altogether, it is a very good example of the early Flamboyant style.



In the suburbs of the town is the Carthusian monastery, which has been used as a public hospital since the time of the great Revolution. The buildings are nearly perfect, as they were left in 1790, and are chiefly of the fifteenth century. The church is Flamboyant, with fine woodwork, consisting of stalls with canopies, and the wooden doors finely carved with figures of saints in the lower panels of each door. The refectory, with a rich pulpit and a good vault, is quite perfect.



REFECTORY, VILLEFRANCHE D'AVEYRON.

There are two cloisters, one very plain, surrounding a large burial-ground; the other, in the usual situation between the church and the refectory, is comparatively small, but more lofty than the other, and much richer; it has a fine vault, and very good Flamboyant windows, the tracery of some of which is in geometrical patterns, others quite Flamboyant, alternating with each other. On the side next



the church the cloister is double, and very elegant; one part forms a kind of chapel for the dead, or lich-gate, a place where the bodies were stationed during part of the funeral service. The same arrangement is found in other monasteries. By the side of the door of the refectory is also a good lavatory. There are two other small chapels of the same character as the church, with good carving, and one of them has preserved the painted glass.

#### CAYLUS D'AVEYRON.

A few miles further to the south is the small decayed town of CAYLUS D'AVEYRON. The church is of mixed styles, and not very remarkable; the tower with part of a spire upon it stands at the south-west corner, and seems to be of the thirteenth century; the nave with its vault and the porch are of the fourteenth; the apse and chapels of the fifteenth, with some good Flamboyant painted glass. There are several houses of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in this small town, which is now little more than a village. One house of the fourteenth century in particular is very perfect, with its stone shop-front in the lower part, and handsome Decorated windows on the first floor; the interior is in a very dilapidated state and the floors rotten, but there is a good stone lavatory on the first floor: it is very unusual to find a domestic lavatory perfect.

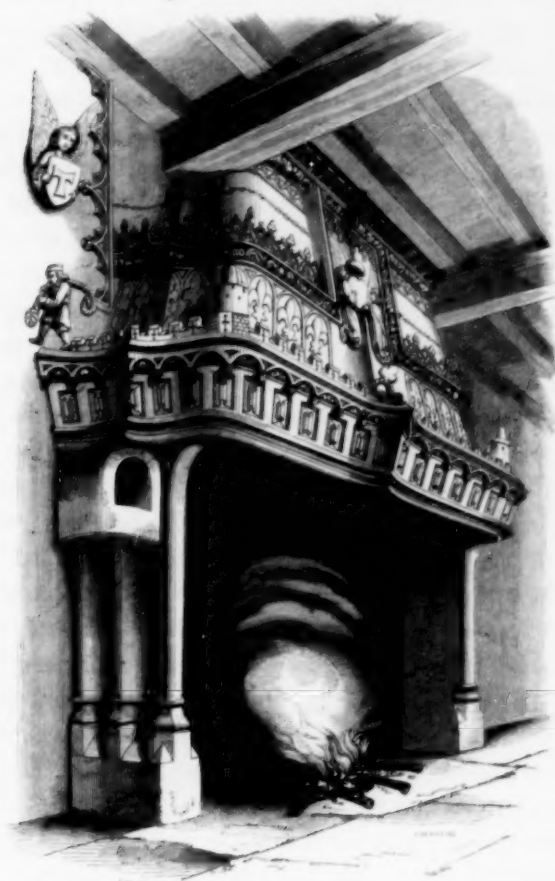
The adjoining house, separated only by a narrow passage, has also some good plain windows, which from their simplicity look like work of the thirteenth century, but their mouldings rather led me to conclude that they are of about the same age as the other, probably early in the fourteenth. There are some remains of a castle of the fourteenth century finely situated on a hill overlooking the town.

#### ST. ANTONIN.

A few miles further on in the same direction we arrived at the town of ST. ANTONIN. This is considerably larger than Caylus, and has a considerable population, but has nearly the same desolate and decayed appearance; a number of the houses are of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, though all mutilated and modernized so as to require examination to see that they are really ancient. The principal feature in the town is the Hotel de Ville, a very elegant little building, partly of the twelfth century, partly of the fourteenth, and the tower has been recently restored under the direction of M. Viollet-le-Duc. The house stands upon an open arcade, the arches of which are pointed, and have rather late

mouldings, as if they had been altered in the fourteenth century; but they must have been originally of the Transitional period, about the end of the twelfth, as the windows in the upper part are of that period, and there is no appearance of the whole having been rebuilt and the old materials used again, as is often the case. On the first floor is a long range of windows extending along the whole front of the building, ornamented by very elegant shafts of the Transition style, with figures at intervals. There are no arches to these windows; but a horizontal stone lintel is carried on a double row of small shafts, with well carved capitals and moulded bases, and figures in the stiff Byzantine style. The windows in the upper story are of two lights, with round arches and shafts, and mouldings in the usual style of the period; others more of the Byzantine character. The tower with its boldly-projecting upper stories has a very picturesque effect, but I do not know how far M. Viollet-le-Duc had authority for it.

The streets of the town are narrow and irregular, and when I was there were very dirty, but they well repay the trouble of a careful examination, as there is scarcely a modern house to be found, though many of the old houses have been much altered in the Flamboyant and Renaissance periods, and portions of these styles inserted in the early walls. There are also some Flamboyant houses of the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, in better preservation, and some of these houses contain very good fireplaces; one in particular is remarkably fine, of the richest Flamboyant work, the details of which are very good. Another fireplace, though plainer, is almost equally worthy of attention. One house of the thirteenth century has the lower part sufficiently perfect to make out the design—an arcade below, and a range of small windows of two lights on the first floor: these have very good mouldings and shafts, with capitals of foliage, and small circular openings above, also marked with foliage. The upper story is of wood, and has been altered, but an early stone shaft carrying a wooden beam shews that the arrangement is ancient, and several other houses in St. Antonin appear also to have had the upper story of wood, while the lower part was of stone. The same thing occurs also in England in many instances, and it appears to have been a common plan in the middle ages. The house last mentioned contains also a good Flamboyant fireplace, evidently an insertion when the house was altered; the chimney shaft is early, round, with a cornice of the tooth ornament. The mouldings of the stone work show its early character. On the doorway of one of the houses is an escutcheon with the arms of a mason, the square and hammer. The church is originally of the twelfth century, but so much mutilated that nothing can be made out. The tower is small and round, modernized, but the basis seems early work.



FIREPLACE, ST. ANTONIN.

### RODEZ.

Returning a few miles to the north-east, we arrived at the ancient and decayed town of RODEZ. The most prominent object in this city is the cathedral, which is a fine lofty structure of the usual plan, and with nothing very remarkable. The choir, the apse, and aisles, are of the fourteenth century,\* with good windows

\* Raimundus de Agripho II., Bishop of Rodez 1349 to 1361, gave ornamented pontificals, &c. and was buried in the chancel of the cathedral. The rebuilding was probably completed at that time. (Gall. Christ. tom. ii. p. 958.)

and triforium arcade; the tracery is entirely of circles inclosing trefoils, the usual monotony of the French Decorated style. The pillars are very massive and plain, with a kind of wavy line instead of shafts, the capitals and bases moulded with very shallow mouldings. The transepts and nave are a century later\* than the choir; but the same design is carried out, the details and mouldings only betraying the Flamboyant period. The roodloft is rich Flamboyant work of stone, very delicately carved. The stalls, with their canopies and the bishop's throne, are rich Flamboyant woodwork. A hideous modern gallery is made on the top of the canopies, resting on the wall of inclosure of the choir. There are several fine tombs of bishops in the chapels of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; one of them has a harp on a shield, apparently a rebus of the name "Arpagone," showing that the aspirate was not much attended to in those days. The west front is heavy and bad, partly Renaissance work, but it has a very rich Flamboyant rose window. The north and south doorways are also fine and rich Flamboyant work. On the doors is some iron-work, with very good nail-heads.

The Church of St. Amand is of the eleventh century, and the interior is nearly perfect, but so disguised by painting, and the exterior so thoroughly modernized, that at first sight it appears to be an entirely modern church. The plan is the usual one, with apsidal chapels to the choir, and side chapels to the nave, in the place of transepts. There is an arched recess exactly where the projecting arms usually are. The vaulting is early, of the eleventh or twelfth century, groined without ribs, with transverse arches to carry it. The capitals are also of the character of the eleventh century; two of them are of the same remarkable pattern that I have engraved (at p. 312) from Cahors; others are carved with small figures, such as Adam or Eve, &c.; others with grotesque animals, and others with birds, just such as I have described elsewhere as being found in this part of France at the end of the eleventh century.

There are several ancient houses in Rodez; one of the twelfth century, another of the fourteenth, and several of the fifteenth, but all in a very bad state, especially the older ones.

One corner house is a curious specimen of Flamboyant work, and has a remarkable doorway with intersecting mouldings, and a small window or rather aperture in the corner, opening on the staircase, for a crane to lift up goods. In another place, at the corner of a street, are two houses together; one of the thirteenth

\* They were built by William de la Tour, who was Bishop of Rodez from 1419 to 1461. "In ecclesia enim palatioque Episcopali multa reparavit et ornavit; necnon turrim, quæ adhuc superstes visitur, ædificavit." (Gall. Christ. tom. ii. p. 959.)



century, rather late. This has a corner tower with a battlement, and several of the original windows, with plate tracery; other square-headed windows are



ROSE WINDOW, RODEZ.

insertions. The other house is of the fourteenth, or early part of the fifteenth, and is a good instance of the bold corbelling out of the upper part of the house, though of stone, carried on a good corbel table. Another house is clearly of the twelfth century, but much mutilated; a part of the first-floor front remains, with a good string moulding of billets below the windows, and a hollow moulding with an ornament resembling the ball-flower, carried round the panel and over the windows. Another house of the sixteenth century has a good small doorway well moulded, with a panelled stone balcony over it, and bold corbels: the mouldings of this house are particularly fine Flamboyant. Another house has a good early chimney, with openings round the top under the capping; the chimney is octagonal. On the door of this house is a curious knocker of the sixteenth century. Another has square-headed Flamboyant windows, with very rich and bold mould-



ings of that style. Several houses have the upper part projecting, and carried on very bold wooden corbels, the mouldings of which are so deep and bold that they have quite an early look, but are probably of the sixteenth century. Sometimes the angles of houses are enriched with vertical mouldings, the stoppings of which are further enriched with some ornament, as a piece of foliage or a head.

This is the last town in the ancient province of Guienne of which I am prepared to give you any account, and I will here conclude this series of letters. I entered on the examination of the English provinces of France in the expectation of finding the effect of English influence in the architectural character of those provinces. In this expectation I was entirely mistaken—there is none whatever. Their character is entirely French, and it is evident that the architecture was influenced by local causes entirely; such as the natural divisions of the country, high ranges of mountains, as between Rodez and Le Puy, or broad rivers, especially the Loire, and not in any degree by the government or by political divisions.

The different provinces of France differ much more from each other in their architectural character than the northern provinces do from England. The style of the South of France is totally different from that of the North, and in the eleventh century clearly indicates a more advanced state of civilization. The intermediate districts of Anjou and Poitou, which I have described in my previous letters, are extremely interesting from the mixture of the styles of the south and the north in the twelfth century, especially in the time of Henry II. The hospital which he founded and built at Angers appears to me in a more advanced style of art than any other building in France or England of its date. It is more light and elegant, more decidedly Gothic, than the east end of Canterbury; and Nôtre Dame at Paris, which is nearly contemporary with it, is half a century behind it in style; the one has all the heavy massive character of the Romanesque, the other all the lightness and elegance of the Gothic. Henry II. as Count of Anjou resided much at Angers and held his court there, which was frequented by the English nobility and the higher orders of clergy, among whom the architects of the day must be looked for; and, as architects at all periods were ready to pick up and carry away new ideas, it seems probable that the English architects were much indebted to their observations in Anjou. For several ornaments, especially the tooth ornament, are common there in buildings of earlier character than any in which we find the same ornaments in England, or in other parts of France. The pointed arch was common there in the eleventh century; as in the South both round and pointed arches were used indiscriminately according to con-

venience. That the Normans at that period were behind the South in civilization, and consequently in architectural progress, is evident in many ways. I have mentioned the tower of Moissac, built at the end of the eleventh century in a finished style of art and with pointed arches, afterwards fortified by Richard I. and partially incased in rude and clumsy Norman work with round arches. The contrast of the styles of the South and the North when thus placed in juxtaposition is very remarkable, and shows a decided superiority in that of the South at that period, from about 1050 to 1150; but the South stood still while the North progressed rapidly, and the Gothic style is decidedly of Northern origin, although some of the intermediate steps may have derived considerable impetus from the collision of the two styles in Anjou.

These English provinces were in a more advanced state of civilization than England itself was at the time these buildings were erected, that is before the time of Henry the Second; after that period a great change takes place, and during the following century it is still doubtful which country had the priority in the architectural movement; and the French buildings of the time of Edward the First are not equal to the English. It is chiefly in the earlier periods, especially in the eleventh century, that the difference is so remarkable, and the advantage so much in favour of France: this gradually gives way, though they were probably still somewhat ahead, until towards the end of the thirteenth century, when the tables were turned in our favour. But this subject requires further investigation, and a more careful examination of the dates of buildings in both countries. Much of the change was probably owing to the character of Edward the First, in whose time art was in higher perfection in England than it ever was before, or, perhaps I might venture to say, it has ever been since.

I remain, my Lord,

Your very obedient Servant,

J. H. PARKER.

The Right Hon. the Earl Stanhope, Pres.S.A.

&c.      &c.      &c.

XXIX. *Notes on Bronze Weapons found on Arreton Down, Isle of Wight.*  
*By* AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS, *Esq.*, *F.S.A.* *In a Letter to* Sir HENRY  
 ELLIS, *K.H.*, *F.R.S.*, *Director*.

Read November 15, 1855.

DEAR SIR HENRY,

The antiquities which I wish to submit to the consideration of the Society have been brought under their notice on a former occasion; still, as a hundred and twenty years have since elapsed, it will scarcely be necessary for me to apologise for reverting to them again.

On the 11th of December, 1735, several bronze weapons were exhibited to our Society by Mr. Benjamin Cooke, of Newport, Isle of Wight, which had recently been discovered in that Island;<sup>a</sup> and on the 17th of March, 1736-7, several others, found at the same place, were exhibited by Mr. Peter Collinson,<sup>b</sup> accompanied by the following letter to him from Mr. Cooke:—

“ D<sup>r</sup>. SIR,

“ Newport, Jan. 1st, 1736-7.

“ As the spear and ax heads I formerly sent you prov’d acceptable, I send you some more that were found at the same time and place, which are most, if not all, different from those sent before. You desired me to be more particular in my accounts of them, which I shall oblige you with as follows: They were deposited on a hill about the middle of this island, called Arreton Down, in the parish of Arreton, in the manor of Hasely, on the estate of Richard Fleming, Esq.

“ A farmer who was widening a marle-pitt found these instruments ranged in a regular order, the axes laid on the spear-heads about a foot deep on the brow of a hill in a marley soil, about two hundred yards from the front of a retrenchment, which I take to be Roman; and at some distance on the same hill are two large barrows, which may be presum’d to hold the remains of those who were the owners of those weapons.

“ I think your opinion may be fully proved true that they are Gaulish, and

<sup>a</sup> Soc. of Antiq. Minutes, Vol. II. p. 129.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. Vol. II. p. 285.

belonged to y<sup>c</sup> Roman auxiliars; and, if I had time, I think I could make it probable that they are as old as the reign of Claudius, and did appertain to some soldiers of Vespasian. This may be the subject of another letter. I shall only take notice, that I put a handle<sup>a</sup> to the ax by authority of Homer, and from a seal in which I observed such an instrument, which carries the face of real antiquity. Whether this be not the *Amazonia Securis* mentioned by Horace, let the learned judge.

"I am yours, &c.

"BENJAMIN COOKE."

Mr. Director<sup>b</sup> was desired to make Drawings in the drawing-book of the Society of the before-mentioned heads of axes and spears shown by Mr. Collinson.<sup>c</sup>

Six of the bronze implements, possibly those exhibited in 1735, appear to have been presented by Mr. Cooke to Sir Hans Sloane, and are now in the British Museum. Ten others, exhibited in 1737, are made known to us by Sir Charles Frederick's drawings, still preserved in the library of the Society. The originals seem to have been the property of Mr. Peter Collinson, by whom they were exhibited. I do not know whether they are still in existence, or where they are preserved. It would be very desirable that they should be united to their fellows in the British Museum, as it is only by carefully comparing remains of this class with such as are known to have been discovered together, that we are enabled to fix their relative ages, or the purpose for which they were made.

It is not recorded what number of weapons were found at Arreton. From some expressions in Mr. Cooke's letter, I suspect that more were discovered than the sixteen above mentioned.

The following is the description of them, arranged according to their respective types:—

No. 1. A spear-head, or dagger-blade, with tang: length 10 inches. The centre ridge is prominent, and is ornamented with rows of engraved dots. On each side of it are four ornamental ribs, converging at the point. At the end of the tang, which is flat, is a rivet-hole, in which the rivet remains; the latter appears to be about one inch long. (Plate XXV. fig. 1.)—*Mr. Collinson.*

<sup>a</sup> In the drawings one of the celts is represented with a modern wooden handle

<sup>b</sup> Mr., afterwards Sir Charles, Frederick.

<sup>c</sup> Minutes, Vol. II. p. 287. The particulars of this discovery are noticed by Mr. Lort, in his paper on celts (*Archæologia*, Vol. V.), and one of the celts and a spear-head engraved in Plate VIII. figs. 5, 27; both very ill done, and not recognisable.



No. 2. Similar weapon: length  $10\frac{1}{4}$  inches. The ornamentation is the same as in the last; but, in addition to the small dots, which are very faintly engraved, are two strongly-marked rows of dots near the lower end. The tang is broken across the rivet-hole. The fracture bears every mark of being ancient.—*British Museum.*

No. 3. Similar weapon: length 10 inches. It is not so broad in the blade as the two last. It has four ribs, varying in size on each side of the central ridge. A rivet-hole at the end of the tang, but no rivet.—*Mr. Collinson.*

No. 4. Similar weapon: length  $8\frac{3}{4}$  inches. It has two small ribs close to the centre edge. At the end of the tang is a rivet-hole.—*Mr. Collinson.*

No. 5. Similar weapon: length  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches. It has no side ribs. The tang is longer in proportion to the blade than in the others; at the end of it is a rivet-hole.—*Mr. Collinson.*

No. 6. Similar weapon: length 10 inches. It is plain, like the last one, but the blade has a rather more curved outline. A rivet-hole at the end of the tang, in which the rivet remains.—*Mr. Collinson.*

No. 7. Similar weapon: length 8 inches. The tang is broken across the rivet-hole, and the fracture appears ancient.—*British Museum.*

No. 8. Similar weapon: length  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The tang is short, cut square at its end, as if curtailed on purpose. It has no rivet-hole. From the oxydization of the surface, this object must have been deposited in its present state. (Plate XXV. fig. 4.)—*British Museum.*

No. 9. Similar weapon: length  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches. A hollow ferule appears to have been passed over the tang, so as to form a socket for the wooden handle or stem. The tang projects beyond this ferule, and is pierced like the others with a rivet-hole, in which the rivet remains. The ferule is curved at its upper end, so as to hold the blade firmly. This end is ornamented with raised ribs, and the lower one with engraved lines. On the intermediate space appear six raised bosses, which simulate rivets. There is no rivet-hole in this ferule, which must have been kept in its place by the handle and the rivet in the tang. (Plate XXV. fig. 2.)—*Mr. Collinson.*

No. 10. A weapon (length  $8\frac{1}{4}$  inches) resembling in its blade those which have been described, but with a less projecting centre ridge. It has a socket which forms part of it, and in it is a rivet-hole. The upper and lower ends of the socketed portion are ornamented like the ferule in No. 9; towards the upper end are two projecting bosses. (Plate XXV. fig. 3.)—*Mr. Collinson.*

No. 11. A dagger-blade: length  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The blade is strengthened by three



raised ribs. It has been attached to its handle by three rivets. (Plate XXV. fig. 5.)—*Mr. Collinson.*

No. 12. A dagger-blade: length 9 inches. It swells gradually in the centre, and is variously ornamented. Only one of the rivet-holes remains. The outline of the handle is marked by a different oxydization on the blade. (Plate XXV. fig. 6.)—*British Museum.*

No. 13. Celt: length  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches. It has a broad lunated edge, and is ornamented with engraved lines, both on the upper part of the blade, and on the sides. In the drawing the central portion of the celt is concealed by a modern wooden handle, to which Mr. Cooke alludes in his letter.—*Mr. Collinson.*

No. 14. Celt: length 8 inches. Similar in form to the last, but quite plain. (See woodcut.) It is a remarkably strong implement, and is the largest of its class in the British Museum. It is well made and finished.—*British Museum.*



No. 15. Celt: length  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches. It differs only in size from the last, being of the same proportions and finish.—*British Museum.*

No. 16. Celt: length  $4\frac{1}{4}$  inches. Similar to the last.—*Mr. Collinson.*

It will be seen that the weapons may be separated into four classes. The first, including Nos. 1—9, which are probably spear-heads, were fastened by means of rivets passing through a tang into their shaft or handle; the wood was prevented from splitting by a ferule fitting on to the blade. This type is quite new to me, and differs from any that I have seen either found in the British Islands or on the continent, and I have Mr. Kemble's authority for stating that no similar weapon is to be found in the museums of North Germany. The second class consists of one specimen, No. 10, which is socketed, and which may be a

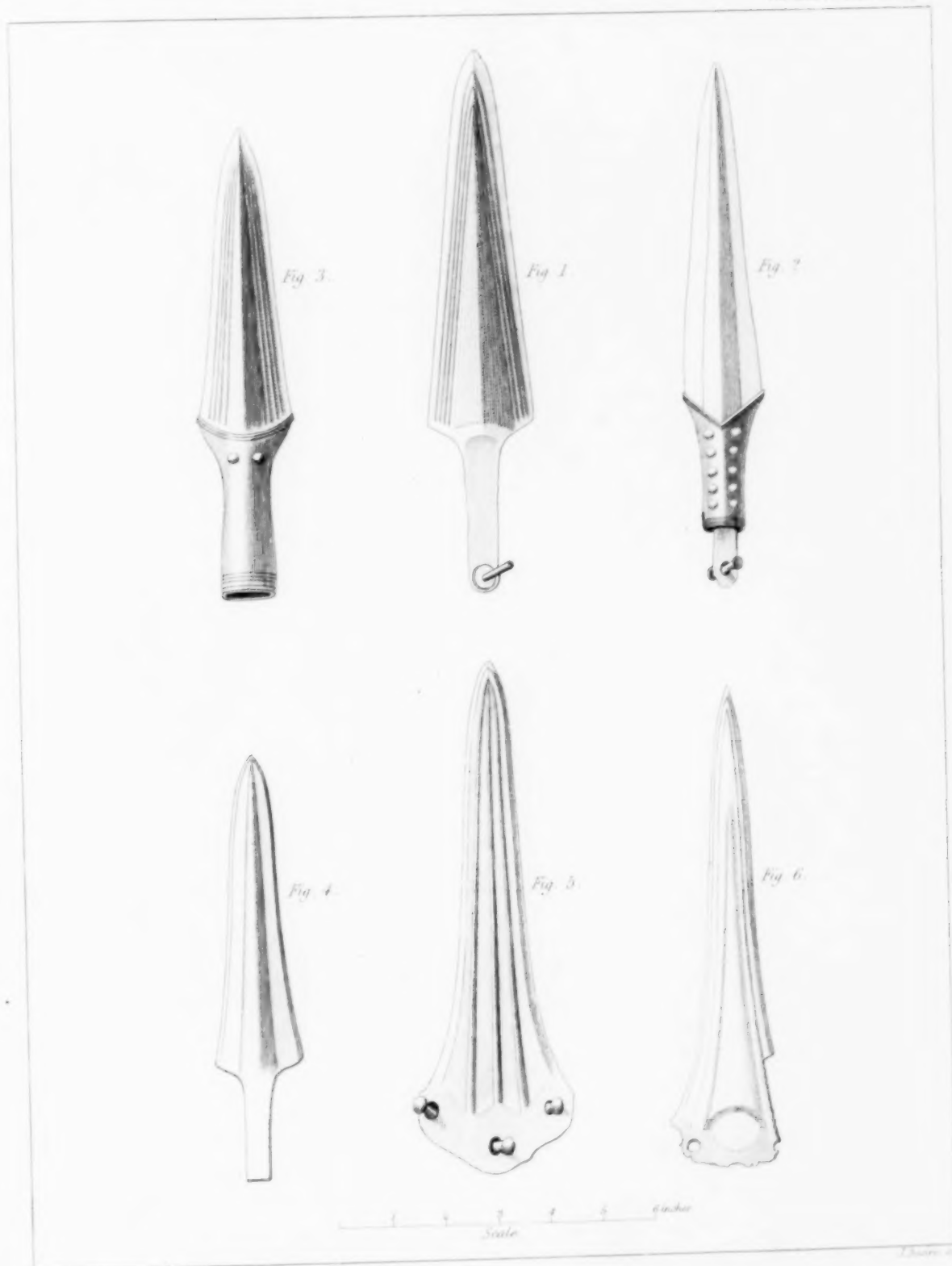
spear-head, dagger, or knife. The type is not an unusual one, though not often so highly ornamented; it occurs not unfrequently in Ireland. The more common form is shown in the accompanying woodcut, which represents a socketed knife,



with its original wooden handle, and which is preserved in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy. The rivet in this case, as is not unusual in bronze weapons, has probably been of wood. The third class consists of daggers (Nos. 11, 12) different in form, and which have had a bone or wooden handle, fastened on with rivets. Objects of this kind are among the few bronze weapons that have been found in sepulchral interments, particularly in the barrows of Wiltshire and Dorsetshire. The fourth class consists of celts (Nos. 13—16). They are all of the same type, very strong, and well calculated for use in war or in the arts of peace. They are not of a very common form, but have been found in various parts of England and Ireland. One of them (No. 13) is ornamented, and resembles the bronze celts found at Poslingford, near Clare, in Suffolk, described and engraved in *Archæologia* (Vol. XXXI. p. 497); of which four are in the British Museum. A similar celt, rather more slender in form, but somewhat differently ornamented, was found a short time since at Lyss, in Hampshire, and is in the collection of Albert Way, Esq.

It is greatly to be regretted that we have not fuller particulars of the circumstances of the discovery of these weapons. They appear to have been arranged in regular order, the celts over the others. Nothing would seem to favour the idea of a sepulchral deposit, nor of accidental loss. They were evidently carefully laid by, either for temporary concealment or as a store for future use. It is, however, evident that they were not deposited with their handles or shafts, for the rivet-holes in several of them (Nos. 2, 7, 8) were broken in ancient times, as shown by the fractured edges, which are covered with the same patina as the rest of the blades; their imperfect state would thus prevent their being securely attached. It is not unlikely that they may have belonged to some bronze-smith of ancient days who lost his life before he could return to secure his store, or who forgot the exact spot in which he had deposited it.

As little can be said of the purposes for which, or the people by whom, these



BRONZE WEAPONS found on ARRETON DOWN, ISLE of WIGHT.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 18th April, 1850.



objects were employed. They would be well fitted for war, the chase, or even domestic uses, and may have served for all three. There is nothing necessarily foreign about them, as they resemble English types more than foreign ones, though differing from both, and they may have been manufactured in the island in which they were found. They are certainly not Saxon, nor could they have belonged to the Legionaries of Vespasian or their allies, as suggested by Mr. Cooke, for all the documentary evidence that we possess shows clearly that bronze weapons were neither used by the Roman conquerors of Britain or by their less civilized opponents. They must belong, therefore, to that vast and obscure portion of our history unrelieved by any written records, when wave after wave of different tribes and even races scattered their spent remains over these shores, and sought here their most distant scene of adventure, or their last refuge from continental oppression.

It is not, however, my intention to discuss the intricate subjects connected with the use of bronze weapons in these islands, or the period to which they belong. It will be sufficient for me to recall attention to a remarkable discovery of such objects, and to furnish thereby materials for those more competent than myself to treat of so extensive a subject as that to which I have alluded.

Yours faithfully,

AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS.

British Museum, Nov. 1855.



XXX. *History of the Boat which gave Peter the Great the first Thought of building the Russian Fleet. Communicated by SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H. Director, in a Letter to the PRESIDENT.*

Read 31 January, 1856.

MY LORD,

British Museum,  
30th January, 1856.

Among the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum there is one, entitled "The Story of the Ship's Boat which gave Peter the Great the first Thought of building the Russian Fleet."

I am not aware that it has been in print; nor have I found it known to persons whose literary means, and whose knowledge of all which has been published in this or any other country relating to Russia, has enabled them to call such a Tract to recollection. It must have been written more than a century ago, since it is found in Sir Hans Sloane's Collection of Manuscripts, which was transferred to the Trustees of the British Museum in, or soon after, 1753.

The Story is remarkable. The boat itself is, no doubt, that which is still preserved, together with its sails, at St. Petersburg in the Czar's house; and is a far prouder monument to the memory of Peter the Great than the statue upon the rock which was set up by the Empress Catherine to the memory of her great predecessor.

The writer of this story was confessedly present at the naval solemnity which forms the chief feature of his Tract; and was then, or had been, as I gather from particular expressions, in the service of the Czar.

Who he was, after taking great pains in enquiring, I have been unable to discover.

I remain, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

To the Right Hon. the Earl Stanhope,  
&c. &c. &c.

“The STORY of the SHIP’S BOAT which gave his late Russian Majesty PETER ALEXOWITZ the first THOUGHTS of BUILDING the RUSSIAN FLEET.

“The Russian history is exceeding difficult to trace, because no historian takes notice of any actions till after the time of Duke Ruric, who died A. 879. Cluverius, indeed, is quoted, who relates from Greek Historians that Igor, Great Duke of Russia, crossed the Euxine Sea with a fleet of 15,000 vessels to attack Constantinople—but these are agreed to be only cock-boats, and of no consequence; and it is also further agreed that D. Uladimer was too much engaged to establish religion to regard navigation, and was blamed for the division of his country into twelve dukedoms for the sake of his twelve sons: but the disturbances this impolitic division made were soon quieted by the Great Knaze or Prince Ivan Basilowitz, who re-united three dukedoms and reduced ’em again into one body. This success by land gave umbrage to the maritime powers, lest such an enterprising prince should make any attempts by sea; and, therefore, in a congress at Lubeck, the subjects of foreigners were forbade to come into Russia to teach navigation or shipbuilding, though he seemed to have no views that way, his whole time being taken up in making conquests by land. The death of Borise Godunoff concluded the succession in his line, and after an interregnum of some years came the family of the Emperor Peter the Great. 1. The grandfather, Czar Michael Theodorowitz, who quelled the civil dissensions of the country, and guarded against the incursions of the Tartars, but had no thoughts of building ships. 2. His father, Czar Alexie Michaelowitz, not only confirmed the strength of the dominions his father had left, but advanced upon his neighbours, and enlarged his territories, and extended his thoughts also to the sea. Yet in this he made but a very small beginning, having only built a little ship called the Eagle, and one yacht or galliot on the river Wolga; and the design was totally quashed and defeated at Astracan, by a quarrel amongst the Hollanders that built and had the care of these vessels, in the way to the Caspian Sea. The captain being killed, some fled to Persia and thence to the Indies, and only two of the whole company, a surgeon and a carpenter, returned to Moscow to relate the disappointment.

“So that Czar Peter Alexiewitz truly began and perfected a Fleet, the story of which is thus related:—

“His Majesty, when yet a youth, was walking in the flax-yard at Jomaclost (an old seat of the family near Moscow), and, passing by the magazines where some remains of the household of Niketa Ivanovitz Romanoff, his great-uncle, were

laid, he spied, amongst other things, a small foreign vessel, and his curiosity not suffering him to pass it by without an enquiry, he presently asked Francis Timerman (who then lived with him and taught him geometry and fortification) what, for a vessel, that was? He told him it was an English boat. He then asked, where they made use of it? He answered, it was made use of by ships to bring and carry goods. His Majesty then ask'd in what it was preferable to our vessels? (for he observed it built in a fashion better and stronger than ours.) Timerman answered, that it goes with a sail, with the wind, or against it: which word made him greatly wonder, and, as though not credible, raised his curiosity to see a proof of it. The Czar asked Timerman, was there such a man as could refit the vessel, and show it to go so? And hearing that there was one, being overjoyed, he required him then to find him out. Then Timerman sought out the above-said carpenter, Carstens Brand (who was sent for by his father from Holland to build ships in the Caspian Sea as is before mentioned).

“Then did the seed of the Czar Alexie Michaelowitz begin to sprout. Carstens Brand, a long time despairing of employment in his own way, had hitherto subsisted himself by joyner's work; and contrary to his expectation being called to work at his first trade, he very willingly repaired the boat, made the mast, four sails, and sailed up and down the River Yause<sup>a</sup> in his Majesty's sight, which was yet a great wonder to his Majesty and exceedingly pleased him.

“And who at that time could imagine this divertizement of his Majesty would ever have improved to greater purposes, and not have been laid aside as an entertainment of his youth? But this monarch was so particularly remarkable in all he did, that the very pastimes of his childhood are esteemed as transactions momentous and weighty, and appear worthy to be recorded in history. He pursued such diversions in his childhood as led him, and many other great personages before him, to future great exploits. His pleasures were to build forts moated round; to draw up battalions as in a real engagement with an enemy, offensive and defensive. And so the said boat did not only serve for play and pastime, but gave occasion for his building a great Fleet.

“But to return to the story. His Majesty was not content to see the sailing of the boat; but coveted himself to go in her, and steer her; and because he had observed the boat not to answer her helm, but often to strike against the bank, he asked the above said Carstens Brand the reason of it? Who answered,

<sup>a</sup> A small river that runs by the suburbs of Moscow, wherein the English and Dutch merchants dwell, and falls into the Mosqua a little above the city.

because the water was narrow and she had not sufficient way. Then his Majesty ordered the boat to be carried into a water called the Prussian Pond, but that was nothing better: and his desire was so inflamed that it hourly increased, and he resolved to carry it into a larger water: and the Lake of Pereslave was mentioned to him as nearest. He wished to fly thither, but the following accident intervened to retard his journey.

“His mother the Czarine being heartily solicitous for the safety of her son, endeavoured to dissuade and divert him from it, yet with a deference and respect to his sovereign dignity. On his part, he so comported himself to her will as if he had been regardless of his own power and dignity.

“Here was the difficulty: to desist from his intended journey towards the Lake, his strong bent of mind that way would not permit; and yet to proceed without his mother’s approbation, his filial affection forbade him: and all the scruple was about her Majesty’s consent, in an undertaking least in opinion dangerous. However, his eager desire to effect his purpose made him very thoughtful to bring it about. Under the pretext of performing a vow in Trinity Monastery, he prevailed with his august mother for an opportunity of making this journey; hence, it is manifest with what an ardent zeal for the public good God inspired this monarch.

“After his Majesty had taken a full view of the extent of this lake, he then instantly and openly entreated his mother to build there a house and vessels: and so the abovesaid Carstens Brand built two small frigates and three yachts, wherein his Majesty diverted himself a few years. But afterwards he thought this too small a water, and designed to go to the Lake Cubins, which is large and extensive but not deep enough. Then he fixed his resolution to visit a water large as his desire, and that was the sea itself; but motherly care again obstructed this design; which often represented this as a voyage dangerous and troublesome; but such was the impulse of this son’s spirit, that it could not be restrained nor diverted, and she saw him immutably resolved, notwithstanding all the dissuasion she had used.

“Therefore in 1694 his Majesty visited Arch Angel, and from thence, in his own yacht, called the St. Peter, he sailed to Ponoia in company with English and Hollands merchant ships under convoy of one Dutch Man of War, commanded by Captain Jolle Jolson.

“His Majesty was much delighted with this voyage, so much at large, but did not stop here. He therefore bent his thoughts wholly towards building a fleet: and in his Invasion of the Tartars he had laid siege to Asoph, and happily taken



it; he then in prosecution of his purpose, which was unchangeable, thought not long about it; but put it speedily in execution. A fit place for building ships was found in the River Veronez, by a city of the same name. Masters were sent from Holland, and in 1696 a new work was begun in Russia, the building of great and noble ships, gallies, and other vessels: and to make it lasting in Russia he contrived to bring the art itself into his own nation; and to that end sent great numbers of his own nobility and gentry into Holland and other dominions to learn Ship-building and Navigation.

"And what is most wonderfull; as though this monarch was ashamed to be out-done by his subjects in this art, he made a tour to Holland himself, and at Amsterdam, in the wood-yard called the Ostend Wharf, he wrought with other volunteers in the ships, and, in a little time made that proficiency as to pass for a good carpenter; after this he desired John Pool, master of the yard, to instruct him in the proportions of a ship, which he learned in four days.

"But because in Holland this art was not taught perfectly in the mathematical way, but only some few principles of it, and the rest must be acquired by long practice and experience; and the above-said master told him they could not demonstrate this in lines, it gave him great uneasyness that he had taken so long a journey for that purpose and had failed of his end so much desired.

"A few days after it happened that his Majesty was at the house of John Theesing a merchant, where he sat in company very pensive for the above-said reason, but when in the course of conversation he was asked the cause of his melancholy, he then declared his reason for it.

"An Englishman in the company, who heard this, told him that in England this kind of structure was in the same perfection as other arts and sciences, and might be learned in a short time. His Majesty was glad to hear this: and hereupon in all haste went to England, and there in four months time finished his learning, and at his return brought over with him two master ship-builders, John Dean and Joseph Noy.\*

"And now it appears to have been an occasion not a little remarkable, since there is a complete Fleet in Russia, and the Czar himself was a master ship-builder, as he proved in fact<sup>b</sup> by appointing another place for building ships in

\* "Baron Huyssen, Councillor in the Colledge of Ivan, in the History of his Majesty's Life, tells us that his Majesty perceived the method and manner of building ships in England to be more regular and much better than that in Holland, and was often heard to say that had he never gone to England he had still remained ignorant of the art.

<sup>b</sup> "For as soon as he returned from England he went down to Veronez, whither he carried the two English



the royal city of Petersburg which he founded. What a multitude of great ships and galleys and other vessels of every kind are here built regularly and beautifully we have no occasion to relate; but all rejoice and wonder. And because a fleet to enable it to succeed in expeditions and engagements requires some formal regulations, or a rule, without which winds and sailors are useless, this most wise monarch set himself to this work, and partly from his own judgment, and partly out of the regulations of foreigners, he collected the excellent rules which he formed into a book: and thus has he, as it were, breathed a living soul into his own material creation, and thence we have seen by the blessing of God those happy successes in every part of the Baltic, where he made prize of a great many ships of his enemies; with unusual success took the Swedish Rear-Admiral and his squadron, and subdued the great kingdom of Finland, which by land was never to be come at by reason of the difficulty of the roads to it, and in 1719 passed by a descent on Sweden itself, and gave them such a defeat as concluded in our advantage and triumph.

"Thus, kind Reader, you see how merciful the most gracious God has been, and how wonderful his Providence manifested to us in old time. As low as the most ancient Histories go, Russia had no fleet; though this was always possible had there been any thought or care to have one: afterwards adverse times arose, wherein it was impracticable so much as to think about it. But in our days this glorious work, scarce before heard of by us, having taken its beginning and rise from so small an occasion, is grown to the greatest perfection by the vigilancy, diligence, and indefatigable application and industry of this wise monarch; and this in such a strange and wonderful manner, as a long and tedious war has not obliged him to intermit, nor many other cares, both civil and military, have given the least interruption to it.

builders Dean and Noy. The first soon after desired a discharge, which was granted, without giving any proof of his art; the Czar himself and Joseph Noy received orders from the Lord High Admiral Theodore Alexowitch Golovin to build each of them a man-of-war.

"The Czar having taken upon himself the title of a master ship-builder, was pleased to subject himself to the condition of that character; and in compliance with that order gave the first proof of his skill in the art which he had learn'd abroad, and continued afterwards to bear that title, and had at all times, notwithstanding his great engagement in many other affairs, one ship upon the stocks; and at his death left one ship half-built, one of the largest in Europe, 180 feet long upon the deck, 51 broad, and 21 deep, and mounts 110 guns, and is by relation one of the finest bodies that has ever been seen, as were indeed all the rest he built. He himself drew the draught of this great ship at Riga, where was no master ship-builder but himself: and when he returned to Petersburg he gave the Surveyor an account that he had drawn his draught of the great ship which he had orders to build from the Surveyor's Office, and, according to the regulations of the Navy, presented his draught to be examined."

“The Story being thus told can want no confirmation : yet, to show farther in an instance very remarkable the passion his Majesty had for this little Boat, I presume to add the last token of his regard for it, whereby he seemed desirous to perpetuate the remembrance of it, as the first occasion of his naval proceedings and exploits.

“This very boat was brought from Moscow to St. Petersburg in 1723, repaired and beautified in order to make his last and most glorious appearance on the 12th August, which I shall give a short Account of, as I had an opportunity of seeing the transaction.

“In the month of June the same year his Majesty sailed to Revel with his fleet, and returned to Croonstadt in the beginning of August, at which time a great number of yatchts and bayers, about two hundred, and one galliot were ordered to meet him there, and attend on the famous little boat above.

“After this little Fleet was arrived within half a league of the place with their charge, they had orders to cast anchor till the nine flags in so many pinnaces came up to pay their respects to the Mother of their great Fleet. A small parent indeed of so large a progeny. At the return of the flaggs the yatchts, &c. weighed anchor and went into the haven, save the galliot which bore the venerable matron ; that lay off at sea till the day of the grand solemnity, when she was received with uncommon ceremony.

“For the Czar a second time made her a visit with the flaggs alone, launched her, and grac’d her with his imperial standard, his own person steering, the Great Admiral and two other Admirals rowing, with the Surveyor of the Navy Ivan Michaelowitch Golovin.

“At her launching the Great Admiral General fired seven guns as a signal to the whole Fleet, consisting of twenty-two men-of-war of the line, to fire at once.

“Then away she came, and, as she came by each ship, was saluted by all the cannon. After she had passed the whole fleet and rowed into the haven, the dutiful children paid the last compliment to their mother with one generall salute of their cannon. Then came on dinner time, and in the evening the Court and Flag Officers rendezvouzd on the edge of the Haven, and closed the evening with merriment, &c.

“A few days after the Boat was brought back to Petersburg and laid up in the castle, where she is to be taken the greatest care of.”

XXXI. *On Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper; with extracts from some of his unprinted Papers and Speeches.* By JOHN PAYNE COLLIER, Esq. V.P.S.A.

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Read March 6, 1856.

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A MANUSCRIPT volume in my possession, which formerly belonged to Sir Christopher Hatton, as testified by his own handwriting upon it, supplies some additional information respecting Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper and father of Lord Chancellor Bacon, a notice of which seems not unsuited to the purposes of this Society. Sir Nicholas was a very unpretending man, as regards authorship: he published little or nothing in his lifetime; and perhaps the difficulties in which he was involved by, at least, assisting Hales, in his treatise on the title of the Scottish Queen, served as a warning to him how he again gave adversaries an advantage over him by printing a book. That book was the means of excluding him from the Privy Council, after he had been several years in possession of the Great Seal; and, owing to the animosity of the Earl of Leicester, he did not for some time re-establish himself in the favour of the Queen.

It will be found also that, besides adding considerably to the small stock of Sir Nicholas Bacon's productions, some of the papers I am about to notice throw light upon the personal history of a man, great in himself, but greater as the parent of the ablest philosopher that, perhaps, the world has produced since the revival of letters. For instance, the following commencement of a private communication from Sir Nicholas to the Queen refers, singularly enough, to his own personal appearance, only about two years before his death: he thus excuses himself for not coming to Court:—

“ My most gracious Sovereigne, I with all humblenes praie pardon of your Ma<sup>tie</sup> that I presume by letter to do that, which bounden dutie and service requireth to be donne in person. Oh! good maddam, not want of a willing harte and mynde, but an unable and unweldie bodie is the onely cause of this: and yet

the bodie, such as it is, everye day and hower is, and shalbe, ever reddie at your Ma<sup>ties</sup> commaundment; and so should they bee, if I had a thowsand as good as anie man hath; myne allegiance and a number of benefittes hath so sundrie waies bound mee."

Therefore, the observation of Sir Nicholas to Elizabeth, when she visited him at Gorhambury, has a double application, as he intended it, but not as it has usually been understood. The Queen observed to him that his house was too small for him: "If it please your Majesty," replied the facetious Lord Keeper, "it is not that my house is too small for me, but that I am too large for my house; and your Majesty has made me so." The fact is that Gorhambury House, at that period, was in the same state as when both it, and a large tract of land extending into three different parishes, were given by Henry VIII. to Bacon, as a reward for services in the suppression of the Monasteries. Subsequently to the visit of Elizabeth, Sir Nicholas set about the repair and enlargement of his house, and thereby (like most of those who build) for some time crippled his finances: he constructed two wings, larger than the original body of the edifice.

The main object of his letter to the Queen was to induce her to interfere in the affairs of the Low Countries, and to take some steps regarding the person and authority of the young King of Scotland. On the last point the writer observes,

"The better to understande what is best to be forseene, for both their and your suertie, mee thinketh it best that some wise men were sent to conferre with the Regent and his adherents by your Ma<sup>ties</sup>; and that such counsell as shalbe agreed upon in that conference be sent to your Highnes to be considered of, and to be allowed or amended. Then, resteth nothing but to have it carefully executed. And in the handling of this, great care would be taken that the young King, who groweth nowe to yeeres, be not transported, but may remayne in the gouernance of such as shalbe most assured to your Ma<sup>ties</sup>."

The way in which this end was to be accomplished was the usual course, not only at that period, but at almost any period of our history—the distribution of bribes in the shape of pensions among the nobility:—"And for the better bringing this to passe (adds Sir Nicholas) I most humbly beseech your Highnes, that such and soe manie pensions may be graunted, as may best bring it to good effecte. Suerly I thinke that everie mark that shalbe thus bestowed will save your Ma<sup>ties</sup> an hundred thowsand; yea, it may be doubted, if this be undone, whether anie money will be able to beare off the daunger."

From thence the writer proceeds to advert to threatened perils of invasion from Spain, which he then wisely foresaw, but which did not come to a climax for



more than ten years afterwards, the date of the letter being "From Gorhambury the 21st March, 1577" (*i. e.* 1577-8). At this period the Lord Keeper was extremely unwell, and in the conclusion he speaks of his "shaking" and serious illness, which had increased his anxieties for the public welfare, and had compelled him with such earnestness to press upon her Majesty the necessity of the course he had pointed out.

This letter is followed by another, dated six or seven weeks afterwards, viz., 6th May, 1578, of similar import, but, if possible, more urgent on the affairs of Scotland and the Netherlands, and lamenting that the time seemed to have passed when anything could be done for France. As this production has been already printed, I shall not think it necessary to speak farther about it, but advert to other matters, more or less novel.

A speech by Sir Nicholas Bacon, urging Elizabeth to marry, has been mentioned and quoted by most of his biographers; but my MS. contains two long harangues on the subject. These, and the obvious arguments they contain, it is not necessary here to notice, farther than as they are followed by a document, headed "The Queene's Ma<sup>ty</sup> Answere to the Petitions exhibited." This answer is a singular production, evidently by Elizabeth herself, parts of which have been printed in the Parliamentary History, and other parts wholly omitted. It is not long, and it is worth giving in its entire state: I therefore copy it, requesting those who hear it to allow for the harsh, crabbed, and not always intelligible character of the Queen's oratory.

"Since" (she says) "there can be no duer debte then Prince's word, to kepe that unspotted, for my parte I would be lothe that the selfe same thinge w<sup>ch</sup> kepeth the merchauntes creditt from cracke, should be the cause that Princes speach should meritte blame, and so their honour quaile: therefore, I will an answer give, and this it is. The two petitions that you presented me, expressed in manye wordes, conteyned in some, as of your cares the greatest,—my marriage and my successor—of which two I thinke best the last be touched, and of the other a silent thought may serve. For I had thought it had bene so desyred, as none other trees' blossomes should have byn mynded, or ever hoped, if my fruite had ben denyed you. And yet, by the waye, of one due doubte, that I am, as it were, by vowe or determination bent never to trade that kinde of life. Pull out that heresy; for your beleife is there awrye; for though I can thinke it best for a pryvate woman, yet doe I stryve with my self to thinke it not meete for a Prince: and if I can bende my likinge to your neede, I will not resiste such a mynde. But to the last, thinke not that you had needed this desire if I had seene a tyme



so fitt, and yet so rype to be denounced. The greatnes of the cause, and need of your returnes, dothe make me saye that which I thinke the wise may easelie gesse, that as short tyme for so longe contynuaunce ought not to passe by rote, as many tell their tales: even so as cause by conference with the learned shall shewe me matter worthie utteraunce for your behoofes, so shall I more gladly pursue your good after my dayes, then with my prayers whilest I lyve to linger my lyvinge threde. And thus much more then I had thought will I add for your comfort: I have good recorde in this place, that other meanes then you mentioned have bene thought of, perchaunce for your good, as much as for my suertye no lesse, which, if presently and conveniently could have ben executed, had not nowe bene deferred or overslipt. But I hope I shall dye in quiet with *Nunc dimittis*, which cannot be, without I see some glymps of your followinge suerlie after my graved bones." \*

Such was the Queen's answer, if answer it can be called; for certainly it would require ingenuity in these times, or at any time, to put so many words together with so little meaning. It reads to our ears almost like a specimen of the intentionally unintelligible; and it may well be doubted, considering the subject, whether her Majesty wished to make herself more clearly understood. In the next document, to which I beg leave to direct attention, the Queen speaks more plainly, and with a remarkable simplicity of illustration, where she compares herself to a milk-maid with a pail on her arm: it occurs in her speech to Parliament on 15th March, 1576, where she also mentions the manner in which Lord Keeper Bacon had urged her to marry. Her words are these:—

"Nowe, touching daungers chiefly feared: firste, to rehearse my meaning latelie unfolded to you by the Lord Keeper, yt shall not be needfull, though I must confesse my owne mislike, so much to stryve against the matter, as, if I were a milke-mayde with a payle on myne arme, whereby my private person might be little set by, I would not forsake my single state to match my selfe with the greatest monarche. Not that I doe condemne the double knott, or judge amisse of such as, forced by necessitye, cannot dispose themselves to an other life, and doe wishe that none were dryven to chaunge, but such as cannot keepe the chastest lymittes: yet for your behoofe there is no waye so difficulte, that maye touch my private person, which I could not well content my selfe to take, and in this case as willinglye to spoyle my selfe, quite out of my selfe, as if I should put off my upper garment when it wearies me."

\* This speech is more accurately given by Strype (*Annals Reform.* 1703, p. 496) than elsewhere; he took it from Sir Simonds D'Ewes' Journal, and placed it under the year 1566.

This speech, and indeed the whole contents of this MS. volume, were avowedly derived from the papers of Sir Nicholas Bacon; and I find no account of it in Camden's Annals, made up from the papers of Lord Burghley, nor in other usual historical authorities. On this account I have made the preceding quotation; and we may be sure that the allusion to the milk-maid with a pail on her arm, and to the stripping off the upper garment of the Queen, never came from the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Keeper, nor from any other of the grave counsellors about her Majesty. If the heads of the speech were prepared by her Ministers, such characteristic embellishments must have been supplied by the masculine and independent spirit of the Queen.

We then arrive at another document of considerable importance, although, after the abolition of the Court of Wards and Liveries, it was of course inapplicable. Before he became Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon had been Attorney of that Court, a most lucrative appointment; and on the 27th May, 1561, he addressed a letter to Sir William Cecill, then recently (Jan. 1561) made Master of the Wards, followed by a paper thus entitled:—

“Articles devised for the bringing up in vertue and learning of the Queenes Majesties Wardes, being heires male, and whose landes, descending in possession and coming to the Queenes Majestie, shall amount to the cleere yearly value of c. markes, or above.”

Lord Campbell, in his Lives of the Chancellors (ii. 108), is rather disposed to treat Sir Nicholas with disparagement for the dulness and length of his speeches, adding that “he wrote a Treatise of Treason, and other works which have deservedly perished.” I own that I should have been very glad to read “a Treatise on Treason” by such a man as Lord Keeper Bacon; and it is remarkable how much practical wisdom is to be found in every thing he has left behind him: Camden, no mean authority, and no courtly flatterer, tells us that he was *ingenio acerrimo, singulari prudentiâ, summâ eloquentiâ et tenaci memoriâ*, and the Dissertation on Wards now under consideration, shows that Sir William Cecill, when he became Master, appealed to Sir Nicholas Bacon, as the best and safest source of information for his guidance in his office. Let us mark what Sir Nicholas says, with such excellent sense and judgment, regarding the treatment of wards in his day. He asks the new Master of Wards to reform what he justly calls most “preposterous” abuses in the department:—

“That the proceeding hath bin preposterous appeareth by this: the chiefe thing, and most of price, in wardeship is the wardes mynde; the next to that, his

bodie; the last and meanest, his land. Nowe, hitherto the chiefe care of gouernance hath bin had to the land, being the meaneste; and to the bodie, being the better, very small; but to the mynde, being the best, none at all, which methinkes is playnely to sett the carte before the horse."

Here he comes at once to the enormous and crying abuse of wardship—an abuse that never was, and never could be corrected, until the whole system was utterly abolished. We may be sure from Lord Burghley's application (when Sir William Cecill) to Sir Nicholas Bacon, that he was well disposed to remedy remediable evils; but the great evil of all—the manner in which the education of wards was shamefully neglected, while their lands were carefully cultivated, for the benefit of the Crown or of the private guardian appointed by the Crown—seemed incapable of all remedy but by extirpation.

It may appear singular that in these articles, drawn up by Sir Nicholas, so much stress is laid upon instruction in music; but it only serves to confirm the notion that the science was then most industriously cultivated by nearly every class of society. The wards are to attend divine service at six in the morning: nothing is said about breakfast, but they are to study Latin until eleven; to dine between eleven and twelve; to study with the music-master from twelve till two; from two to three they are to be with the French master; and from three to five with the Latin and Greek masters. At five they are to go to evening prayers; then they are to sup; to be allowed honest pastimes till eight; and, last of all, before they go to bed at nine, they are again to apply themselves to music under the instruction of the master. At and after the age of sixteen they were to attend lectures upon temporal and civil law, as well as *de disciplinâ militari*.

It is not necessary to insert farther details; but what I have stated will serve to show how well-bred youths of that period were usually brought up, and how disgracefully the duty of education as regards wards was neglected. Lord Burghley found himself unable to correct the mischief, though every body acknowledges that he did his best; and it lasted, more or less, as long as wardship was maintained.

It has been remarked of Sir Nicholas Bacon, that he very much confined himself to his duties of Lord Keeper in the Court of Chancery, and that he did not, as his predecessors had done, take the lead in matters of state and politics. This, to a certain extent, is true: the Great Seal was placed in his hands, without the title of Lord Chancellor, with that view; but nevertheless the Queen, the Lord Treasurer, the State Secretaries, and other high officers, certainly resorted to him, on

occasions when they stood in need of sound advice and ready assistance. Hence his duties, or rather the functions he was called upon to discharge, were multifarious and onerous. The next paper I shall notice establishes that he lent his aid even to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Walter Mildmay, in the monetary matters of the kingdom: it is headed,

“A remembraunce how to proceede to the understandinge of the state of her Majesties revenewe, and of the reformation of the unnecessarie expenses thereof.”

Here we see a very wide and a very untrodden field of inquiry into gross abuses opened; but it is astonishing to note in how comparatively small a space the comprehensive mind of the Lord Keeper enabled him to compress the whole subject: it occupies only four quarto pages, and yet no point seems omitted that ought to have been included. Some of Bacon's biographers have accused him of being prolix, and perhaps a few of his set-speeches (for which he obtained a reputation) appear a little too long, and a little too much interlarded with Latin quotations; but not only was this the fault of the age, but it was a species of pedantry that, at all events, was not displeasing to the Queen. The document before us is not at all of this character: it is brief, clear, comprehensive, and effectual. First, he recommends that commissioners should ascertain the balance in the Exchequer, Tower, &c., when Elizabeth came to the throne; next, learn what moneys, and from what sources, had been received since; and, thirdly, inquire rigidly how it had been expended. There is no date to this able document; but as “Mr. Sackville” is mentioned in it, we may be sure that it was anterior to 1567, because in that year he was created Baron Buckhurst.

It is needless to occupy time by entering into all the particulars, and stating the various heads of investigation; but I may observe, in passing, that Sir Nicholas does not neglect the point of the expense of collection; for whether the amount of revenue were large or small, or whether from being large it became much reduced, the cost of the machinery of collection was still continued as a source of patronage and emolument. This has been an evil existing in all times, and supported under all governments.

One of the longest products of the pen of the Lord Keeper I shall treat more briefly; not merely because the subject has been often handled, but because, although it contains matter of much novelty and interest at the time, that novelty and interest have disappeared in our day. We are no longer at war with Spain; she has not possession of the Netherlands, and we are not in



danger of invasion, at least from that quarter. When Sir Nicholas Bacon wrote, about the year 1575, or perhaps somewhat earlier, the necessity that England, for her own sake, should support the cause of the Protestants in the Low Countries was beginning to force itself upon the attention of public men. The Prince of Orange and the States had applied to Elizabeth for assistance; and from a paper in my MS. we gather, though the fact is no where stated, that Sir Nicholas Bacon must have been one of the distinguished persons dispatched to confer with the Prince of Orange. The minutes of this conference were taken by the Lord Keeper, and he could hardly have done so had he not been present: at the same time we are not told who were his coadjutors, the document being entitled only—

“Certen Discourses which the Prince of Orange had with . . . . . at sundry tymes: sett downe by the Lo. Keeper.”

Taking it in what way we will, either that Sir Nicholas was or was not personally employed at the conferences, it is evident how much his counsel and discretion, in a question of such moment, were relied upon by the Queen and her Ministers. The great object of the Prince of Orange was to persuade Elizabeth that her own interests called upon her to interpose; and Bacon seems to have recorded all the arguments in favour of such a course with great zeal and force. He maintains that the King of Spain treated the Protestants with more rigour than “Turks, Jews, Murrians, or Infidels, the blasphemers of God’s most holy name;” and that as soon as the Spaniard had firmly settled himself in the Netherlands, he would invade England from the east, while Scotland would attack her from the north, and be abundantly, and most willingly aided by the discontented Papists all over the kingdom. The conclusion is, and the well-known decision of the Queen was, to send an army into Zealand.

According to the MS. volume in my hands, there is one point in the character of Sir Nicholas Bacon, which has been not so much slurred over, as entirely passed over, by his biographers and by our historians. It certainly presents him in an unamiable and objectionable light—I mean as the persecutor of the French residents in England. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew took place in 1572, and it naturally excited here the utmost indignation against the French generally, and against the Roman Catholics in particular, headed by the House of Guise. In the next year there had been a violent attack by the Roman Catholic Frenchmen, resident in London, upon their Protestant brethren of the same country, of which Camden (*Annal. Eliz. edit. Kennet, ii. 447*) makes mention; and these circumstances produced in England a strong feeling against all the denizens,



whether Protestant or Papist, belonging to the French nation. A bill was therefore introduced into Parliament for their speedy and effectual extrusion from our shores. Sir Nicholas Bacon seems to have been an earnest promoter of this measure; and we have here a record of his proceedings, thus entitled:—

“A second Speech by the Lo. Keeper, of great consequence, against the retheyning of the French Denizens in England.”

The bill was strongly opposed, as we learn from this paper, on the two grounds, that it was impolitic, and that it was unjust:—impolitic as inviting retaliation, and unjust as a breach of faith towards those who had settled and thriven in this country, under the protection of patents of denization. Bacon's speech is an answer, and something more, to both these arguments; and he is very strong in his expressions, if not in his reasons, making full use of the animosity between the two nations.

“Let be called to memorie (he says) their late triumph at our common losse, whereat they rejoyced, as reckoning themselves among the victors that did the wrong, and not among us who susteyned the wrong, in whose number now they prairie they may be retheyned. It was well rehersed here of late in this house, by a gentleman of this same countrie, how in Excester the Frenchmen, upon the losse of Callice, so triumphed, and kept such sturre, that the Mayor and the City were faine to rise and suppress their insolent outrage. In London here they banquetted by heaps: how they behaved themselves in Sussex I need not rehearse it; and so likewise thorough Englande they shewed their harts to the direct falsefyinge of their profession, the ground of their patents.”

If the French Roman Catholics had so misconducted themselves on the loss of Calais some years before, it was not wonderful that they should have redoubled their rejoicings when they heard the fate of the Protestants in Paris in 1572. Bacon's argument, if it were worth anything, must be carried the length, not merely of expelling, but actually of slaughtering, all the Frenchmen who confided in our honour and their own patents; for this is the parallel he draws:—

“Let be called [to mind] the famous vyctorie of the noble Prince, King Henry the V<sup>th</sup> (for in such case our home examples doe like mee best), a thing not unknowen: the passed age hath left it witnessed; the age to come shall not leave it forgotten; when he, in the renowned filde of Agincourt, had taken the beste parte of the nobility of France, which by all law and justyce ought to have lived, as Cicero saith, *Qui victi ad Imperatoris fidem confugiunt servandi sunt*, if a higher dutie had not allowed their death: yet, when he saw a freshe armye of

the enemy marche towards him, he caused all his prisoners to be ymediatlie slayne. His yelden prisoners had done nothing against the faith and dutie of trewe prisoners; yet, for that they might doe, and for that being Frenchmen they were likelie enough to have will to doe, this noble Prince wiselie, and, as I thinke, justly slewe them all."

An advocate must indeed have been hard pressed for arguments, who would resort to such a precedent, as a conqueror of our own time repeated, to the indignation and horror of all civilized states. However, Sir Nicholas avowed that he did not mean to pursue the denizens of France to any such extremities: nevertheless, he was strongly in favour of an act of the grossest injustice, coupled with a breach of national faith; and but for this speech, which has come down to us on unquestionable authority, we should have deemed it impossible that he would have adopted any such course of reasoning. The only palliation we can offer is the state of the times, and the fears of timid politicians, who saw the life of the Queen daily threatened by assassins, and wars impending in the south from Spain, in the north from Scotland, in the east from France and the Netherlands, and in the west from Ireland. England was in fact surrounded by enemies.

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

Maidenhead, 4th March, 1856.

XXXII. *On some remarkable Sepulchral objects from Italy, Styria, and Mecklenburgh.* By JOHN MITCHELL KEMBLE.

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Read December 13, 1855.

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I AM anxious to direct attention to certain very remarkable figures and combinations of figures, the most of which have been found in interments, in various parts of Europe, in the hope that notice of them may induce some member of the Society of Antiquaries to pursue their history further than I can do. It lies somewhat beyond the strict limits which I am compelled to put to my studies, and deserves a more exclusive treatment than I have time to bestow upon it: but it seems a subject likely to repay a careful investigation.

Some years ago, namely in 1843, a large but somewhat flat tumulus was opened at Peccatel, a village not very far from the town of Schwerin. In it were found—together with a sword, a knife, and other articles of bronze, and a gracefully-formed twisted armlet of gold—the four wheels and axles, with curved axletrees, of a bronze waggon of diminutive size. The account of this discovery, which is recorded in the Ninth Yearly Report of the Historical and Antiquarian Society of Schwerin (p. 369, etc.) when divested of redundant and irrelevant matter, is as follows:—

In the year mentioned, a golden bracelet was offered for sale to the Society, with the statement that it had been found by a peasant while digging for stones on the south side of a barrow at Peccatel. On inquiry the finder stated that he had also found bits of copper, which he still possessed, with the exception of two wheels of copper: these he had given a neighbouring blacksmith in exchange for some iron nails. The first steps taken were to prohibit any further excavation, to recover the bartered wheels, and the rest of the bits of copper, and to survey the barrow. It was found of sufficient importance to be opened by the Society, and the grand ducal family, male and female, honoured the excavation with their presence. This was carefully and skilfully conducted by that accomplished barrow-digger Archivar Dr. Lisch, and the then court-painter Schumacher, to whose

hand we owe the excellent drawings which accompany the report. The barrow was the middle one of three, one being larger, one smaller: it had a diameter of about fifty paces, and a perpendicular height of five feet. The smallest barrow, which was opened upon the same occasion, offered no results at all. The largest, concerning which a number of strange traditions were current among the villagers, was left untouched at the time, but has since been explored, and proved to be most remarkable; with it, however, we have nothing to do at present.

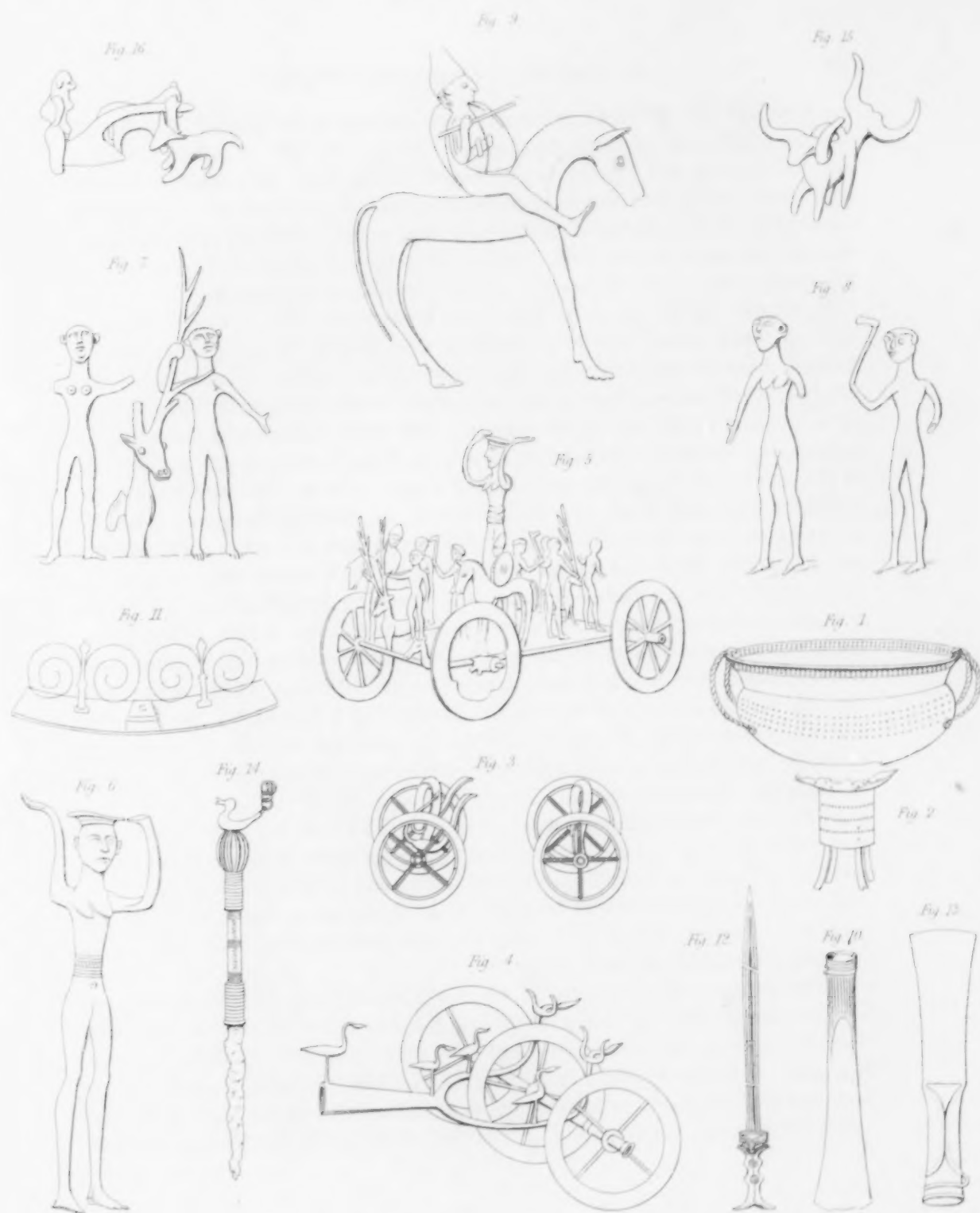
The barrow which was to be investigated was surrounded by a perfect ring or wall of closely packed stones, of middling size, that is, as my own experience teaches, about the size of our old paving stones. It was, as is also generally the case with the North German tumuli, invisible: that is to say, completely covered with earth and turf at the base of the barrow. This was pronounced by the labourers employed to consist of earth brought from some distance, and was not at all events of the same material as the surrounding plain. Within this earth were three *vaults*, as Lisch calls them, by which, however, he means rather stone-heaps or cairns, as we name them. Two stood together, very near the centre of the barrow, running nearly north and south, and were united by a sort of dam, an arrangement, by the bye, which I once found in a barrow at Armelingen, in the heath-district of *Soltan*: they were 6 feet long, 4 wide, and 4 high. The third lay in the southern edge of the barrow, in the direction from east to west, and before it was broken into had been 16 feet long and 10 wide. The man who had dug out the stones reported that it had been about 3 feet high. These cairns were all most carefully investigated. We begin with the largest. This had still a regular pavement of stones, laid upon the natural ground, which was thickly strewn with ashes and charcoal. Upon it had been found:—

1. The large vessel of bronze, represented Plate XXVI. fig. 1. It is of hammered metal, repoussé with several rows of small knobs, and had originally four twisted handles. It has a greatest diameter of 15 inches, and a height of about 7.

2. A cylinder of bronze with four feet; it is of the same workmanship as the vase, only a rather thicker metal (fig. 2). Its diameter is a little more than 3 inches, its height with the feet 6.

3. The waggon, as represented in fig. 3. This has bent axletrees forming a kind of yoke athwart the beam, and from the fragments we may believe that similar bent rods or yokes ran lengthwise, and connected the two axletrees together. This appears also from the rivets by which the several portions have been fastened together. And from another fragment equally riveted upon the same spot, it seems nearly certain that the feet of the cylinder were fixed at these





SEPULCHRAL OBJECTS FROM ITALY & GERMANY.

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J. B. 1868.





four points. If this were so, the cylinder stood just over the bent rods and yokes; and, as upon the top of the cylinder a portion of a bronze vessel is riveted, which answers as nearly as can now be expected to the missing bottom of the vase, there can be little doubt that the three several parts were combined together, and that the waggon carried both vase and cylinder. In its present dilapidated and oxydated state, it could not do so, but it may be supposed to have been originally firm enough, if, as is probable, the bottom of the cylinder rested on the arched rods themselves. The wheels are four-spoked, and have evidently been cast, not hammered like the vase and cylinder. It is probable that the side rods had been bent upwards at each end of the waggon alike, in the manner in which one still remains. The manner in which these several portions were described to have lain under the stones renders it nearly certain that they were connected in the way described. The man who found them stated that the "kettle" stood at the eastern end of the heap; that the cylinder with its feet was in it, and the wheels &c. under it, all crushed together by the weight of the stones.

4. The fourth object found was a sword of bronze, of the usual leaf-shape, rather more than two feet long, which had been broken into four pieces before it was deposited. The handle and pommel are, as far as I know, perfectly unique, although they bear a general resemblance in some details to other bronze swords found upon the continent. The pommel, which is hollow, is filled with the wood of the ash. The strig or tang is divided off by oval plates, obviously intended to compress leather, ivory, or whatever material may have been selected to clothe the hilt.

5. A knife of bronze, with a handle of the same metal, opened for the insertion of the material of the handle, and with a square knob to compress the same.

6. The armlet of gold of which mention has been made. The metal contains nearly ten per cent. of silver, which seems to be rather a larger proportion than can be accounted for by mere imperfection of separating the metals.

7. A kelt of bronze, of a form very unusual in the North of Germany; it is socketed and looped, but the opening is rather square than round, and the ornamentation reminds one a little of Irish and English specimens of the flat or simple form.

All these objects had been found at the first excavation. The following now also came to light.

8. An arrow-head of bronze, with barbs.

9. The bronze blade of a small knife, four inches long, without a handle, and in three pieces, with original fracture.

In this interment there was not even a trace of earthen vessels; nor do I find any notice either of bones or other animal deposit. As these are the objects with which I have to deal, we will pass rapidly over the contents of the remaining two cairns. The most westerly of these contained, besides a small square piece of thin bronze plate, much injured by fire, a very interesting object which may possibly have been a belt, or even part of a defensive armour. It consists of leather, upon which bronze studs of different sizes have been fixed, and is sufficiently massive to resist even a sharp spear. Similar studs have been found in graves of the Lüneburg district by Lieut.-Gen. Count Münster, Baron v. Estorff, and myself.

The eastern cairn, which lay about five feet from the western one, contained, dispersed among the stones—

1. An urn of clay of very common form, without any ornament.
2. A long bronze pin, richly ornamented.
3. A brooch of bronze, with spiral plates, of the usual character.
4. A finger-ring of bronze, in which the bone still lay.

In the neighbourhood of this heap lay *unburnt* bones of a skull, scattered disorderly. But at the north end of the western cairn was a small rude heap of stones, under and among which were also found,—

1. Two common arm-rings of bronze.
2. A common neck-ring of the same metal.
3. A brooch with spiral plates.
4. A square plate of thin bronze.

Such is the account of this certainly very remarkable tumulus.

To return now to our waggon. It is clear that this was intended to carry and convey the vase, something in the manner of those dinner-waggons, known to the good old times, when it was thought necessary for the decanters to go round smoothly as well as fast. German archaeologists, however, not being called upon to know anything of this now obsolete and therefore antiquarian custom, pronounced waggon, cylinder, and vase, to be parts of a sacrificial instrument of some sort or other, which it is in truth too much the fashion to do with everything whose application to the uses of daily life is not immediately perceived. The most important matter was obviously the waggon, for Roman vases, patellæ, and sieves of bronze are no rarities upon the coasts of the East sea; accordingly, the archaeologists of Mecklenburg set themselves to discover, wherever they could, on horns, or monuments, or the like, traces of waggons, in which search, as might be anti-

cipated, they met with tolerable success, finding in time not only waggons, but even horses and drivers, engraved or carved on various articles of good antiquity; but waggons carrying vases riveted upon cylinders they certainly did not find, and accordingly, for all but themselves the Peccatel bronze remained in all its mystery.

Lisch, however, who had persuaded himself that this bronze vase agreed in character with other bronzes of what he calls the bronze age, and that it resembled in form the clay vessels of the same period, and who besides sees, in all bronze whatever from tumuli, the reliques of a Germanic race, unhesitatingly claimed this for German heathendom. For my part I have never yet seen any bronze of indigenous workmanship repoussé, or resembling this at all in form, till the much later period which Lisch calls the age of iron, and ascribes to the Slavonians; and if I were called upon to seek for an analogon for our vase, I should look for it among Etruscan rather than German bronzes. However, Germanic it was to be; and this theory was taken to have received confirmation from a second discovery made at Frankfort on the Oder in the year 1851-2.<sup>a</sup> (Plate XXVI. fig. 4). This was an implement—for I really cannot call it a waggon—consisting of a hollow tubular handle, ending in a fork, the ends of which turn upwards, and which is fastened upon an axletree arranged so as to carry three wheels, two at the extremities outside the prongs of the fork, and one within these at the middle of the axletree; but for the third wheel the whole thing might remind us of those Etruscan firetongs, also mounted upon wheels, in the British Museum. The wheels themselves are nearly of the same size as those in the museum at Schwerin. The most noticeable peculiarity of this was that on the handle or pole, as Lisch considered it, stood two bronze figures of long-necked and long-beaked birds, one at the opening of the socket, one at the point where the prongs diverge to form a fork. One more such bird stood near the middle of each prong, and the two turned-up ends were likewise surmounted and finished off with larger, but similar, figures of birds, which differed from the others not only in their size, but in having "horns or wings" at the back of their heads. Waggon being uppermost in everybody's thoughts, this three-wheeled instrument was to be one also, although the so-called pole becomes thicker in proportion as it recedes from the axles, and all the birds, with or without horns, are looking in the diametrically opposite direction to that in which the waggon must move. Lisch, and Grimm, acting upon his information, supposing these waggons to be in some way connected with Germanic heathendom, explained them to be symbolical of Woden, the Great Bear, Charles's Wain, and so forth. In

<sup>a</sup> Described Meklenb. Archiv. xvi. 261, *seq.*



the paper describing this Frankfort implement, mention was made of another such waggon found at Warin in Mecklenburgh, but now, as it appears, lost,<sup>a</sup> and to wheels of bronze found at Frisack. I may add, that similar but smaller wheels were found many years ago at Frankfort on the Oder, under what circumstances I do not know, and are now in the National Museum at Berlin.

The birds recalled also to mind a number of similar figures mounted as buttons, or ornaments of dress, which had been dug up at Vietgest, and are now at Schwerin;<sup>b</sup> to which I may add, that several hundreds of the same kind, found at Hohenwalde near Landsberg, in Prussia, may also be seen in the Berlin Museum. Here the matter rested at the close of the year 1852; but from the third number of the Publications of the Historical Society of Styria, for the year 1852, which appeared in 1853, we learned that a still more striking discovery had been made in a barrow at Judenburg, in that province. Among a vast number of various articles of bronze, iron, and gold, the fragments of a bronze waggon had also been found, which, when carefully put together, presented an astonishing object. The car had a flat bottom, 12 inches in length by  $7\frac{1}{4}$  in width. The four wheels were about the same size as those at Schwerin, namely, 5 inches in diameter, with very wide fellys. At each end of the waggon were two heads of animals, with necks much bent, like the letter S, one at each corner. These were assumed to be horses' heads, with very long ears; but may possibly be only such figures as those at the forked ends of the Frankfort instrument, namely, heads of *bulls*.

The waggon itself carried a most remarkable group of figures (Plate XXVI. fig. 5). The central one is 9 inches high, female, and entirely naked, save that a sort of girdle goes round the body above the hips (Plate XXVI. fig. 6). It is very slender, and reminds one in many respects of early Etruscan work, such as the Martes and Minervas in the British Museum, which have been so often engraved. The hands are raised to a level with the head, and appear, with this, to have supported some kind of vessel—a plate, bowl, or vase, several of which were in fact found with it. Around this are placed other figures, each about 4 inches high, forming two corresponding groups, one looking towards the one, the other towards the other end of the waggon. Firstly, in the central place of each end, between the heads of horses, or whatever they may be, is the head and body of a stag with lofty antlers, but without legs, standing upon a peg or pin, like the birds of the Frankfort implement. The heads are  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , the antlers  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, so that the whole figure of the stag measures 6 inches. On each side of it, and grasping an

<sup>a</sup> Meklenb. Archiv. xv. 276.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. xv. 268.



antler with one hand, are two human, but sexless, figures (Plate XXVI. fig. 7); these complete the front row, which thus consists of five figures in the following order: a horse's or other head; a sexless human figure; a stag; a sexless human figure; a horse's or other head.

The second row at each end, upon the space left between the outer one and the central female figure, is filled also by two human figures, one male, one female, with strongly marked characteristic signs of sex (Plate XXVI. fig. 8). The male holds an axe in one hand which, together with the arm, is uplifted. The whole group is completed by the addition of four figures on horseback, each 5 inches high. They represent men with high caps or helmets, armed with spear and shield, and are placed two and two, on each side of the principal figure, upon the longer sides of the bottom plate, looking towards the contrary ends of the waggon (Plate XXVI. fig. 9). All the female figures have their ears bored, and the remains of earrings: *and at the back of the head of each is a loop or ring, to hold similar ornaments.*

From the appearance of the patina, the alloy was conjectured to be of a very debased character, that is, to contain a large proportion of lead: subsequent analysis, however, did not bear out this supposition. One portion, upon investigation, gave—

Copper	.	.	.	.	.	87.34
Tin	.	.	.	.	.	8.19
Lead	.	.	.	.	.	4.47
Nickel and Iron	.	.	.	.	.	trace.
						<hr/> 100.00 <hr/>

Another was even purer, and seemed to show that the presence of lead, already noticed, was probably accidental:—

Copper	.	.	.	.	.	91.05
Tin	.	.	.	.	.	8.27
Lead	.	.	.	.	.	0.61
Iron	.	.	.	.	.	0.07
						<hr/> 100.00 <hr/>

Together with this extraordinary composition, the following objects were found:—

1. An ornamented bronze kelt, with loop and socket, of unusual size, being 11·25 inches long, 2·25 inches broad at the cutting end. The ornament, which consists of fine flutes or ribs, is also unusual (Plate XXVI. fig. 10).

2. A bronze vase apparently intended for suspension by its two twisted handles. The rim was broken off; round the belly was a band with knobs or bumps, such as we see on very early Italian work. It had a height of 13 inches. Its mouth at present has a diameter of 6·5 inches, and its greatest diameter is 16 inches. It was filled with burnt bones, ashes, and sand, and was therefore a mortuary urn.

3. A second, but much larger vessel or kettle, of the same metal.

4. What is supposed to be the lower part of a helmet, but is unfortunately neither described nor figured. The bronze of which this object consisted had been gilt.

5. Numerous fragments of bronze dishes or bowls, the handles of which are ornamented with rings which jingle at every movement of the vessels.

6. Girdle plates of stamped or repoussé bronze.

7. Fragments of a bronze sieve or colander.

8. Bronze handles, apparently cast upon iron rods, about a finger thick, much in the same way as the bronze is cast upon the feet of the iron chairs discovered at Nineveh.

9. Horses' bits of iron, with bronze ornaments, close to which,

10. A very large bronze kettle.

11. A circular rim of bronze, with raised ornament of spiral work (Plate XXVI. fig. 11).

12. Several bronze rods of twisted work, 25 inches in diameter.

13. Several bronze rings of various sizes, the largest 2·5 inches in diameter.

14. Fragments of very coarse and very fine pottery.

15. A number of amber beads. (Query if not yellow glass?)

16. Two iron spears, each about 18 inches long, iron rods, and what is described as the iron felly of a wheel, but may very likely be the rim of a shield. It is 5 inch thick, and 2·3 inches wide.

17. A spiral gold finger-ring of double wire, about the thickness of a packing-needle, twisted together at the ends and wound spirally. The whole length of the wire is 10·25 inches; also a second ring half melted, and a small cylindrical bead of the same metal.

The reporter, Dr. Robitsch, after giving the long and elaborate account from which these extracts have been made, proceeds upon very meagre grounds to contend for the Slavonic origin of these objects, and during his argument

mentions incidentally the occurrence of a second similar waggon in a tumulus at Radkersberg, also in Styria. An account of this, as well as other objects discovered with it, and now preserved in the castle of Freudenau, was given by Archivar Dr. Pratobevera in the fourth number of the same Society's Transactions.

From this it appears that the find at Radkersberg consisted of—

1. A bronze sword with a solid hilt, of a very unusual form, but still one that approaches some forms found in Gaul, or other parts of the continent. Vide Plate XXVI. fig. 12.

2. Fragments and wheels of one or, perhaps, two waggons, of much the same size as those already mentioned.

3. A circular bronze plate, 4·5 inches in diameter, with a central hole, and twelve spikes or pegs placed at equal distances round the edge.

4. Two pair of hollow rods of bronze, each pair forming a rectangle. These may possibly have been corners of the waggon-frame.

5. A bronze ring one-third of an inch in thickness, and 1·75 inch in diameter within.

6. A bronze kelt (Plate XXVI. fig. 13) 7·25 inches in length, with a socket and loop, a good deal resembling the kelts found in Magna Grecia, but not those found in France, Germany, or England.

7. A ring with seven spikes placed upon a socketed shaft, with a rivet-hole to secure some kind of handle. The diameter of the ring is 3 inches; the whole length with the socket 6 inches. The opening of the socket itself 1·33 inch.

8. A bronze hair-pin with knob.

9. Five iron spears of different sizes, with sockets for shafts.

10. Fragments of unburnt bones and common rude pottery. The reporter Dr. Pratobevera, in a long and frequently very irrelevant dissertation, annihilates Dr. Robitsch and his Slavonian theory, and contends that these antiquities, as well as those of Judenburg, are of Keltic origin,—that the Gauls, during their settlement in Upper Italy, may have made them in imitation of the Etruscans, and left them behind in Styria, during one of their many migrations into those alpine regions.

So much for waggons and wheels of small size, discovered in several parts of Germany, with adjuncts of interesting character. Before I leave them I will refer, in order to guard against error, to other bronze wheels from Transylvania. A pair of these in Mr. Mayer's admirable museum in Liverpool have a diameter of nearly 2 feet, and a width of felly of 1 inch. They can hardly have been actual wheels in use, but probably formed part of some Roman group or ornament from the period when Trajan succeeded in dompting the Dacians.

The matter of which I treat was destined, however, to become still more complicated and interesting, upon the addition of elements which are as yet unknown in Germany. While engaged in drawing a number of the bronzes in the British Museum, my attention was accidentally called to two very extraordinary groups belonging to Mr. Payne Knight's collection. I will attempt to describe these as well as I can, though they will be best understood from the engraving (Plate XXVII. fig. 1). The first consists of a circular plate of bronze, 10 inches in diameter, surrounded by a rim of the same metal, half an inch in width. This rim is divided at equal distances by ten bronze figures of birds, exactly resembling those upon the Frankfort implement, and ten bronze pomegranates, arranged alternately. The pomegranates are formed of thin bronze, cut out to the necessary form of a cross, and then bent up so as to resemble the calix of a flower, the centre being filled by a large bead of yellow, or of light bluish-green glass, which is fastened to the metal plate below by a wire passing through both. From four points in the lower plate there rise four twisted rods, converging towards the top, and there supporting a second bronze circular plate, five inches in diameter. The foot of each rod is formed by one of the pomegranates already described, and the rod itself is of spirally-twisted wire, increasing in thickness towards the bottom, where the whole rod, as it rests on the bead, has a diameter of about .5 inch. Each rod consists of two separate parts, thus growing thicker towards the base: the lower part is five, the upper four inches long; they are united in the middle by a pomegranate and bead like the rest, and are surmounted by the same where they join the upper plate: the whole is at present kept together by modern wire running within the rods from the upper to the lower surfaces of the two plates. The whole figure, which thus is 10 inches high, now presents the appearance of a pyramid or tent, with four pillars supporting the roof. The area of the base is thus filled: Between the pillars or rods on the north and south sides, close to the rim, are fixed two bronze triangular figures surmounted with rings, cut out of one piece of bronze plate, and decorated with open work and pendent rings. These appear almost to have been handles by which the whole structure might be suspended or carried. Immediately within these, and standing a little across the corners, N.E. N.W. S.E. S.W., are four human figures with very animal faces. Their arms are perfectly semicircular, reaching on one side from the head to the shoulder, on the other, from the shoulder to the hip, so as to form something like a capital **S**: in the ears are earrings, and at the back of the head holes to receive similar ornaments. The rings appear to consist always of a system of five, two single ones passing through one another, and the lower supporting three.





Fig. 8.

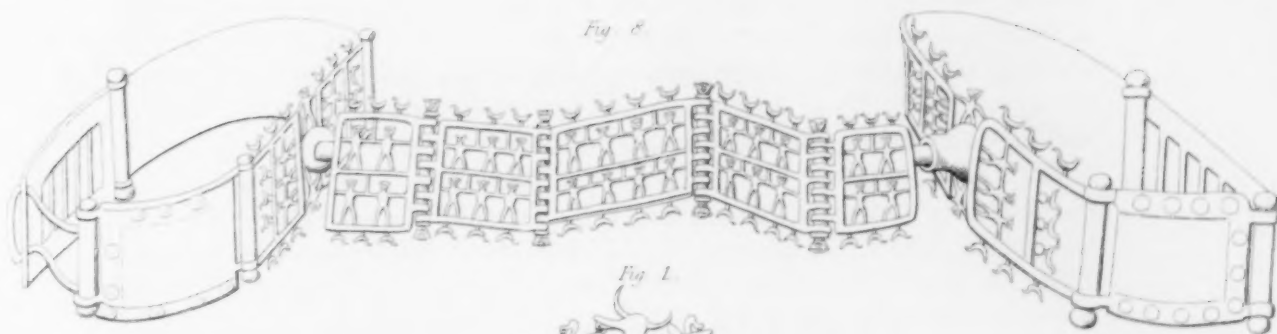


Fig. 1.

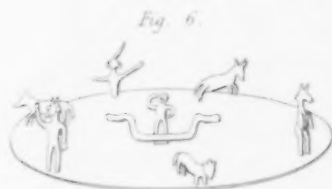


Fig. 6.



Fig. 9.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 10.

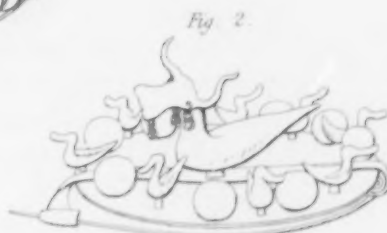


Fig. 2.



Fig. 4.

SEPULCHRAL OBJECTS FROM ITALY & GERMANY.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 25<sup>th</sup> April 1888.

J. Smith & Co.





These figures have no signs of sex. They stand upon something for which I find it very difficult to give a name: the object resembles in some respects the Scandinavian figure of ships, with upturned dragonheads, consisting of a straight rod of metal, about two inches long, bent up at each end into a neck and head, like a snake's or perhaps a bird's, and having a hole in the snout from which hang the five rings. The exact centre of the field is filled with a yoke of very rudely-shaped oxen, horned, with the yoke on their necks, and from this runs a long bronze wire between them, which is obviously only a portion of something intended to represent a plough. One horn of each ox is ornamented with torc-like rings close to the head, and from the ears and dewlap there probably depended the system of five rings already described. Behind and before the oxen (in the latter case with the face turned towards them) stands a human figure, with a head of extremely animal character, with large feet, bent arms, and largely developed organs of both sexes, the breasts sharp and prominent, the *veretrum* of disproportioned size. The upper plate, which forms the roof of the pavilion under which this strange group is collected, is ornamented externally, upon the rim, with six birds similar to those of the lower plate, having long beaks or snouts, from which depend five rings: and in the centre is a similar figure, having horns, exactly like the larger objects in the Frankfort implement, which may perhaps be best described as bird-shaped bodies with bulls' heads, but wingless. From the under side of this roof hang eight pendants, formed in the same manner as the pillars, of twisted wire, and ending in beads of coloured glass, of which one only is blue or green, the rest a pale straw colour. Four of these, which are rather larger than the others, hang at equal intervals from the rim, between the pillars or supports, and have beads at the top also, directly under the plate. The smaller four, which hang rather more under the plate, are without these upper beads.

The second of these compositions, also in Mr. Payne Knight's collection, is in every respect similar to the first, save that the pomegranates upon the lower rim are wanting, the birds, of which there are twenty, not ten, remaining alone, and that the pillars and roof are likewise omitted. Under each bird, which in every case stands not upon legs, but upon a kind of peg or pin, is fixed upon the lower side of the bronze plate a spiral of bronze wire, about 1.5 inch in diameter, exactly resembling the spirals of the North German brooches: these are intended to fasten the birds, whose foot goes through to them. I should have said that this is the case also with the first composition. The dimensions of the several figures are as follows:—

Men, upon ships, or snakes . . .	2·5 inches long, 2 inches high.
Phallic figures . . . . .	2·75 „ high.
Oxen, from snout to tail . . .	4·5 „ long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ „ high.
Diam. of spirals at foot . . .	1·5 „
Birds, from snout to tail . . .	1·5 „ long, .75 „ high.
Bull on cover . . . . .	{ 2·5 „ long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ „ high, to head, without the horns.

Together with these there were found the following objects of bronze and iron:—

1. A circular bronze plate, similar to that which forms the canopy of the first composition, but a little smaller, being 4 inches instead of 5 inches in diameter, and having ten in lieu of six aquatic birds round the rim, which alternate with ten beads of coloured glass. The centre is occupied by the same composite animal between a bull and bird. Instead of pendants below there is an acus of wire with a twisted spring, by which the whole is converted into a fibula of very unwieldy dimensions (Plate XXVII. fig. 2).

2. A hollow bronze staff,  $13\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length, but apparently broken off at one end. The end which remains is finished in a knob of open or basket work, from which depends a cluster of five rings, such as is described above. This lower part, which may perhaps be called the handle, is cast solid, and ornamented with successive circles, like juxtaposed torcs. The upper part, which is hollow, and seems to have been hammered together, is ornamented with parallel and cross lines, engraved or scratched upon the surface, and very rudely executed.

3. Another hollow staff, 11 inches long, .5 inch diameter, ornamented at each end with torcs, and throughout its length with parallel rows of vandyke scratches. At each end is a loop or ear for the reception of a cluster of rings, the lower of which is still *in situ*.

4. A large knife, the blade, which is of iron, much decomposed. The handle is similar to that of No. 2, but is thicker, having a maximum width of 1 inch, and 7 inches in length. It ends in a knob of basket-work, to which is appended a bird, from whose beak and tail clusters of rings have been hung. This handle is ornamented with parallel torcs and engraved lines (Plate XXVI. fig. 14).

5. Another, and smaller knife, with a plain handle and iron blade. Mr. Payne Knight states, that all these various objects were taken from a tomb in Campania.

Sir William Hamilton, whose collection was principally made in Italy, possessed

several articles of the same character, which are now also preserved in the British Museum :—

1. A pair of fibulæ, of semicircular form, about 4·5 inches diameter. They are formed of two concentric flat segments, united by cross pieces at right angles to the chord of the arc, and are about one-third of an inch apart. On the outer one stand five, on the inner three, birds of the kind so often alluded to. The outer rim is also pierced with twelve small holes, at rather irregular distances, which may possibly have been intended for the suspension of chains similar to certain breast ornaments in Professor Bähr's Livonian collection. In this case the rim must have been worn downwards, the beaks of the birds turning upwards. The acus is connected in the usual way with a spiral spring; and both are, in fact, only a continuation of the outer rim or plate upon which the five birds are riveted (Plate XXVII. fig. 3).

2. A bronze fibula (or perhaps a pair), 7 inches long, consisting of a flat strip of bronze, about half an inch wide, ending at one extremity in a spiral wire, with an acus, at the other in a catch, by which the whole is fastened in the usual way. In the centre of the bronze strip is riveted one of the composite figures alluded to, having the body of a bird and the head of an ox with spreading horns. As it at present stands, this figure has been riveted upon the wrong side of the strip of bronze, most likely through the carelessness of a modern restorer (Plate XXVII. fig. 4).

3. A similar figure, probably once forming a part of a similar fibula.

4. A flat strip of bronze, 12 inches long, 1 inch wide, bored at irregular intervals for the reception of twenty-two birds, seven of which still remain *in situ*.

There are still two or three fibulæ of cognate form in the British Museum, but which cannot be referred exactly either to Mr. Knight's, Sir William Hamilton's, or Mr. Townley's collections.

5. Two other and similar strips, with birds and rivet-holes for some now missing. Upon the longer of these are riveted volutes of wire, vertically disposed, and a little reminding us of the Styrian volutes already noticed. But as it is apparent that this strip has been lined with a new plate, it is uncertain whether the volutes were originally placed as we now see them. It is possible that this piece of bronze may have been the rim or finish of a plate such as Mr. Payne Knight's (Plate XXVII. fig. 5).

6. Among the bronzes of the British Museum, some derived from the collections already noticed, and some from Mr. Townley's, are a large number of extraordinary figures of animals, as rams, oxen, horses, and the like. They have this



peculiarity, that some, as the bulls, are double-headed, that is, have a head at each end of the body : some have one head at one end, two heads at the other. They have mostly eyelet-holes, by which they would seem to have been suspended; and it is very remarkable that upon the heads and cruppers of several of these animals are diminutive figures of birds (Plate XXVII. fig. 9). A very long, slender human figure, does perhaps not strictly belong to this set; and the same may be the case with the extraordinary group (Plate XXVI. fig. 16) of a man ploughing with two oxen, so disposed that one looks one way, the other in the opposite direction. Indeed both the style and the patina seem to show that this was at all events not found together with the rest.

An interesting addition to our materials still remains to be noticed. In Dr. Gerhardt's *Etruskische Spiegel* (Berlin, 1843), vol. i. pl. xviii. and p. 58, we have a long dissertation upon the copy of a mystic cista, the original of which is said to have been in Baron v. Koller's collection, but to have found its way to England. To this cist in general there are grave objections, with which we have at present nothing to do. What is for us most remarkable is, that the cist, which represents a scene of the mysteries, in a very high style of Greek art, should have had in place of a cover, just such a plate as those which I have described (Plate XXVI. fig. 6). The centre is occupied by precisely the same figure as occurs in Mr. Payne Knight's plates, viz. a human form, standing upon the dragon or ship-shaped rod, with upturned ends and heads, and having its arms bent into the form of a capital **S**. This figure Dr. Gerhardt, not knowing anything of ours, erroneously conjectures to be a Hercules. The rim is garnished with rude figures of animals, and men with animal's heads; so that this so-called *cover* is in fact identical in principle with the compositions which have engaged our attention; and, whatever may be thought of the cista itself, or its connection with the cover, the genuineness of the latter cannot be disputed. It is recorded to have been found in the Basilicata, in the neighbourhood of Naples, and a number of figures of animals, and the like, came together with the copy into the Berlin collection, all of which are said to have been deposited in the cista itself. These are described by Gerhardt as consisting of "seven tolerably human figures, with out-stretched arms, and an eighth with a pointed cap, holding the right hand before the face; two others with indistinct heads of animals; three stags; twenty other quadrupeds, perhaps horses; *fourteen pigeons, and eight larger birds*, principally joined with small plates, and ringed ornaments;" by which I suppose him to mean the volutes or spirals of wire, and the nose or ear rings which are commonly found with these birds.



Still more important, however, for us is a composition which he adduces in illustration, from the Borgia collection, and which he calls a scale. It consists of a plate bearing the closest resemblance to Mr. Payne Knight's. In the centre is one ox, with the five rings dependent from the mouth, and one of the ears. There are also four human figures with outstretched arms, with earrings, and rings at the back of the head. Above all, the rim is filled up with figures of birds, riveted down over volutes of spiral wire. The lower plate depends by three chains from a smaller one, which is not ornamented, but is furnished with a sort of handle by which the whole might be carried (Plate XXVII. fig. 7).

I have further to mention that some time ago there was purchased for the British Museum from M. Comarmond of Lyons, a massive bronze object, which he considered might be a pair of panther's collars, with a strong connecting couple. The whole of this consists of open work, produced by combinations of human figures with animal heads, and birds; all of which bear a great resemblance to those which have already engaged our attention. It is not positively known whence this collar originally came; but the choice appears to lie only between France and Italy (Plate XXVII. fig. 8).

It may also be noticed, that some years ago an implement of bronze, ending in a kind of forked hook, was discovered in Ireland. The handle is ornamented with seven figures of birds, placed upon the upper side, as in the case of the forked hook from Frankfort on the Oder, and below each of these is a pendant ring.

Lastly, in the hand of a statue from the well-known archaic tomb at Vulci, is a figure resembling a bird, but with two very large horns of gilt wire.

If now we review all the points of resemblance between these several groups of archaeological data, we have the following results, as indicia for the foundation of a theory.

At Peccatel, in Mecklenburg; at Judenburg and Radkersburg, in Styria; at Warin, Frisack, and Frankfort on the Oder, we have waggons, or wheels indicating waggons, upon which something was or might be carried. And we may add, that in that ancient tomb at Vulci were likewise two waggons, with wheels of about the same diameter as those at Judenburg, and with horses' heads and necks at each end, looking opposite ways.

At Frankfort on the Oder we have also wheels attached to an implement which do not appear to be those of a wagon, unless indeed this be construed symbolically, as the circles on Gaulish coins are the representatives of chariots.

At Peccatel, as at Judenburgh, the waggons were accompanied by bronze bowls

or vases, and by bronze kelts of unusual forms. At Judenburg the waggon was surmounted by a group of figures of unusual but very marked forms, and in a recognizable style of art.

In the Payne Knight collection are two circular plates, surmounted with figures in a similar style of art. The identity of treatment in the suspension of ear-rings and hair-rings to these figures is particularly observable.

Some of these figures, namely, those of birds, and oxen with the bodies of birds, are the same as those which have been shown to be placed upon the so-called waggon from Frankfort on the Oder: the same birds have been found at Vietgest in Mecklenburg, and in great numbers near Landsberg in Prussia. They are identical with others upon fibulæ in Sir William Hamilton's collection, which were no doubt obtained in Italy, and probably in Naples, and others still upon a plate given out as the cover to a cist possessed by Baron v. Koller, and what Gerhardt calls a "scale" in the Borgia collection, which last two were certainly found in the neighbourhood of that city.

There is a possibility that similar bulls' heads ornament the corners of the Judenburg waggon; but it is nevertheless possible that these may be, as the Styrian *sarans* state, heads of horses. If this be so, they answer to the horses' heads which decorate the opposite ends of the waggons found in the antique and perhaps pre-Etruscan tomb at Vulci, in which the traces of Assyrian, as well as Egyptian, influence are singularly prominent.

With the Peccatel waggon were deposited a kelt and a sword of bronze; so also with that at Radkersburg; and a bronze kelt was also found, together with the waggon, at Judenburg. None of these are of the forms or types usual in Germany, in the British Islands, or in Scandinavia; but some of them resemble types found in Gaul, in Greece, and in Italy.

At Radkersburg and Judenburg there further occurred, together with the bronze kelts and sword, spear-heads and other articles of iron. The Payne Knight bronzes were also accompanied by knives with iron blades, which were set in handles ornamented with the same figures of birds as those at Frankfort, on the Borgia scale, and with the same combinations of rings as that at Judenburg.

Birds and men, with heads of animals, appear on the couples purchased from M. Comarmond. Birds upon the Irish hook, and a bird with spreading horns like those of an ox decorates the hand of an archaic figure at Vulci.

This is a summing up of our data, and from it it is clear that there are several (strangely complicated) points of resemblance between some or all of those objects from so many different localities, and that there is a probability of their having

some connection with one another, whatever this may be. I give you the elements of a theory, without presuming to complete it. Οὐ φρόντις Ἰπποκλείδῃ. It is not my business. It is no Teutonic matter.

Mr. Payne Knight was of opinion that his plates were connected with some ancient form of religion in Upper Italy, and intentional imitations of a rude and archaic style of art. He says, "From the place where they were found it is probable that they were of Oscan or Campanian work, though no conclusion can be drawn from the style concerning either the age or the country in which they were produced; both the design and execution being affectedly rude and barbarous, evidently intended to imitate the first feeble attempts of savages in their carvings in wood. It is probable, however, from the blades of the sacrificing knives being of iron, that they are not of very remote antiquity, all very ancient utensils of this kind being of brass, hardened by a mixture of tin, which produces a metal inferior only to good steel." He then adds: "This curious set of mystical and symbolical instruments was found in a tomb in Campania, not far from —, in the year —." These blanks in his MS. are to be regretted. I suppose the objects really were found in Italy; but whether in the north or the south we cannot unhappily decide; and yet it is rather important that we should. If these things were found in the north, they must have been tolerably spread over all Italy, for they are certainly found in the extreme south; and that they were found in the north is in so far probable, that something very like them has been found in Styria. But even Payne Knight, whom I suppose to have had dim visions of Atellan games and Ambarvalia, was drawn to the south and to Sicily; for he cites Diodorus (merely in the margin), who really is his authority for the notion that these things were not original—in spirit I mean—but affectations of archaism. What Diodorus says is this (lib. v. c. 4): ἐπὶ δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα πανήγυριν ἄγουσιν (οἱ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν), ἐπώνυμον τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης (i.e. Δήμητρος), τῇ τε λαμπρότητι τῆς παρασκευῆς μεγαλοπρεπέστατην, καὶ τῇ διασκευῇ, μιμούμενοι τὸν ἀρχαῖον βίον: and so Mr. Payne Knight thinks his figures may have been connected with rites of Ceres or Bacchus.

And now what are we say to those various objects, or to what people shall we refer them? Are they Teutonic, as Lisch fancies, and has half persuaded Jacob Grimm to fancy? I cannot think so. They have not made their appearance on any one locality which can be exclusively and distinctly called Teutonic; for, after all, if the Slavish-Obotritic Mecklenburgh were to be admitted to that claim, it is only one set of waggon-wheels that can come under consideration, and these may have only an accidental bearing upon the other features of the case; while, on the other hand, waggons are found in the most ancient tomb of Italy, and the vase

attached to the Mecklenburgh find is much more Etruscan than German. Again I protest, *totis viribus*, against the doctrine of my friend Lisch, to whose energy and skill we owe a great deal, but who sees Germanic graves in all conical barrows which contain weapons of bronze. This I am perfectly certain is an error—an error, too, that a classical scholar ought never to have fallen into; and I repudiate, therefore, *in limine*, any argument that rests upon this most unsure foundation, this unhappy tendency to compliment a nook of Germany at the expense of European history; and with this I necessarily reject the explanation which Lisch and Grimm have given of the waggon and the birds, which sets out with the assumption that the implement found at Frankfort is a waggon, and that this, as well as the Peccatel find, is Germanic. That the “seven stars” are, on the one hand, properly referred to Woden’s Wain, Karl’s, or Charles’s Wain, is true, and that the same seven stars are here and there symbolized by the “hen and chickens,” is so also; but this helps us little. We have only four wheels at Peccatel, with a vase that is rather Italian than German; and we have two waggons with four wheels at Vulci. How many there were at Warin, or Frisack, or in the first set noticed at Frankfort on the Oder, we do not know; nor do we learn what more than wheels was found; nor do we know that the three wheels and the six birds found at Frankfort on the Oder have anything to do with a waggon at all. Again, the birds found at Vietgest and in the Hohenwalde were not reckoned by six or by seven, but by hundreds, and they were obviously ornaments for the dress, to be put on like buttons with shanks; so that here any reference to the six or seven stars of Woden’s Waggon is quite out of the question. Moreover, something nearly resembling these forms is found in Italy, and, upon the supposition of their being Teutonic, they must have been brought to Italy during some one of the Teutonic invasions of that country. But then we should expect to find the same things in the lands from which the invaders marched, which is not the case, and we should require to find a reasonable explanation of them in what we know of the feelings and religion of those who took them; but this explanation we cannot give. So that I can only conclude the Germanic populations have nothing to do with the matter.

Must we then attribute them to the Slavonians?

The argument from the *locus in quo* would no doubt, in this case, have a better foundation, inasmuch as Slavonians have undoubtedly at some period been settled in Mecklenburgh, in the Middle Mark, in Silesia, and in Styria. But it would not apply well to Vulci, to a Campanian tomb, or to the Basilicata by Naples; nor to France, supposing the so-called panther-collars to come from that country;



nor to Ireland, supposing the Irish hook with the birds to have anything to do with the matter. I am not very learned in the nature and attributes of the Slavonic gods, although I have no doubt some of them are car-borne, like some among the Teutons and the Latins. But it must be supposed, that when Dr. Robitsch claimed the Styrian waggon for a Slavonic goddess he made as good a case out as he could; and, as we must concur with Dr. Pratobevera in opinion that it is a very weak case indeed, the Slavonian hypothesis does not appear well founded, on this side. It may be noticed *en passant* that the spiral ornaments or volutes made by twisting fine wire, and forming brooches and the like, are very widely dispersed throughout lands which have been held by Slavonic populations; and that ornaments of a similar character, particularly the continued or double spiral, are often found upon implements of bronze, which it was intended to enrich with engraved work. This is not at all a prevalent mode of ornament in purely Teutonic art of an early date: on the other hand, it is very far from uncommon upon weapons and jewels which appear to belong to France, is by no means unexampled in Italy, and is even found in Thrace and Macedon; nay, spirals exactly resembling those of the North Germans and Slavonians, are a main element in the frieze of the so-called tomb of Agamemnon at Mycenæ. So that if, on the one hand, this form is supposed to furnish something of a presumption in favour of a Slavonic hypothesis, on the other it might be cited in support of a Gaulish or even a Greek one.

But, on other grounds, a Gaulish hypothesis must also be admitted. It is very clear that this would in fact explain the Italian, French, and Irish objects: it would also apply to Styria, inasmuch as the migrations of Gauls into the Styrian Alps are abundantly matter of history. But it would leave a difficulty in the Mecklenburg and Frankfort cases, which could not be readily overcome. Moreover, it would be required to show, that anything in Gaulish art resembled, or anything in the Gaulish religion had reference to, the forms of the objects described. Of this at present we know far too little to assert anything with certainty. It is true that, among the sculptured figures of Gaulish gods in Paris, there is one symbolised by an ox and three cranes, who is named *Tarcos Trigaranus*. The figure may be seen in Montfaucon, vol. ii. p. 424, and in the third vol. of the Académie des Inscriptions, of the year 1717; and from Mr. Davies's *Mythology of the British Druids* (pp. 132, 161) it appears that Tarw Trigaran is Welsh for a bull with three cranes, as indeed it is very nearly Greek for it. All this may possibly be true; but still I am afraid it will not be enough to explain our cows or oxen yoked in a plough, not with three cranes, on their backs, but with ten or



twenty birds, more like ducks or geese, standing about them. Unless, indeed, upon those sane and singularly reliable principles of Helio-arkite interpretation, by which everything can be shown to be nothing, and nothing to be anything else, the yoke of oxen should symbolise Noah as a husbandman, and other figures therewith connected some other prominent details of his somewhat remarkable history. No doubt a capital Helio-arkite demonstration has been made upon weaker grounds before now.

But it is just possible, after all, that Mr. Payne Knight was right; that the whole affair may be early Italian, and connected in some way with the, to us unknown, ceremonies of the agricultural gods: in which case the resemblance between his bronzes and some of the other objects heretofore mentioned may be merely fortuitous. But all is not, and cannot be so. There is an undeniable resemblance between the strange figures upon the Styrian waggon, and those of Mr. Payne Knight's, Sir William Hamilton's, Baron v. Koller's, and Borgia's bronzes, which is beyond mere accident. The whole of them bear also some likeness to early Etruscan forms, as well as to a number of nondescript figures which have been discovered in various parts of Italy. Among these may be noticed one given by Caylus, vol. i.; the Punic idols in Sardinia, described by Della Marmora, in the *Bulletino del Inst.* p. 68, a. 1834; the human figures with snake-like arms and legs, noticed by Bonghi, *Bullet.* 1830, p. 11: with all which may be compared what Gerhardt says in his *Etrusk. Spiegel.* Tables XII. XIII. And I would also refer to the handles of a large bronze vessel in the British Museum which is certainly from Italy, and seems to me to be of Etruscan origin. The upper part of these is formed by what resembles a rude human figure, placed upon the same sort of shape as the figures in Payne Knight's and Koller's bronzes with two heads, which are, perhaps, those of dragons. Possibly these may be considered to have some bearing upon this subject (*vide* Plate XXVII. fig. 10). Nor is it without importance that Etruscans, when pressed by the Gauls, migrated into the Rhaetian Alps,<sup>a</sup> from which such implements, if Etruscan, might easily find their way into Styria, and where other objects have been found, bearing evidence of Etruscan origin, as for instance the helmets with inscriptions said to be Etruscan, which were found not far from Radkersberg in the year 1812. (*Vide* Michali, *Mon. Med.* p. 331, *seq.*).

I do not know whether any of our own Archæologists who have bestowed particular attention upon Italian antiquities will be able to give a satisfactory

<sup>a</sup> Livy, v. 33. Pliny, N. H. iii. 24. Justin. xx. 5.

account of the forms which I have now the honour to bring to their notice: and especially whether it will be possible to prove the connection of these with any archaic rites of the goddesses Panda and Anna Paremma, or the rural celebrations of the Ambarvalia, or other agricultural ceremonies. But, as I perceive that the whole question must be beset with difficulties, since such accomplished inquirers as Mr. Payne Knight was, and Dr. Gerhardt is, have been unable to give a satisfactory explanation of those parts of it which fell under their observation, it has occurred to me that it was desirable to call the attention of the Society of Antiquaries to it.

I am not without hope that, if these strange things were better known in Europe, some of the gentlemen at the head of the magnificent collections in Paris might be able to give us further light upon the subject, from discoveries either in their own country, or Italy. And it is much to be desired, that it should be brought to the notice of the accomplished Archæologists of the last-named land, who have better opportunities than any of us of judging whether there may not yet be many examples extant similar to those I have considered, but which, from the very rudeness of their execution, have hitherto appeared unworthy of being made known. At all events, this paper, while it professes not even to attempt their explanation, will serve to put upon record the existence in various parts of Europe of objects of very unusual forms, which all seem more or less to belong to one another; but which, from being hitherto known only within narrow and unconnected circles of inquirers, have been deprived of that combined illustration which their interesting character deserves, and by which alone their secret has a chance of being read. The key to them all seems, however, to lie in the collections of the British Museum, and thus especially belongs to the competency of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of England.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since these remarks were written, a remarkable discovery has been made in the neighbourhood of Bologna, which fully confirms the impression that the Payne Knight, Townley, and Koller bronzes are of Etruscan origin. (Vide *Relazione d'un Sepulcreto Etrusco, scoperto presso Bologna, by Conte Gozzadini, &c.*)

XXXIII. *Observations on a Picture in Gloucester Cathedral, and some other Representations, of the Last Judgment.* By G. SCHARF, Esq., Junior, F.S.A.

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Read June 21, 1855.

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ANTIQUARIES who have visited the Cathedral of Gloucester, or studied the elaborate work on that building published by our Society with the assistance of Mr. Carter, are aware of the existence of a very curious Picture deposited in the south triforium of the choir, representing the Last Judgment. (Plate XXVIII.)

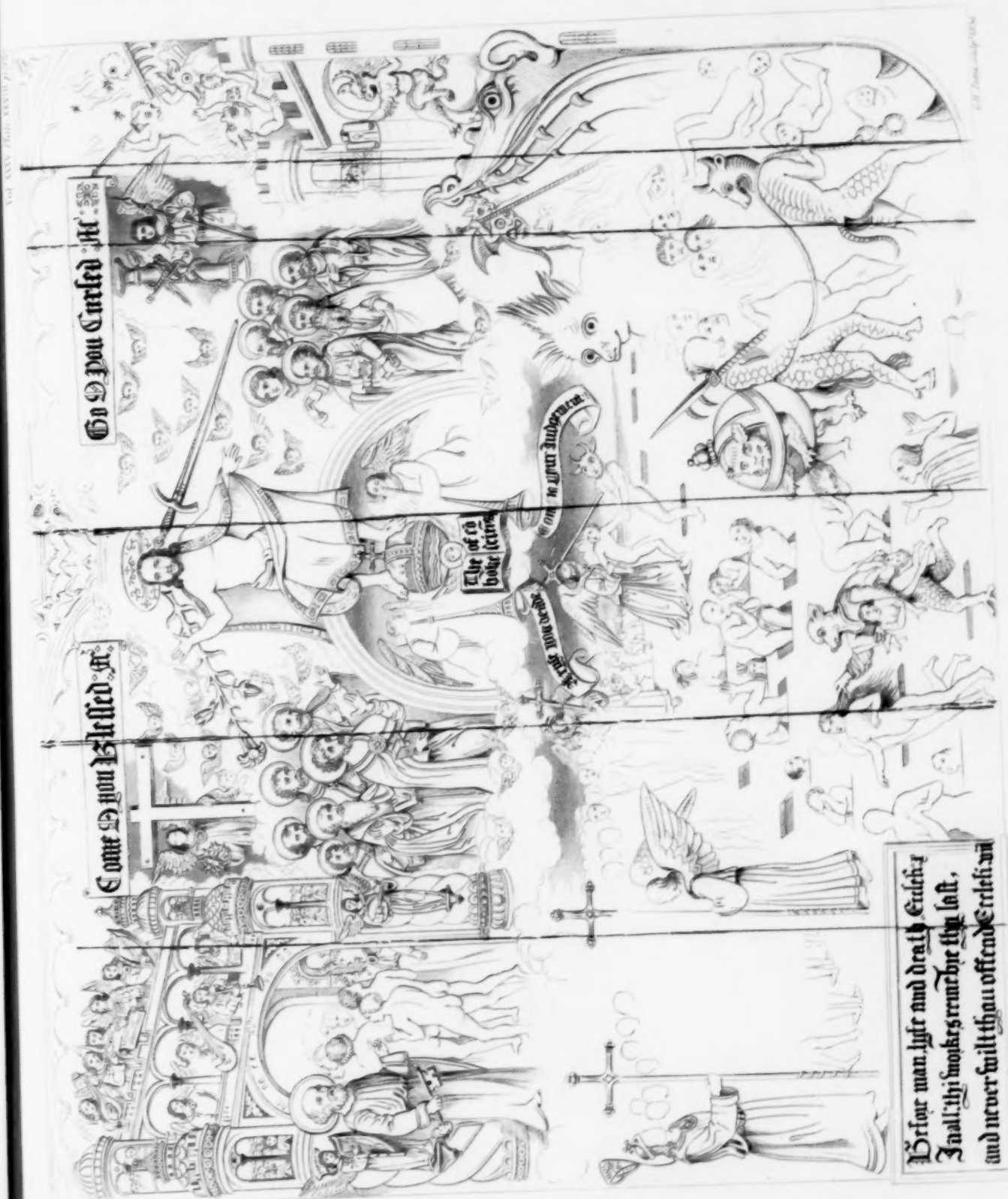
For the general observer, indeed, it can have little attraction, and would fail to produce any impression, as its condition is so worn and crumbling that the chief subject of the picture is scarcely intelligible at first sight. Many parts have peeled off, and the rest is fast detaching itself from the ground, so that the prospect of destruction becomes my best excuse for occupying your attention this evening, in the hope of securing some lasting record of a curious work, whilst yet within our reach. The uninitiated visitor is first attracted to the picture by various large and staring labels with black and red characters, evidently of a late period, subsequent to the introduction of printing, in which are the well-known sentences in English, and clearly legible.

This curious monument was found about the year 1741, behind the old organ-screen, during the repairs carried on by Bishop Benson. This prelate, in accordance with the taste of his time, preferred to decorate his church with Grecian architecture instead of Gothic, and therefore devised something to contrast as much as possible with the rest of the edifice—a few of the monuments excepted.

The picture in question was at once removed to the south triforium, and has ever since remained there.

It is recorded that one of the minor canons, named Parsons Bishop, gave it a coat of varnish, but that is the only time anything seems to have been done to it; and I believe it to be one of the very few instances known of escape from retouching, beautifying, and outlining after discovery.

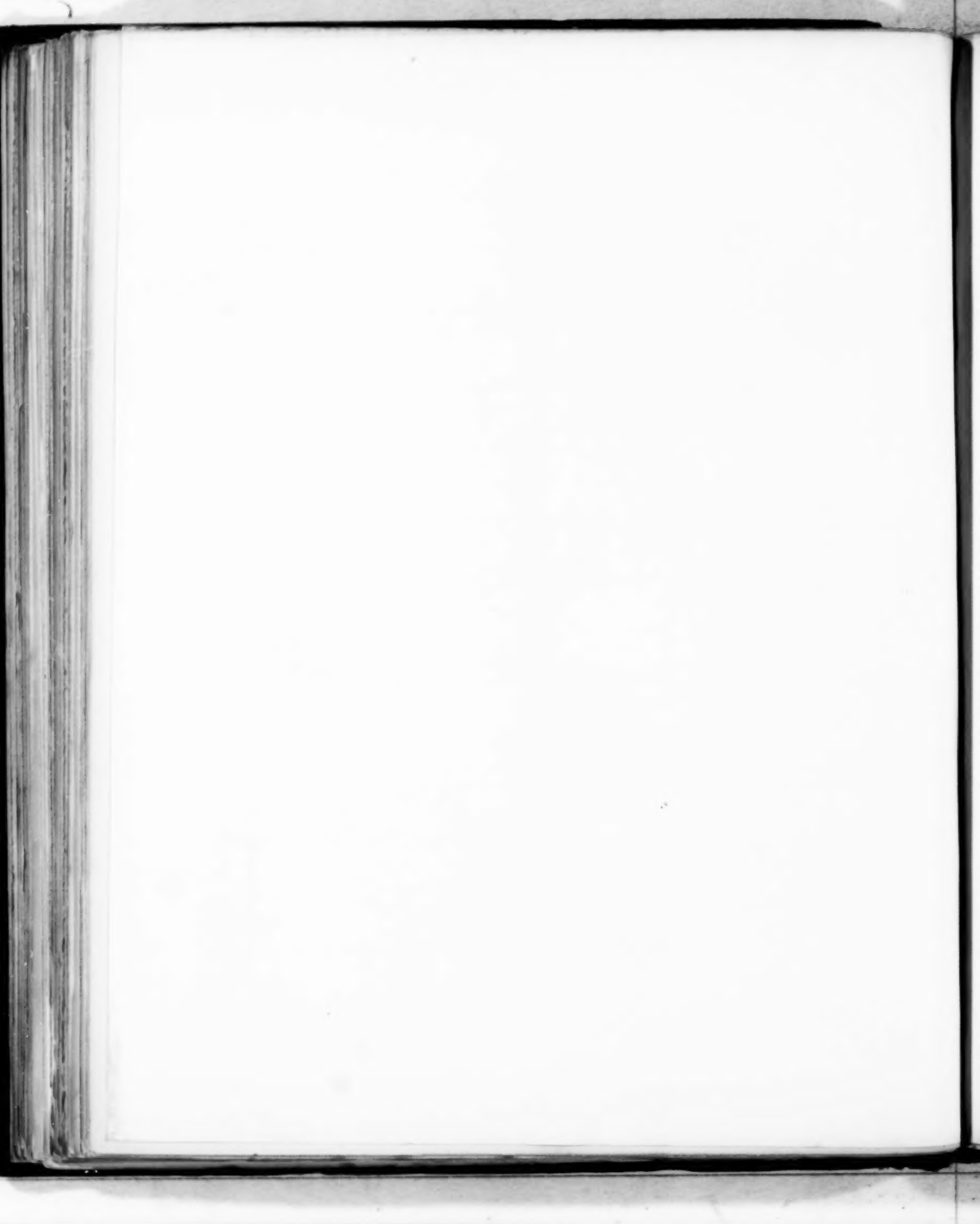
At this juncture it may be better to quote the notice of the picture in two or three of the more important works relating to the Cathedral, and first from the great work published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1809, entitled "Some



Before man lyfe and death Enchey  
 I all thi woorkes rumber the last,  
 and never wilt thou offend Erelleson

FROM A LARGE PICTURE, IN THE SOUTH TRANSEPT OF GLoucester Cathedral, REPRESENTING THE LAST JUDGMENT.  
 Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1794.







Account of the Cathedral Church of Gloucester, illustrative of the plans, elevations, and sections of that building."

On page 12, at the conclusion of the letter-press, we read, "There remains in the south gallery of the choir a large and sumptuous picture of the Last Day, in a high state of preservation, and painted in the style of the fifteenth century. It is supposed this picture once made a part of the decorations of the high altar, as its dimensions agree with the original altar-screen now remaining behind the modern one set up in the seventeenth century."

Mr. Britton, page 62, of his *Gloucester Cathedral*, says, "Mr. Counsel, of Gloucester, in a letter to Mr. Fosbroke, states that it was executed 'by an Italian in England, from a label being in the Italian language. It is painted on a golden or yellow ground, is in two separate parts, or folding doors, joined in the middle (about 10 feet by 7). That part of the picture which represents the New Jerusalem has Grecian columns, supporting circular arches, and surmounted with perforated battlements; some of the angels are represented singing from a score, and others are playing from different instruments, particularly viols and lutes.'

"This picture, like many of the designs in the Dutch, Flemish, and French missals of the beginning of the sixteenth century, represents the Day of Judgment, where the spirits of the blessed and of the cursed are doomed to enter their final abodes of bliss or misery. The Deity presides; St. Peter is placed with his keys, and groups of angels are painted to indicate the heavens, whilst monstrous forms, with a beastly mouth, flames, &c. are intended to typify hell."

There is also the following notice of it in Rudge's *History and Antiquities of Gloucester*, 8vo., p. 296:

"In the first gallery is a curious painting of the Last Judgment, which was discovered some years ago behind the wainscoting in the nave at the time the seats were removed. It is generally supposed to have been an altar-piece, and concealed at the time of the Reformation; but the building wherein the blessed are represented as standing, and which seems to represent the New Jerusalem, is of Grecian architecture, and therefore of more modern date. I should rather assign it to one of those periods, either when Popery regained a short-lived triumph on the death of Edward VI., or on the complete establishment of Protestantism in the reign of Elizabeth. The victorious party in either case, but most likely in the former, might express their zeal by this fanciful representation of their opponents being consigned to the punishment they were supposed to merit. It is said that two paintings were done in Abbot Wigmore's

<sup>a</sup> Britton, p. 63.

time,—one for the Abbot's chapel, the other for the high altar, which Fosbrooke supposes to be this; in his time, however, the pointed arch only was used, and such might have been expected to be the style of the painting."

Before commenting upon the above descriptions, I will offer a few observations of my own, made on the spot, towards the close of last year.

The picture of the Last Judgment is one of the most important specimens of English painting I remember to have seen. The old fifteenth century framing—such as appears in the famous Coventry tapestry—has been altered into a barbarous classic style of the time of Queen Mary, by the substitution of a gilt Corinthian pilaster capital, without a shaft, in lieu of some graceful corbel or pendant ornament. Consoles and cornice in renaissance style extend along the upper part. The entire height of the whole work is 7 feet 6½ inches.

The Saviour appears in the centre above, seated upon a rainbow, with the world between His feet, represented literally as the *mound and cross*. He is clothed in a red mantle, with a wide gold jewelled border, arranged in broad folds. A gold nimbus, as a circular plate with curious pattern on it, appears in perspective over His head. There is no division of the picture, as mentioned in the description from Britton. A central break or joining of the two doors, just where the Judge of Mankind is seated, would be impossible; it is now accidentally separated in several places, as indicated in the drawing, one division coming just at the right of the Saviour's head.

The picture is painted on plank oak, on a white plaster ground. There are no signs of linen upon the joints. The colours appear to have been tempera or distemper; certainly not oil. The back-ground is in some parts flat gold, and in others blue sky; the latter extending between the figures upon earth and the chief central figures of the Saviour and Apostles. The space round the angels with the instruments of the Passion, and above the two great upper labels, is also deep blue. Other portions are occupied with pale white and grey clouds; but around the Saviour, and all within the arches of Paradise, is a surface of plain gold. Red flames fill the right hand side of the picture.

The arrangement of the composition is in perfect accordance with the traditional mode of representation, with the exception of a few minor points of detail, hereafter to be mentioned. The left-hand side of the picture is occupied with the gate of Paradise, guarded by St. Peter, who is admitting the crowd of blessed souls that stood on the right hand of the Saviour. The lower central part contains the dead rising from their graves, and guided by angels in the direction they are to pursue. Devils contend for some of the newly-raised bodies,

and are also seen bearing several off towards the gate of Hell, which fills the right-hand side of the picture. Numerous winged heads of cherubim are dispersed through the air; many of them have the hair trimmed and cut square, as seen in the courtly figures of the time of Edward IV. and the two succeeding reigns.

The picture is altogether remarkable for a breadth of shadow far beyond what is usually seen in works of this class.

The Apostles, who have no distinctive emblems, are the worst part of the whole painting. Their features are large and coarse, with little or no expression; one head only, amongst them, is in direct profile. One Apostle has a large cloven white beard, like the figures of St. John and St. Jerome by Angelico da Fiesole in the chapel of St. Lorenzo in the Vatican.\*

The angels are far better in drawing and expression; their naked feet also are remarkably well drawn. No angel has a nimbus, that distinction is confined to the Saviour and Apostles. The devils are monstrous, with hoggish heads, so frequently seen in the early German engravings. Their breasts and bellies are converted into faces, as in the works of Orcagna and Spinello Aretino.

A disagreeable black outline pervades this picture, as in all the English church paintings I have seen, but in the angels' heads this is somewhat mitigated; some of their hands, also, as they play on musical instruments, are really graceful.

The hands of the Apostles, on the contrary, are clumsy; their fingers are, for the most part, devoid of flexion. Some of the angels are clad in gold, shaded with burnt siena, and with the folds outlined strongly in black. Others wear full robes, with loose sleeves, of a pink colour shaded with madder. The females at the windows of Paradise have light yellowish hair, shaded brown. The general tone of the broad shadow upon the pale flesh is purple, so as to produce an Ety-like character. The mouths are generally open, and the lower lips large and peculiarly red. The eyes, also, are full and dark, with boldly marked upper lid. The shadow down the side of the nose and under the nostrils in general strongly pronounced, but I did not observe one instance in which the nostrils themselves were clearly defined. The head of the Saviour is very carefully modelled; it exhibits decided German characteristics, and closely resembles the paintings of the same subject by Hemling. The Apostles are similar to those in the Coventry tapestry before alluded to. But, whilst drawing these comparisons, I must observe that the peculiarities in the picture we are describing are often exaggerations of the qualities observable in the great works just referred to, and only mentioned here to give some notion of the general effect and relations to style, as

\* Pistolesi, *Il Vaticano*, vol. iv., tav. LXXXII. and LXXXV.

without some well known instances to associate in the memory a great part of the distinctive qualities would fade in recollection.

The whole picture is a coarse epitome of the famous altar-piece at Dantzig.\*

Perhaps one of the best parts is the angel with the column and instruments of flagellation. The colour is broad and rich, and "tells" excellently upon a deep blue sky ground. The corresponding angel with the cross and crown of thorns, is almost as good.

It is remarkable that in this picture we find no indication of the Virgin Mary, nor of St. John the Baptist, who are usually seated on either hand of the Saviour. Moses, the Prophets, and Patriarchs, also, are wanting.

The only dramatic incident observable in the central compartment is where one of the Apostles points appealingly to the torments of the wicked, and tries to direct the attention of the Judge to their sufferings.

The action of the Saviour is weak and poor; the raised right arm and depressed left one correspond exactly to the Dantzig picture. His drapery, though now much effaced, can never have been arrayed with judgment or experience; a few of the Apostles, however, display vigorous folds where the garments have been gathered up, but the greater part of the mantles fall as insipidly as some of Angelico's trailing draperies. The angels, notwithstanding, have better folds, some of them large and full, in the Edward IV. style, and corresponding with Italian works of the period. The wings of the angels are gold, with scales marked in black lines upon them. The insides of the wings vary in colour, from rich deep brown to blue and white, and blue and red. Only the angels on earth have the deltiform tiara, surmounted with a cross. The hair of angels holding instruments of the Passion is painted with a pale burnt siena ground, shaded sepia, with sharp lights in lines of Naples yellow. The gold fibula on neck is ornamented with an excellently drawn pattern in black outline.

There is a great variety of attitudes in the figures rising from the graves; all appear bewildered, but there is an utter absence of sentiment—no marked differences in their former course of life, no distinction of rank, age, or temperament. We look in vain for the particular punishment for particular crimes. The hoarding abbot, or treacherous black-gowned priest, observable even in the works of Fra Angelico, do not make their appearance. A Teutonic grotesqueness of monsters pervades a great portion of the lower half of the picture. An animated group of a devil, who has already secured two female victims, one of whom, under his arm, struggles to get free, and the other folding her hands uselessly in prayer,

\* See p. 386.



is seen prominently in the foreground. This demon, thus laden, is running after two fugitives, having caught one by the flying hair. The limbs of these figures are remarkably free, and some of the naked feet are very fairly drawn. The ornaments and jewels on the crosses carried by the angels are rich and well drawn, and the profuse employment of gold justifies the expression previously quoted of "sumptuous" to this picture.

As regards the architecture containing Grecian pillars or anything classic in its style, a glance at the drawing which I take the opportunity to exhibit will show that, although the building in question contains a very great variety of styles, nothing appears which can claim that designation.

Another observation refers the execution to an Italian in England, because one of the labels was found to be in the Italian language<sup>a</sup>; now, all the writing is still particularly clear, and I confess myself utterly at a loss to perceive even a word that could be considered as exclusively Italian. The sentences are in plain English, curiously spelt; and it is somewhat singular to find them not in Latin, if of the fifteenth century.

Some persons have expressed an opinion that this altarpiece was executed as late as the reign of James II.; but this I fancy very improbable, as the taste for art, even for Roman Catholic purposes, was at that time totally different: the costume and style of hair would have indicated the period, nor was there then any taste for reproducing the works of a by-gone age. From the free treatment of the subject, and omission of the Virgin Mary, as well as absence of the gigantic Lucifer, it appears to belong to the earlier Protestant times, when the ancient pictorial traditions were in all other respects implicitly followed. In that case the picture might probably be referred to the conclusion of the reign of Henry VIII., or that of his son Edward VI. The writing would, however, contribute best to our knowledge on this head, and I would invite the attention of those versed in Palæography towards an explanation. The drawing exhibited is the result of repeated studies made in the cathedral, and I have scrupulously avoided introducing a single point which may not actually be traced in the original. The whole picture, as I mentioned in the commencement of this paper, is very indistinct, but to those who are acquainted with similar representations the various details soon reveal themselves. Parts, however, are irrecoverably gone, and that, unfortunately, in a very interesting portion, namely, the crowd of blessed below the gate of Paradise and the angels sounding the last trump. There is a singular group seen through the bars of one of the towers of the

<sup>a</sup> Ante, p. 371.



portal of hell, remarkable on account of its connection with the surrounding subjects: a woman appears surrounded by devils, who torment her; but the earnest piety of her countenance and folded hands show her clearly to be superior to their machinations, and almost to claim a rescue. Condemned souls are seen at the bars of other windows, and a singular figure of a demon appears seated on the brow of the yawning monster whose extended mouth presents the jaws of hell. The demon holds a curious lantern, with a large candle in it, by way of a beacon.

Whilst attention is turned to this subject, it may be as well to glance at the principal examples in which the Last Day has been represented, although we must admit that, in general arrangement, few subjects from the sacred writings have been so uniformly represented. Even when represented in sculpture the same prescribed disposition of the figures is closely observed. But on collecting examples, it appears that no scenic representation combining the Resurrection and Judgment belongs to an earlier date than the year 1000.

It appears that the first millennium was looked forward to as the appointed end of the world; and, consequently, as the period approached, few works were undertaken that had reference to a further date. When, however, the year 1000 had passed, a contrary effect was produced on the minds of the people, and great doubts were entertained upon the Resurrection of the dead. The priests, therefore, not only treated of the Final Judgment in their sermons, but employed it on every occasion in painting and sculpture, and many remains still attest this fact during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>a</sup> St. Methodus is said to have converted the King of the Bulgarians to Christianity by allusion to this subject. Bogaris desired him to paint on a certain wall at Nicopolis the most terrible picture he could imagine: he accordingly represented the torments of the condemned.<sup>b</sup>

In Anglo-Saxon times it was usual to illuminate the Psalters with representations of the punishment of the wicked and God enthroned in heaven, but I do not remember an instance of the Resurrection being combined with either.

The sixth verse of the 1st Psalm:—

Therefore the ungodly shall not be able to stand in the Judgment, &c.

And Psalm ix.:—

Verse 7. But the Lord shall endure for ever; he hath also prepared his seat for judgment.

Verse 8. For He shall judge the world in righteousness; and minister true judgment unto the people.

<sup>a</sup> De Caumont, *Abécédaire*, p. 145, *note*.

<sup>b</sup> Curzon's *Monasteries*, p. 364. Kugler, p. 84.

Verse 17. The wicked shall be turned into hell; and all the people that forget God.

These and many other passages are copiously illustrated in the Anglo-Saxon MS. Psalters. One of the finest among them is in the British Museum, marked Harleian, 603: its date is about 999. A fine repetition, about a century later, is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

The Fall of Lucifer and the Rebel Angels has always been a favorite pictorial subject from the earliest times. It occurs in the Bodleian *Cædmon* at Oxford (see *Archæologia*, Vol. XXIV. Plates 55, 62, 63, and 69), and in the *Ælfrie Paraphrase*, Brit. Mus., Claudius, B. iv. p. 2. When they occur separately, it is not always easy to distinguish these subjects from groups belonging to the Last Judgment. A figure of Christ, as Judge, seated in a vesica, holding a horn in one hand and cross in the other, with the world at his feet, occurs in an Anglo-Saxon MS. in Brit. Mus., marked Tiberius, C. vi. about the year 1000. Below the figure of Christ St. Michael clothed in long garments stands with outstretched wings holding a maniple, the two ends of which are supported by a priest on each side. The priests are clothed in purple vests and green chasuble. The entire ground is of a buff colour. An angel, blowing a long trumpet, stands on each side of the Saviour. The left hand of Christ, holding the cross, rests also upon the open Book of Life, which is supported by his knee. (Plate V. fig. 3.)

A group of the saints and martyrs, with palm-branches, about to enter the gate of heaven, occurs in the celebrated Hyde Abbey Register, at the back of the frontispiece, containing the portraits of Canute and his Queen. On the opposite page is St. Peter, with angels opening the gates of Paradise; below, a contention between devils and angels for the souls of the departed.<sup>a</sup> The date of this MS. is about 1030.

A very striking representation of the Judgment occurs in the porch of the Cathedral of Autun, about 1031. Christ sits in the centre, and at his feet the dead rise from their graves; a balance held by a hand from the clouds is being employed for the weighing good against evil, and demons are seen actively employed in securing and tormenting their prey.<sup>b</sup> Around the head of Christ is inscribed QVOS SCELVS EXERCET ME JVDICE PENA COERCET.

Here, therefore, we find the subject considerably developed.

In our own country one of the earliest examples extant is on the frieze of

<sup>a</sup> Engraved in Strutt, pl. xxviii. See also Dibdin's *Decameron*, vol. i. p. lvii.

<sup>b</sup> Devoucoux. Du Sommerard, *Album*, Série iii. pl. 11. De Caumont, *Abécédaire*, p. 145.

the west front of Lincoln Cathedral, commenced by Bishop Remigius in the year 1067. It is very probable that these sculptures had been taken from some other building, and date considerably earlier. The compartment with demons tormented by serpents has much grandeur and fulness of composition. Other parts contain the large head and monstrous jaws, with Christ's descent to Hades. (Plate XXXI. fig. 4.)

The west porch of Rochester Cathedral shows the Saviour seated as Judge, holding the Book of Life open, inscribed with the Alpha and Omega. The frame or aureole which incloses his figure is supported by the four signs of the Evangelists. The Twelve Apostles are seated beneath, carved on the lintel of the door. The west front of Rochester Cathedral was begun by Bishop Gundulphus, 1103.

1104.—At the east end of the cover of St. Cuthbert's coffin at Durham was painted the picture of our Saviour, sitting on the Rainbow to give judgment.<sup>a</sup>

The Last Judgment occupies the centre of the great Irish cross of Monasterboice, county Louth: no exact date can be assigned to it; but it probably belongs to the beginning of the twelfth century. Christ appears holding the cross and sceptre; the Holy Spirit, in form of a dove, is placed over his head; angels, playing on musical instruments, are around; the blessed occupy his right hand, and, at the opposite side, the Demon, armed with a trident and aided by fiends, is driving away the condemned.<sup>b</sup>

One of the most important pictorial series of this subject is to be found in a folio MS. preserved in the British Museum, marked Nero, C. iv. It belongs to the reign of Henry I.: date 1125.<sup>c</sup> (Plate XXIX.)

After a series of pictures from the Bible and Life of Christ, terminating in the death and glorification of the Virgin Mary, a representation of the Resurrection occurs, occupying the full size of the page. This is the first of a series of large pictures, of various compartments, of a Last Judgment altar-piece.

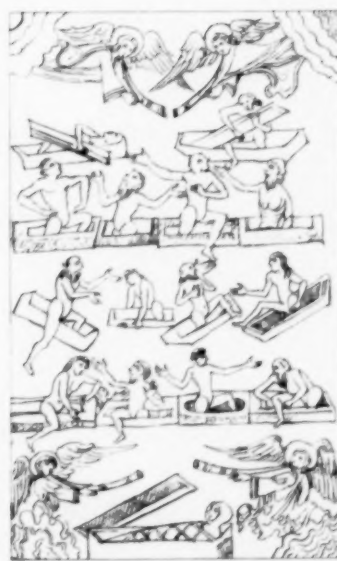
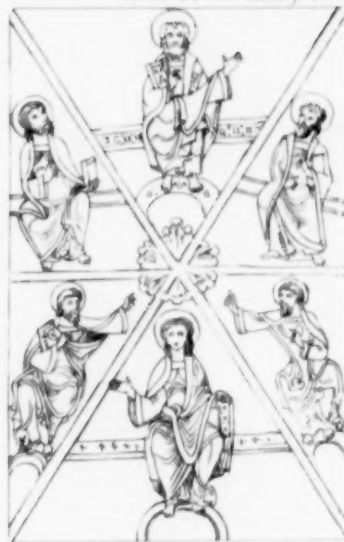
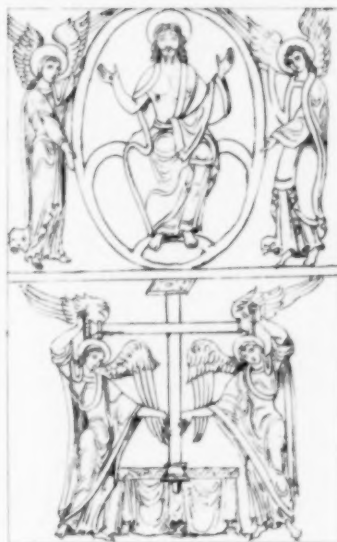
I will take them in the order as they occur, the first page of the Resurrection being numbered 31. The height of the page is 1 foot  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch by 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches. Five rows of the dead rising from the tombs, with an angel at each corner blowing a trumpet. The background is blue; the coffin-lids varied in design; the attitudes of the figures angular, but energetic. The subject is inclosed in a broad border, decorated with ivy leaves. At the top of the page is inscribed in old French—

<sup>a</sup> Raine's Durham Cathedral, p. 53.

<sup>b</sup> See Crystal Palace, Sydenham: Waring's Byzantine Court Catalogue, p. 112.

<sup>c</sup> MS. Book No. 34, p. 136. Waagen, Art Treasures in England, vol. i. p. 149.





PAGES OF A COTTONTIAN M. S. (MARKED NERO. C. IV.) IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, RELATING TO THE LAST JUDGMENT.

*Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 23<sup>rd</sup> April, 1856.*







*Fig. 2. The Last Judgment and Inferno painted by Andrea and Bernardo Strozzi in the Chapel of San Jacopo at Pisa year 1571*



*Fig. 3. From an Etching by David Hatter in the British Museum page 302*



*Fig. 4. From an Etching by David Hatter page 302*



*Fig. 6. From an Etching by David Hatter page 302*



ICI EST LA RESURRECTION CUMVNE AL IOR DE IVISSE :

On the next page, numbered 32, is inscribed —

ICI SIENT LI APOSTLE PVR IVIER :

Within a square ornamented border are six Apostles, curiously arranged in angular compartments, as if upon the groining of a ceiling. The six compartments are formed, first, by dividing the square space by a horizontal line into two equal portions, an upper and lower, and then by two diagonal lines connecting the four angles so as to leave two larger spaces in the centre. The upper central compartment is occupied by St. Peter, baldheaded, seated with the key and book : the lower by St. John the Evangelist, holding a book and roll. The four side figures are placed in good attitudes, probably derived from the inspired action of the prophets on the old mosaics of tribune arches of the early churches.

The next page, No. 33, inscribed ICI SVNT LI ANGLE, consists of two rows of standing angels, holding the instruments of the Passion. They are grand majestic figures, resembling the angels by Cimabue at Assisi, engraved in Ottley's Florentine School, Pl. X.

The next page, 34, has the legend, ICIST SERVNT A LA DESTRE DEU AL IVISE.

It is a most curious compartment, containing within a square frame seven rows of heads arranged horizontally over six standing figures of monks and bishops.

These heads represent the crowd of the blessed on the right hand of God. The upper and lower rows are completely in profile, one-half of the line being turned to the other in the centre.

The heads in the left half of the second rows are turned three-quarters wise. Rows four, five, and six are all three-quarters, or nearly full face ; the seventh row entirely in profile.

Page 35 contains the Saviour as Judge. He appears seated within an aureole, supported by two angels. On the border above is written —

ICI A PAREIST D<sup>s</sup> E pVEN EN SA MAIESTE ET CVSTRE LA PLAIE DE SVN LEZ : \*

Beneath the Saviour is a gold band, inscribed —

ICI CONTRENT LIANGEL LA CRVSZ.....NOSTRE SEIGNEVR :

Two angels appear below, holding a large green cross, on the top of which rests

\* MS. Book, No. 34, p. 122.

the Book of Life. The action and figures of the angels are remarkably fine. A white altar or covered seat is placed beneath and behind the cross.

Page 36, inscribed—

ICI SIENT LI AVTRE APOSTLE PVR IVGIER:

the remaining six Apostles within similar compartments to page 32. The cross-bars, now white, were probably gilded; but a central ornament of leaves, forming a boss, occurs here, and not on page 32.

Page 37, inscribed—

ICI SERVNT A LA SENESTRE DA M LE DEV AL IVISE:

six standing figures of monks and priests beneath rows of heads, as on page 34. The heads here are larger, ten in a row, one-half facing the other in the centre. First, third, fifth, and seventh rows in profile: 'row six, all queens with gold crowns. These heads display a wonderful variety of expression and character. Women, children, countesses, and tonsured monks, each with a peculiar physiognomy, are carefully drawn and studied.

Page 38 displays the torments of hell, arranged in two divisions, one over the other. The legend is—

ICI EXCEINENT LI DIABLE LES DAMNEZ EN ENFERN.

In the upper compartment, a devil with a woman on his back affords the prototype to the well-known groups of Signorelli and Michael Angelo.

Below is a cauldron, containing the heads of a queen, monk, and two others, which are stirred by a devil. A man chained to a post is having his hands chopped off: one demon holds a knife, and another is ready to strike upon it with a hammer,—the latter figure has wings at his heels like Mercury or some of the Etruscan divinities. The look of the sufferer, as turned appealingly to the spectator, is really excellent. The figures are all drawn with remarkable precision. The background is blue.

The next page, 39, displays the usual monster head and jaws of Hell. The angel is seen with a key locking the gate; numerous green figures of the condemned appear in the centre upon a deep black ground. Devils torment them. The suspended figure is the prototype of one of the incidents in Orcagna's Inferno in the Campo Santo at Pisa.

The legend to the concluding page of this series is

ICI EST ENFERS E LI ANGELS KI ENFERME LES PORTES:



I have dwelt thus long upon this particular MS. as it contains the germ of most of the incidents employed at a later period. The style of art has a remarkable affinity to the early sculptures of Chichester and Rochester cathedrals.

The west porch of the cathedral of S. Trophime at Arles is adorned with singular sculptures pertaining to the Last Judgment: Two square compartments of the raising a good spirit and punishment by demons are fully deserving of attention. The date is about 1190.

A map of the world, attributable to the thirteenth century, belonging to Hereford cathedral, contains also in the upper part a Last Judgment. (Plate XXX. fig. 1.)

In the duomo of Torcello, one of the Venetian islands, is a large mosaic of the Last Judgment, with figures in Byzantine costume. The date probably about 1200.<sup>a</sup>

The porch of San Michele at Pavia is adorned with sculpture displaying the joys of Heaven on one side and the punishment of the wicked on the other.<sup>b</sup>

The year 1242 witnessed the completion of one of the most important series of sculptures pertaining to this subject to be found in any country, namely, the great west front of Wells cathedral. The entire length of this front above and around the great window archings is occupied with a band or series of figures rising from their graves. The attitudes and groupings are wonderfully varied, and display an excellence of execution, which, however, passed entirely unnoticed till the illustrious Flaxman mentioned them in his lectures on sculpture. (Plate XXXI. fig. 7.)

It is to be regretted that a carefully studied series of drawings has not been taken of them, for the sake of the sculpture only. They have from their elevated position escaped the injury inflicted on most of the lower figures, and fortunately do not require the meddling hand of the restorer. These sculptures are so fine that they will fully bear comparison with the works of Niccolo Pisano, who was alive at this time. He was born about the year 1200, and, consequently, 42 when these sculptures were finished. In the year 1250 (the 34th of Henry III.), Edward de Westminster was ordered to paint a Last Judgment at the west end of St. Stephen's Chapel.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Lord Lindsay's *Christian Art*, vol. ii. p. 57. Murray's *Handbook to North Italy*, p. 373.

<sup>b</sup> Gally Knight's *Churches of Italy*, series 1, pl. 14.

<sup>c</sup> Eastlake's *Materials*, p. 560. A very interesting example is given of this subject in sculpture, over a door, of the thirteenth century, by De Caumont, *Abécédaire*, p. 273. The Saviour has a castle, symbolical of the inhabited world, for a foot-stool. The angels holding the Instruments of the Passion, to judge from the engraving, are especially grand. Unfortunately the author does not name the place where the original is to be seen.



The beautiful south porch of Lincoln cathedral affords one of the most refined representations of the Last Judgment. The figures have unfortunately suffered very seriously, and the exquisite workmanship of the framing around has in some measure detracted from the attention really due to them. Flaxman's lectures contain a sketch that he made of the composition; plate 39.<sup>a</sup> The date of this porch is probably 1280. The figures contrast wonderfully with the Byzantine severity of the works already described.<sup>b</sup> (Plate XXXI. fig. 1.)

The grand mosaics of the baptistery at Florence, designed by Andrea Tafi, who died 1294, exhibit a striking analogy with the compartment series just described in the British Museum. A general idea of their arrangement and composition may be gathered from plate xix. in the first volume of Gally Knight's Churches of Italy. They are fully described by Lord Lindsay, vol. ii. p. 57.<sup>c</sup>

In the slope of the roof, above the high altar, is a gigantic figure of Christ sitting, inclosed within a ring. His extremities are large, the feet especially enormous and clumsy, the toes out of all proportion. Just beneath is a row of sarcophagi opening, and men stepping forth from them. On the left of the spectators they are received by angels, on the other side devils are actively engaged. Next to this is the Inferno, treated in the usual manner, with a huge green monster in the centre devouring victims. On the other side are crowds of the blessed and saints and patriarchs enthroned. The figures on the rest of the dome are arranged in four rows of historical subjects; three large compartments are above this again, consisting of arabesques and immense angels and cherubim. The lowest line of all seems devoted to the life and death of St. John the Baptist.<sup>d</sup>

The interior walls of the porches of the Greek monasteries are covered with paintings of saints, and the Last Judgment occupies the porch of every church. These pictures are often of immense size, with the figures according to the usual arrangement, the blessed having stout gold glories; and St. Michael weighing the souls is rarely omitted.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See Wild's Lincoln Cathedral, plates 12 and 14. Mr. Cockerell speaks in the Appendix to his Iconography of Wells Cathedral, p. 91, of this sculpture as inferior to the angel figures in the choir. In this opinion I cannot concur with the learned Professor. Unfortunately, being outside the building, and easily within reach, they have been much damaged, but their position seems to have entailed a greater degree of care and finish originally, whilst the angels in the choir were far removed from the eye, and display less minute study and refinement of surface.

<sup>b</sup> Sketch-book, No. 27, p. 102.

<sup>c</sup> MS. Travelling Note-book, p. 130.

<sup>d</sup> MS. Travelling Note-book, p. 130.

<sup>e</sup> Curzon, p. 362, *et seq.*

The prototype of St. Michael weighing the souls occurs in Pagan art, where Mercury holds the scales. Homer (*Iliad* viii. 69) describes the father of gods and men taking his golden scales to weigh the *fates* of the Greeks and the Trojans.

The Last Judgment is depicted on the walls of the church at Toscanella, and figured in Gally Knight (vol. i. plate xii.): compare also Dennis's *Etruria* (vol. i. page 455).

The duomo of Orvieto, commenced in 1290, affords a parallel to the sculptures of Wells cathedral in the compartments of its façade representing the dead rising from their tombs. (Plate XXXI. fig. 5.) They were executed by Giovanni Pisano, and seem to be positively inferior in all respects to those of our own country.<sup>a</sup> The Orvieto sculptures are engraved in D'Agincourt (*Sculpture*, plate xxxii.). Dante, at his greatest power in 1300, did not by his poetic inspirations contribute to any material change either in the form or arrangement of this mighty subject. His introduction of the "*Caron dimonio*,"<sup>b</sup> it is true, led to the appearance of the infernal ferryman in Michael Angelo's great picture; but the huge form of Lucifer, and the various grades of punishment, had made their way probably from the East before the writings of Alighieri became known.<sup>c</sup>

Soon after this date, in 1306, Giotto painted a Last Judgment on the entrance wall of the Arena Chapel at Padua. The Saviour appears in a Vesica Piscis, surrounded by angels, the apostles, and the elect. Below, to the left, the dead rise from their graves, and the entire right side is occupied by the Inferno. Beneath the Saviour the cross is supported in the air by two angels.<sup>d</sup>

The most celebrated and fully developed picture of this subject belonging to the early Italian period is the fresco by Andrea Orcagna, in the Campo Santo at Pisa. (Plate XXX. fig. 2.) The composition is so well known that I will only refer to a tracing exhibited in the room. The right-hand portion, the Inferno, was altered or repainted at a subsequent period; but it may be seen in a very early print, attributed to Baldini, which I also lay before you.<sup>e</sup> The date is not recorded, but Lord Lindsay assigns about 1329-30.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Lord Lindsay, vol. ii. p. 121, *note*.

<sup>b</sup> Dante, *Inferno*, Canto iii.

<sup>c</sup> De Caumont, *Abécédair*e, p. 274, mentions especially the porches of Chartres, Bourges, Paris, La Couture au Mans, St. Seurin de Bordeaux, and Amiens, as displaying sculptures of the thirteenth century pertaining to the Last Judgment. The Tympanum over door of west front at Vezelay contains the same subject. Du Sommerard, *Album*, Série iii. fol. 22.

<sup>d</sup> Lord Lindsay, vol. ii. pp. 180 and 195; and a drawing in possession of the Arundel Society.

<sup>e</sup> Ottley, *History of Engraving*, vol. i. p. 373. The original plate has been used in the modern work by Morrona, *Pisa Illustrata*, vol. ii. tav. 10.

<sup>f</sup> Lord Lindsay, vol. iii, p. 141, *note*.

Orcagna painted the same subject, together with a Paradise, in the Strozzi Chapel of Santa Maria Novella at Florence, in the year 1357. The chapel, like the transept of a cathedral, has only three sides. On the north, around the window, he painted the Judgment, representing the Saviour as a half-figure only, on account of the window interfering. Angels sound the trumpets; the Virgin, in pure white, kneels on the left side, apart from the prophets and saints, who are seated on clouds on each side a little below. The Resurrection is portrayed as usual. The right hand wall is occupied with the Inferno, labelled and divided more in accordance with the conception of Dante. It has been engraved by D'Agincourt, *Peinture*, plate cxix. Charon, Minos, the Centaurs, and various other Dantesque figures, are especially prominent.

On the opposite west wall of the chapel is painted the Paradise. Christ and the Virgin Mary appear seated side by side under a canopy at the top of the picture. The blessed are ranged in rows all up the sides; four angels playing musical instruments occupy the centre of the picture; and a crowd of blessed stand on clouds beneath.

Queen Mary's Psalter, in the British Museum, marked Royal 2 B. VII. belongs to the date 1320. It contains, on page 303 *b*, an impressive representation of the Judgment and Resurrection.\* (Plate XXX. fig. 4.) The composition is square; on a gold burnished ground, Christ with red nimbus, pale flesh, and white hair, appears seated on an arch, clothed in a pink garment lined with pale green; it is fastened on the breast with a round fibula. The feet are large and long: and the position of the legs is that which is commonly called "knock-kneed." An angel holding emblems of the Passion: viz., the cross, nails, spear, and crown of thorns, occupies each upper corner. A straight blue band or fillet beneath the feet of Christ separates the upper subject from another one of the Resurrection. The ground of this compartment is red, composed of a pink and white diaper. Two angels sound long trumpets; and white-clad figures are seen rising from the graves. One lifting up the white coffin-lid, marked with a bright red cross, is particularly good both in action and drawing.

Page 304 opposite, contains a square compartment of the same size divided in like manner. The upper part, to the left, contains the Gate of Heaven, guarded by St. Peter and an angel. To the right is the Saviour enthroned, with globe at his feet, and angels. The background to this half is burnished gold; whilst that of the other portion is red and pink diaper, like the Resurrection on the opposite page.

\* Waagen, p. 165. MS. Note-book, No. 34, p. 127.

Below is the Gate of Hell, with mouth of monster. The devils are wonderfully well drawn, and much more finished and modelled than usual. Sepia seems to be the colour chiefly employed. This subject, being darker, looks richer than any other in the book; a fat, shorn monk is being carried upon a devil's back. The back-ground is blue diaper, with white lines and bright red circles.<sup>a</sup>

In 1407, Spinello Aretino commenced his famous picture of the Fall of Lucifer, well-known in connection with a curious story told by Vasari.<sup>b</sup>

The great east window of Carlisle cathedral formerly presented a magnificent display of the Last Judgment; and many parts of the glass still remain, especially in the upper lights. The highest central compartment retains the figure of the seated Christ, surrounded by smaller angels. Two gravestones at his feet take the form of a cross. His mantle is dark blue, and the background a rich crimson diaper. Two compartments below contain—the one to the left, a standing group of the blessed; the one to the right, the heavenly Jerusalem. The smaller side-lights contain angels with trumpets. Many others are still filled with figures emerging from the sepulchres.<sup>c</sup> (Plate XXXI. fig. 2.)

Mr. Rogers possesses a beautiful miniature of the fifteenth century by Jean Fouquet de Tours, representing the Eternal Father in a glory of flame, and the wicked tormented below.<sup>d</sup> (Plate XXXII. fig. 4.)

Trinity church, Coventry, also contains a curious old brown wall-painting of the Doom. (Plate XXXII. fig. 1.) It extends over the arch, supporting the west side of the tower. There is remarkable energy in the attitudes of some of the figures. The Saviour is especially undignified, with very large feet. The world, as a white ball, with a red triangular belt round it, is placed between them. The square graves are very conspicuous down the side of the arch. The steps of Paradise are on the left; the condemned hurried off by devils fill the opposite side, with indications of the jaws of Hell at the angle. The Virgin Mary seems to have been entirely omitted, as in the Gloucester picture.

An ancient mural painting was discovered in 1847 in Portslade church, Sussex, on the south wall of the nave. The Virgin Mary, crowned, is seated on the right hand of the Judge. Christ sits alone within a pointed arch, probably part of a vesica; for the rest of the painting is much mutilated, and seems to have been a poor performance at the very outset. The space within the arch is rudely seméed

<sup>a</sup> MS. Note-book, No. 34, p. 127.

<sup>b</sup> Lord Lindsay, vol. ii. pp. 313 and 320. Vasari, Florentine edition, 1832-8, vol. i. p. 195. Bohn's translation, vol. i. p. 269.

<sup>c</sup> Sketch-Book, No. 16, pp. 64 and 68.

<sup>d</sup> Sketch-Book, No. 41, p. 121.



with fleurs de lis. The remains of this painting have been engraved in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. i. 1848, p. 161, and described by the Rev. Henry Hoper. The architecture is of the early-English period.

Another universally celebrated picture of this subject belongs to German art, and is the altar-piece of the cathedral of St. Mary at Dantzic, formerly attributed to John Van Eyck.<sup>a</sup> (Plate XXXI. fig. 3.) It bears the date 1467, and is generally believed to be by Albert van Ouwater, the founder of the Holland school of art.<sup>b</sup> It forms a large altar-piece with wings, of which the left inside is adorned with an elaborate gate of Paradise, with a flight of steps, at the foot of which St. Peter receives the blessed, who are there invested with heavenly garments by angels nearer the portal,—the porch of a cathedral of the period richly decorated with sculpture; the right wing is occupied with the infernal regions.<sup>c</sup> This picture was removed to the Louvre gallery in 1811, and marked in the Catalogue No. 303. In many respects it closely resembles the Gloucester picture, with which our examination began. The lily and sword on either side of the head of the Saviour may be seen in both. St. Michael, however, is to be found in the Dantzic picture only, and there he is strikingly conspicuous. The Inferno does not contain any enormous figures, but numerous small ones, tossed about in flames, and among sharp rocks, by active fiends. Some monkish figures are very quaint. In this composition the Saviour rests his feet on a plain ball, so shiny as to reflect surrounding objects. The attitude of Christ is formal, and the figure is encumbered with drapery of too many folds, although well arranged upon the knees. He sits upon a rainbow, almost circular. The Virgin veiled, and St. John the Baptist, kneel on each side, whilst the Apostles are seated six on each side. Four angels hover in the air with instruments of the Passion, and four small angels are below sounding curved trumpets. The cross at the top of the staff borne by St. Michael is very similar in point of ornament to those carried by the angels in the Gloucester altar-piece.

An interesting old German picture at Beaune in Burgundy, generally attributed to Albert van Ouwater, is shown by Signor Cavalcaselle to be a fine work of

<sup>a</sup> See Kugler's *Handbook of German Painting*, edited by Sir Edmund Head, p. 72. Waagen über Hubert und Johann van Eyck. Breslau, 1822, 8vo. p. 241.

<sup>b</sup> The date of this curious picture is traceable in the centre-piece on a grave-stone to the left of the figure of St. Michael. A woman wringing her hands is seated upon it. The following letters are all that remain: "Anno Domini . . . CCCLXVII. IAR." At first the date was restored 1367, but Waagen has satisfactorily shown, by the space worn away at the commencement, that there must have been an additional C; moreover, the elder Van Eyck was only one year old in 1367. Waagen, *Van Eycks*, p. 248.

<sup>c</sup> See also *Conversations-Lexicon für Bildende Kunst*. Leipzig, 1846, vol. ii. p. 542.





Fig. 1. Portals of the East Window of Lincoln Cathedral. page 335



Fig. 2. Sculpture from the South Porch of Lincoln Cathedral. page 332

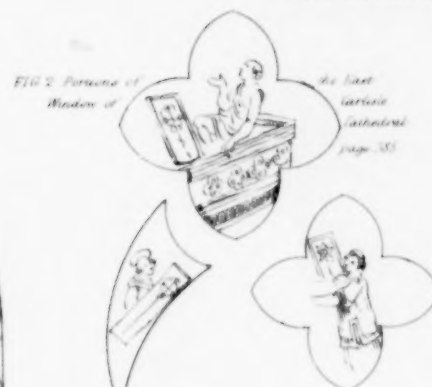


Fig. 3. Portals of the West Window of Lincoln Cathedral. page 333

page 337 and Appendix



Fig. 4. From the West Front of Lincoln Cathedral. page 338

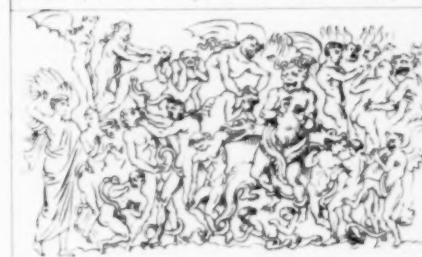


Fig. 6. Sculpture from the Facade of the Duomo at Orvieto. page 341

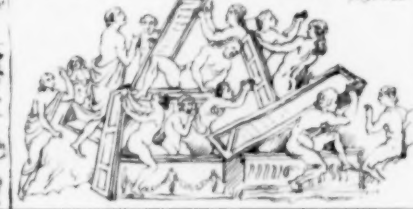


Fig. 7. From a Drawing at Santiago dated 1607 supposed to be by A. Chawater. page 346



ART-SCETCHES TO ILLUSTRATE MR. SCHAEFFER'S PAPER ON REPRESENTATIONS OF THE LAST JUDGMENT.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 23<sup>rd</sup> April, 1856.



FIG 1. Wall painting in the

St. Francis Church, Germany  
page 385



FIG 2. Sculpture (Alto relief) in  
Ratisbon Church page 387



FIG 3. Anglo-Saxon MS page 377



FIG 4. Illumination by Jean Fouquet page 385



FIG 5. The Last Judgment painted by Hemmrich in Hampton Court Palace page 388



FIG 7. The Last Judgment painted by Hemmrich in Hampton Court Palace page 388







Roggier Van der Wayden. It represents the Last Judgment, and, in many respects, resembles the Dantzig picture. St. Michael, in the centre, weighing the souls, is clothed in a long white dress reaching to the ground, and a mantle fastened with a circular clasp on the breast. The figures are altogether large, and few in comparison to the usual treatment of the subject. The entrance to Paradise displays some very graceful architecture of a purer Gothic than we generally meet with in this school.

The beautiful works of Fra Angelico da Fiesole 1407-54, contain several representations of the Last Judgment, two of which are in the Gallery of the Belle Arti at Florence; one in the Corsini Palace at Rome; another, a fresco, in the duomo at Orvieto; and a very fine specimen is now in the collection of Lord Ward, freely open to the public every day except Monday. (Plate XXX. fig. 3.)

The last-named picture is interesting, as having been copied in one of the earliest copper-plate engravings by Sandro Botticelli, an impression of which is in the British Museum; and I saw another for sale recently at Messrs. Evans, the printsellers, in the Strand.

The Christ in Judgment, painted by Fra Angelico at Orvieto, in 1447 (Plate XXXII. fig. 9), is said to have suggested to Michael Angelo the action of the Judge in his Sistine fresco a century later.

The same cathedral contains a series of important frescoes by Lucca Signorelli, who painted the history of Antichrist, and also a Last Judgment. His wonderful foreshortenings and bold attitudes prepared also for the vaster display of Michael Angelo. His fresco of the *Fulminati* is well known.

A rude representation of the same subject was discovered on the walls of Gawsworth church, in Cheshire, in 1851; and another quite recently in Rougham church, Suffolk, round the chancel arch.

In Kingston church, near Kegworth, is a very curious monument belonging to the Babington family. The east end of it is decorated with a sculpture representing the Last Judgment. (Plate XXXII. fig. 5.) The Saviour appears seated on a rainbow; a sword above projects from the right side of his nimbus; angels in the air support a scroll; the graves are open at the feet of the Saviour; the gate of heaven, and a crowd of the blessed, are to the left, and great monster's jaws and the condemned fill the right-hand corner. The Virgin is entirely omitted.

The Last Judgment forms one of the subjects of the painted glass in Fairford church, Gloucestershire, 1492.\* It entirely occupies the west window.

\* See Dallaway's *Anecdotes of the Arts in England*, p. 436. Mr. Winston does not assign an earlier date than the first part of the 16th century. *Hints on Glass Painting*, vol. i. p. 114.



The subject recurs in a side chapel, north of the chancel, in St. Mary's church at Shrewsbury.

The great west window of Brussels cathedral is filled with a Last Judgment, dated 1528.<sup>a</sup> The glass of this subject in the choir of Lichfield cathedral is dated 1551.

The celebrated fresco by Michael Angelo in the Sistine chapel, completed 1551, is too well known to require description here; suffice it to observe that even that great genius, with all his originality, not only followed the traditional arrangements handed down to him, but, in many cases, availed himself of the smaller inventions and devices of his predecessors. (Plate XXXII. fig. 2.) Michael Angelo had also prepared cartoons for a Fall of the Angels, to occupy the opposite end of the chapel.<sup>b</sup> Hemskerk, Rubens, and Jean Cousin employed the subject rather as an excuse for the display of a series of studies from nature, and exhibiting their knowledge of human passions and weaknesses, than from any desire to influence the minds of the beholders towards spiritual improvement; other painters indulged in depicting the destruction of the world without attempting to go beyond the merest corporeality.

A Last Judgment by Hemskerk, in the Gallery at Hampton Court, No. 125, displays a studious departure from the established arrangement of the older artists. The picture is long in shape, with the figure of the Saviour seated on clouds in the right-hand extremity of the picture. Immediately beneath him, hell is represented as a gaping monster's head, with Cerberus, and a small demon holding a pitchfork, standing on front of lower jaw between the tusks. (Plate XXXII. fig. 8.) In the centre of the picture is a blaze of empty yellow light and a rainbow. To the left a large group of figures round a bed, on which a man lies expiring. At the foot of the bed are a pilgrim's staff, bottle, hat, and shoe. The central foreground is occupied with large naked figures, admirably drawn: a boat, with Charon and numerous souls, appears in the middle distance. A female figure of Fame, *not* an angel, is sounding a trumpet like a serpent. A second trumpeter, a male figure, appears close to the Saviour.<sup>c</sup>

Bernard van Orley executed an important picture of the Last Judgment, which is now in St. Jacob's at Antwerp.

A modern example of the subject, in sculpture, may be seen in London, over the lich-gate of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields. It was set up on the gate of the old church 1687.<sup>d</sup> (Plate XXXII. fig. 6.) The figures are very small in proportion

<sup>a</sup> Winston's Hints on Glass Painting, vol. i. p. 179.

<sup>b</sup> Vasari, Florentine edition, 1832-8, vol. iii. p. 995. Bohn's translation, vol. v. p. 281.

<sup>c</sup> Waagen, Art Treasures, vol. ii. p. 358.

<sup>d</sup> See Cunningham's Hand-book to London, edition 1850, p. 202.

to the semicircular lunette they occupy, and are in alto-relief. The Saviour stands in the clouds, surrounded by rays, holding the banner of redemption, and with his right hand pointing upwards. Angels playing musical instruments, and tumultuously expressing the joys of heaven, completely surround him. Neither the Virgin Mary nor apostles are to be seen in order. The prominent attitudes of the rising dead, and of the condemned, betray markedly the influence of Michael Angelo; they have been directly and ignorantly copied from his sublime Conception. This alto-relievo is very curious, and being both elaborate and well preserved deserves to be carefully drawn and published.

A curious square oak carving, about 5 feet by 2½, in alto-relief, is inserted over the gateway of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, in the city of London. (Plate XXXII. fig. 7.) From the two upper corners seems to hang a festoon of clouds, upon which, in the centre, the Saviour is seated in cumbrous drapery, holding the banner of Redemption in the right hand and the ball and cross in the left; the significant action of the Judge is therefore entirely lost. He has a large beard and rough hair, but no nimbus.

Immediately beneath the Saviour, in front of the clouds, Satan is falling. He is represented of a slim human form, with hideous face, horns, and bat's-wings: his feet are tied together. The entire space below is filled with the dead—all entirely naked—issuing from their coffins, which are shaped like those now in use. At each end some figures are seen issuing from caverns. The central figures below are large fat children; but otherwise there is no distinction of age or sex. One angel, to the left of the Saviour, sounds the trumpet.

There are no musical instruments, nor indications of entrance to the places of final award. The Book of Life also is not represented. The remaining space within the line of clouds is filled with winged angels, many of them exceedingly graceful, busied in assisting the aspirants to heaven by reaching their hands over the clouds. Many of the figures, in their excitement, seem ready to scale the walls of heaven; but the treatment of the whole is very unworthy of the subject. As a piece of carving it is remarkably good, and superior to that over the lich-gate of St. Giles's.

A remarkable representation of the Last Judgment occurs in a spirited etching, on a large scale, by David Hopfer. (Plate XXX. fig. 5.) A very fine impression may be seen in the British Museum. It is also mentioned by Bartsch, vol. viii. p. 476, No. 15. The Saviour appears in the centre surrounded by rays. He wears a high arched crown, holds a sceptre in the left hand, and raises the right in action of benediction towards the elect. A large mantle envelopes the shoulders and lower part of the figure with excellently disposed folds; a rainbow of a peculiarly stilted

form serves for a seat. The globe, as usual, is a footstool. The Virgin Mary, crowned, sits near the Saviour, but much lower down, so as to leave considerable space between them. St. John the Baptist is seated on the right hand, to correspond with the Virgin. These three figures, by violence of action, lose the architectural balance so well preserved by the older painters in their central group—an arrangement which afforded a powerful contrast between the solemn tranquillity and the fervid piety of the blessed, and the gestures of terror and despair among the condemned.

The Twelve Apostles are arranged in two rows, six in each row, beneath the supreme Judge. They are bold figures, in grand but violent attitudes. Two angels hover above with the instruments of the passion. Two other angels, one on each side of the Saviour, hold the lily and the sword. These latter emblems frequently occur in German representations of the Last Day, but never, so far as I have seen hitherto, supported by angels. The blessed ones stand in heaped up rows of clouds up the entire left side of the picture; the condemned, standing on flames, fill the right to a corresponding extent. Among the latter are Popes, Bishops, Monks, and Cardinals.

The crowd of blessed contains several soldiers. In the front of the left-hand crowd is a row of charming little naked children. Beneath the Apostles three angels hover in the air, each holding a trumpet; and one has a naked sword in addition. Beneath these again are angels bearing up the souls to heaven, represented as naked children, according to the early Italian and Byzantine fashion. The earth in the centre is filled with square holes, to indicate the empty graves, arranged with some attempt at perspective, which recalls the composition of Fra Angelico at Lord Ward's Gallery; but the effect of crowd, bustle, and animation on both sides can only be equalled by Orcagna's fresco in the Campo Santo at Pisa.

This rare print is marked D ♠ H.

David Hopfer and his brothers worked, according to the dates on some of their productions, from 1520 to 1527. The country to which they belonged is not known. Another engraving by the same master, also in the British Museum, refers likewise to the Last Day; but it is rather an allegorical device than a direct representation, like those which have hitherto engaged our attention.

The woodcuts in the Nuremberg Chronicle, and Holbein's Dance of Death, relating to the Last Judgment, and the Fall of Lucifer in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, together with thousands of other illustrations, must be passed by undescribed. I have only presumed to mention those examples which came under my own immediate notice, and have endeavoured, in making the collection, to classify them chronologically, in the hope that others may be induced to con-

tribute their information under a similar system, and thus to obtain as many varieties in one kind as possible. Something similar has been done by Miss Louisa Twining, the author of "Christian Symbols," with reference to the various representations of the Crucifixion, a subject especially impressive, and capable of every variety of conception and treatment. It is to be hoped that the lady will ultimately publish the result of her valuable studies, so that others may derive the benefit of information which the leisure of an amateur, united with the refined taste of an artist, could alone afford.

For a *complete* view of these awful themes, both artistically and poetically, we must look forward to Mrs. Jameson's concluding volume of "Sacred and Legendary Art." The life of our Lord, with which the work will terminate, must necessarily bear reference to the Last Judgment; especially as one of what theologians call "the four last things: viz., Death, Judgment, Hell, and Paradise." For this the Latins use the term "Quatuor Novissima;" the Greeks, "Τὰ Ἐσχατά."

I should be unwilling to conclude this paper without alluding to the conceptions of a great artist recently taken away from us, the only painter indeed who ever succeeded in giving an idea of infinite space.

John Martin delighted in subjects which carried the spectator beyond the bounds "of this dim spot which men call Earth," and bade him behold the scene as from afar off, as one might say, in mid air; such was the effect of his Deluge, Pandemonium, Crucifixion, and Day of Judgment. His style of treatment has been followed by some of the French artists, and with deserved success. The style may be termed melo-dramatic, but it is deeply impressive.

In the dramatic treatment none have approached the great Italians already enumerated. Cornelius, at the head of the modern German school, has produced an enormous fresco in the Ludwigskirche at Munich, which, with all its excellence, contains many faults; the merits being chiefly derived from his predecessors. Like his predecessors, he has immortalized his friends in heaven, and punished his enemies in hell. The wildness of his style, which rather partakes of Filippo Lippi in character, does not suit the tone of that awful moment.

One master alone, who united more requisites than any other for such a representation, dramatically and with every artistic excellence, has left the subject untouched. Raphael Sanzio d'Urbino is not known to have made any design, not even the slightest sketch, of the Last Judgment—one of the grandest, most comprehensive, and solemn subjects that the human mind is able to conceive.

G. S.

June 21st, 1855.



XXXIV. *On Episcopal and other Rings of Investiture.* By  
OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq. M.P., F.S.A.

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Read February 7, 1856.

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THE Ring has for many ages formed part of the insignia of a Bishop; there does not, however, appear to be any evidence either as to the period or the special reason of its first adoption. It seems from very early times to have had a two-fold purpose and signification, the one practical and useful, the other mystical and symbolic.

Many of the General Councils held during the first six centuries had reference to the episcopal office, and the canons decreed thereat had especial relation to the election, ordination, and duties of Bishops. In no one canon, however, is any mention made of the episcopal ring. In the Apostolical Constitutions regulating the discipline and practice of the early Church are found minute and particular directions for the election and ordination of Bishops. These constitutions are said to have been drawn up by the Apostles themselves; by some, however, they are thought to have been compiled from the early precepts, practice, and customs of the Apostles by St. Clement, who died about the year 100. By others, again, they are believed, from internal evidence, to have been a collection of previous constitutions, rules and regulations, made in the fourth or fifth century. In speaking of a Bishop these regulations prescribe the sort of man who should be chosen for a Bishop, viz. that he must be a man of good morals, fifty years of age, and the husband of one wife, who must not have been a widow, and then give expressly the form of his consecration, which is as follows: After the election is made, the people on the Sunday assemble in the church, together with the priests and Bishops, of which there must be at least three present. He who presides in the assembly presents the newly-elected Bishop to the people, and asks if it is he whom they have chosen, and whether he is a fit and proper person; and on the people answering in the affirmative, one



of the first Bishops standing before the altar shall, together with the other Bishops, make a prayer over the elect. During this time the deacons shall hold the Book of the Holy Gospels open upon the head of him whom they are ordaining, and the Bishops and priests shall pray in silence; when the prayer is ended, and the people have answered Amen, one of the Bishops is to place a hoste in the hands of the ordained, and the others conduct him to the throne prepared for him. He then receives the holy kiss from all the Bishops, and after the reading the lessons from the prophets and the Gospels he pronounces a blessing on the people.

These directions are very minute, and there is in them no mention whatever of a ring, or staff, or any form of investiture. But these constitutions, and all the canons of the early councils which allude to the subject, are very express about the Bishop being elected by the people and clergy, with the consent of the Metropolitan, which term first occurs in them, and that at least three Bishops shall be present at his consecration.

I must leave to others to determine the date of these Apostolical Constitutions, which, if of the fifth century, will serve to show that the ring could not have been adopted as a symbol of the episcopal office till after that time; at all events, it seems clear that the ring is not coeval with the institution of Bishops.

The earliest document with a certain date in which mention is made of the episcopal ring is that usually cited, viz. the 28th Canon of the Council of Toledo, held in the year 633, by which it is ordained that a Bishop, priest, or deacon condemned unjustly, and whose innocence is acknowledged by a second Synod, cannot perform the functions which they did before until they have received before the altar the degrees from which they were fallen, that is the ensigns of their office. "The Bishop shall receive the stole, the ring, and the staff, the priest the stole and the chasuble, the deacon the stole and the albe, the sub-deacon the chalice and paten, and so for the other degrees." From this it is evident that the Bishop must have received the ring and staff before they could have been taken from him on his deposition from his office, and from the manner in which they are mentioned it would seem that they had long been the habitual ensigns of the episcopal dignity. It may, therefore, I think be fairly inferred that the ring was adopted at some period between the compiling of the constitutions, probably in the fifth century, and the year 633.

There is, however, another authority, at least cotemporary with that council, if not of earlier date. St. Isidor, Bishop of Seville, who died A.D. 636, in his work "*De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*," lib. ii. c. 5, when writing on the episcopal dignity,

says, "Huic (Episcopo) autem dum consecratur datur baculus, ut ejus indicio subditam plebem vel regat vel corrigat, vel infirmitates sustineat. Datur et annulus propter signum pontificalis honoris vel signaculum secretarum." Here he informs us that the staff and ring were given to the Bishop at his consecration, and mentions the two-fold purpose and signification of the ring, but does not tell us from what source these insignia were derived.

Numerous authors, from the thirteenth century downwards, have written on the subject of the rituals and ceremonies of the Church at various periods, as well as the insignia of the different orders in the Church, but no light is thrown on the early history of the ring.

Durandus, Bishop of Mende, one of the most learned lawyers of the thirteenth century, in his "*Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*," when writing on the Episcopal Ring, says, "Annulus est fidei sacramentum, quo Christus sponsam suam sanctam ecclesiam subarravit, ut ipsa de se dicere valeat, 'Annulo suo subarravit me Dominus meus, Jesus Christus,' cujus custodes et pædagogi sunt Episcopi et prelati, annulos pro signo in testimonium hujus rei ferentes." He then alludes to the return of the Prodigal Son, as mentioned in the Gospel, on whose hand his father ordered a ring to be placed as a mark of honour, and adds, "Ex quo evangelio annuli usus creditur acceptus." Again, "Annulus ergo pontificis integritatem significat fidei, ut videlicet ecclesiam Dei sponsam sibi creditam sicut se diligit, et sobriam et castam ecclesiæ sponso custodiat." Thus he considers the ring as a mark of dignity, and the symbol of the mystical union between the bishop and the church. Then with regard to the practical signification he says, "Antiqui literas annulo sigillabant, unde Episcopus annulum portat, quoniam Scripturæ mysteria et ecclesiæ sacramenta perfidis sigillare et humilibus revelare debet." Thus drawing a mystical meaning from the practical use of a seal ring. Again, "Annulus digiti donum significat Spiritus Sancti. Annulus aureus et rotundus perfectionem donorum ejus significat, quem sine mensurâ Christus accepit. Ipse de plenitudine suâ secundum differentes donationes distribuit; aliis secundum Apostolum dans sermonum scientiam, aliis gratiam sanitatum, aliis operationes virtutum, quod visibilis Pontifex imitatur, alios in ecclesiâ constituens sacerdotes, alios diaconos, alios subdiaconos. Non igitur ab re in Episcopi digito gemmatus fulget annulus, per ejus mysterium dantur fulgida carismata gratiarum."

These extracts will suffice to show the mystical significations attributed to the ring of the bishop by the early writers; and from the last passage we also learn that the ring was of gold and jewelled. Many subsequent writers might be cited,

but they mostly incorporate in their works the words of Isidor and Durandus, without, however, always making known the source from which they drew them. From the mystical meaning of the ring we will now proceed to its history, and in the eighth century we shall find it assume a new character.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, some attention seems to have been paid to the subject of rings in general, and several persons wrote concerning them. John Kirchmann, a learned German of Lubeck, published a treatise "*de Annulis*;" and about the same time Henry Kornmann also wrote another small treatise "*de triplici Annulo*." Kirchmann seems to have made deep research respecting these rings, and in the chapter on episcopal rings he gives their history as far as he had been able to trace it. The office of a bishop has been for many centuries conferred by investing the individual with a ring and pastoral staff, though in the first ages we have seen that it was not so. Of this custom he says he cannot find, in ancient writers, any trace earlier than the time of Charlemagne, who, when Italy had been ravaged by the Longobardi, the church plundered, and the capital itself menaced, was called in by Pope Adrian I. to assist in expelling the invaders. This he succeeded in doing by the conquest of Desiderius, the last King of the Lombards, in 774, and restored to the Church the possessions of which it had been deprived. In gratitude to Charlemagne for these important services which he had rendered to the church, it was decreed in a general synod held at Rome, attended by the Pope, and 153 bishops and abbots, that Charlemagne should have the power of electing the Pontiffs, and ordering the holy see, and that in addition the archbishops and bishops of the provinces should receive investiture from him. This right was afterwards confirmed to the Emperor Otho I. by Pope Leo III. in a bull which is still extant, and which Kirchmann cites *in extenso*, giving also his authorities for the whole history. He proceeds to say that he here finds, that among the other solemnities of episcopal investiture the ring was usurped, and that the Emperor was wont to send it, as a symbol, to him on whom he wished to confer a benefice; and he quotes a passage from William of Malmesbury, who reports Gregory VI. to have declared that Adrian I. was to be commended for having granted to Charlemagne the right of investiture of ecclesiastics, so that no elected person could be consecrated until he had received from the Emperor or King, as he is termed, the ring and staff as the ensign of his authority.

Here, then, we have not only an important change in the appointment to the episcopal office, but also the first mention of the source from which the ring was to proceed. He moreover states that, on the death of a bishop or abbot, the chief

persons of his college or city transmitted the ring and staff of the deceased prelate back to the Emperor, who afterwards conferred the sacred insignia on him whom he should choose; and, in proof thereof, cites a case in which the ring and staff of St. Otho, Bishop of Bremen, were sent back to the imperial court. He also cites the case of an abbot, who, on his deposition, placed his ring and staff on the altar, over the body of St. Benedict, in the presence of those who were assembled. He then goes on to say: "Of this kind were doubtless those sixteen large and good pontifical rings, one of ruby, with other gems set round it, one of emerald, one of sapphire, and one of topaz," which Bishop Conrad, in the old chronicles of Mayence, enumerates among the jewels of the church of that city.

In the history of the ring it will here be sufficient to mention that as an ensign of investiture it was in the eleventh and twelfth centuries a most fruitful source of discord between the Emperors and the Popes, until, in the year 1123, the Emperor Henry V., alarmed by the threats and excommunication of the Pope, ceded the right of investiture by the ring and staff to Pope Callixtus II., from which time the rings were sent to the bishops elect from the Pope, and I believe the practice continues to the present time.

So far for the history of episcopal rings. With regard to their fashion I have found no mention; and, from the result of the inquiries I have made, there does not appear to be any prescribed form, but that they have been usually made according to the taste and fashion of the time. Kornmann, who wrote his treatise early in the seventeenth century, quoting from the Roman Pontifical, says that the ring is given to the Bishop with these words: "Accipe annulum discretionis, et honoris et fidei signum, ut quæ signanda sunt signes, et quæ aperienda sunt prodas, quæ liganda sunt liges, et quæ solvenda sunt solvas;" and then citing the authority of a synod held at Milan, when matters respecting ecclesiastical ornaments were determined, states, "Annulus Episcopi ex auro puro solidè conflatus constat, cum gemmâ pretiosiore in quo nihil sculpti esse debet." Many examples of episcopal rings have been found in the ancient tombs of bishops; those found at Chichester, Hereford, and Wells, may be cited as instances among many others where the bishops of old were interred with their rings and croziers, and some of these are of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These rings are usually of middling size, slender, and of rather antique form, plain, and without ornament, and set with an uncut stone of no great size or fine quality, which is frequently a ruby or sapphire. It is difficult to reconcile the practice of returning the ring to the Emperor, with that of interring the bishop with his ring on his finger; but it is probable that, when in the twelfth century the Emperor ceded to the Popes the



right of investiture by the ring, the sending back the ring was dispensed with; and, being the property of the Church, and not of the Emperor, the Bishop was allowed to be interred with his ring as an emblem of his dignity.

Investiture by the ring was not however altogether confined to Bishops or ecclesiastical persons. The Emperor was himself at his inauguration invested with a ring; and Kirchmann tells us that, at the coronation of Ferdinand III. at Ratisbon, in 1616, a few years before he wrote, the Archbishop and Elector of Mainz, having received from the altar a very precious ring, placed it on the finger of the Emperor with these words: "*Accipe regiae dignitatis annulum, et per hoc Catholicæ fidei cognosce signaculum, et ut hodie ordinariis caput et princeps regni et populi, ita perseverabilis auctor et stabilitor Christianitatis et Christianæ fidei fias, ut feliciter in opere cum Rege regum glorioris per eum, cui est honor et gloria, per infinita secula seculorum.*—Amen."

It will only be necessary to mention the fact that from very early times our sovereigns have also been invested with a ring at their coronation, and that they were in some cases buried with their rings; for on this subject much information is to be found in the third volume of our *Archæologia*. But another circumstance is also deserving notice, that according to John of Salisbury, who was a cotemporary, the Pope Adrian VIII. ceded and gave to Henry II. King of England the island of Ireland, in hereditary possession, on the ground that, according to the grant of Constantine, all islands belonged to the see of Rome, and he sent at the same time as the mark of investiture a large gold ring set with a fine emerald, which was preserved in the royal treasury.

Not only kings, however, but other dignitaries used to receive investiture by a ring. According to some ancient French writers, a duke was invested by a cap of gold (*chapeau d'or*) ornamented with pearls; a marquis with a ring set with a ruby; a count with a diamond-ring; a viscount with a rod of gold; and a baron with a banner.

Cardinals on their creation receive a ring, and the stone is usually a sapphire.

As far, however, as I am able to learn there is no ceremonial of the investiture of a Pope with a ring at his coronation, though it is on record in the Epistles of Arnulphus, Bishop of Rochester, that the antipope Octavianus, who called himself Victor I., laid the apostolical insignia at the feet of the Emperor Barbarossa, and received investiture from him by a ring. Here I may mention that I have it from authority which may be relied on that the Pope has no official ring which he wears. There is, however, one ring which his Holiness wears on the occasion of performing certain great functions. The stone is an exquisitely fine



cameo of the head of our Saviour, cut in bloodstone, which is known to be more than 300 years old, probably a fine cinquecento gem, and of course descends from one Pope to another.

I must not, however, omit to mention one important ring, as it is called, belonging to the Pope, which, though it is neither an episcopal or investiture ring, seems in an especial manner to bear the character of an official signet ring. This is the so-called "Fisherman's Ring." Whatever may be its actual form, and of this we are at present ignorant, it is certainly now not a ring to be worn, and has for ages past been simply a seal, nor does there appear any record of its ever having been worn, though from its name and use we may fairly infer that it was at some very remote period worn as the signet-ring of the pontiffs. It is the Pope's lesser seal or signet used for documents of minor consequence, and the impression is usually made on red wax, or stamped on the paper; the Bulla being what may be termed the great seal, employed for giving validity to instruments of greater importance, and the impression of it is always on lead. The origin of the fisherman's ring is obscure. Mabillon says that he has not been able to find anything about it earlier than what Massonus relates, who quotes a letter from Pope Clement IV. dated 1264, to his kinsman Ægidius Grassus, in which he says, "Non scribimus tibi nec consanguineis nostris sub bullâ, sed sub piscatoris sigillo, quo Romani Pontificis in suis secretis utuntur." Thus in the thirteenth century it was not called by the Pope himself *annulus*, but *sigillum*, and its use as a private seal or signet distinctly enunciated. It would be vain to speculate on its origin, but it derives its name from a representation of St. Peter in a fisherman's boat of ancient form, which is engraved on it, and not from any tradition that it ever belonged to St. Peter, as from its English name is not uncommonly supposed. The Germans call it "*Der Fischer-ring*," which is "*The Fisherman-Ring*," whereas we, probably in our translation of *Annulus Piscatoris*, have termed it *The Fisherman's Ring*, seeming to imply thereby that it had once belonged to "the Fisherman." The figure of St. Peter forms the centre, and round it is the name of the reigning Pope, if the figure of an impression of this seal given in a recent work on rings, published in America, is correct. Of this ring or seal little seems to be authentically known, save that it has from an early period been only a seal, though it may possibly still have the form of a ring. We are informed in *Sedler's Lexicon*, and it is generally believed, that on the death of a Pope one of the duties of the Cardinal-Chamberlain is to destroy this seal, and that a new one is made for the successor to the papal throne.

In conclusion, the inference I am disposed to draw from the foregoing investi-

gation is, that as in all times and countries the affixing a seal to a document gave it its validity and binding force, the seal was the real instrument of the power and authority of any office, and therefore became the symbol of it. That in the earliest times it was customary to have seals and signets in the form of rings, probably as a convenient mode of carrying them, possibly for ornament, and certainly the greatest security against their being used without the knowledge and contrary to the will of the wearer. The delivery, therefore, of the seal or signet ring was committing to the individual the authority and power to execute the rights and duties of his office; and, though official seals ceased to be signet rings, and rings ceased to be the actual signets, the form was preserved, and the ring was still employed as the symbol of authority to use the seal; and this authority continued to be conferred by the delivery of a ring long after the original use and meaning of it had passed away. The real meaning of the ring having been forgotten, a mystical one was invented and adopted.

XXXV. *On the Abbot of Waltham's House, in the parish of Saint Mary-at-Hill, London. In a Letter to SIR HENRY ELLIS, from G. R. CORNER, Esq. F.S.A.*

Read February 14 and March 6, 1856.

3, Paragon, New Kent Road,  
5th February, 1856.

DEAR SIR HENRY,

It is remarkable that Stowe makes no mention of the Abbot of Waltham's House at St. Mary-at-Hill, although the industrious London historian lived hard by, in the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft; and the only printed notice of it that I am aware of is in Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*, vol. iv. pp. 417, 420, where it is stated that the parish purchased the abbot of Waltham's kitchen, and erected the south aisle of the parish church on the site thereof in the year 1501.

St. Mary's Hill is a street running north and south, from Eastcheap to Billingsgate, and at a short distance on the west is a narrow lane called Love Lane, one of the narrowest and most crooked lanes in the city of London, running from Eastcheap to Thames Street. The parish church of St. Mary-at-Hill stands between these two ways, and the abbot of Waltham's house stood on the south side of the church towards Billingsgate.

Waltham Abbey was re-founded (as an abbey) by King Henry II. in 1177, and Walter de Gaunt, the first abbot of Waltham, became possessed of some ground in the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, on the south side of the church of that parish, by purchase from Scotland de Ifeld and Idonea his wife, on which ground the abbot built a house or inn, for the residence and convenience of himself and his successors when business or occasion should bring them to London.

By a deed (without date) Scotland de Ifeld and Idonea his wife granted to God and the Church of the Holy Cross of Waltham, and the canons regular serving God there, in perpetual alms, for the health of their souls and the health of the souls of all theirs, the land which was of Aluric de Hulla, near the church of St. Mary de Hulla in London, towards the west, subject to the annual rent of one penny. And with that grant Scotland gave his body to be buried, with his most dear brothers, at Waltham. Witnesses, Nigel the chaplain, Ralph the chaplain, Gilbert de Dakenham, Symon the clerk, Richard dean of Shepey,<sup>a</sup> Richard the

<sup>a</sup> "Ric. Diac' de Scapeya."

clerk, Hubert the clerk, Jordan the alderman, William the clerk, son of Alexander Sperleng, John, Martin, and Theodoric his brothers, Hamon fitz Hugh, John de Polstede, Hudo and William the bakers, Godwin the merchant, Gilbert the felt-maker, Symon the weaver, Bernard the bedell, Alwin Maie, Robert de Walton, Norman the draper, William the smith, William son of Jordan, Walter the weaver, and many others. (MS. Harl. No. 391, fo. 90.)

This purchase was effected by the abbot of Waltham through the agency of William son of Alexander Sperleng of London, who is one of the witnesses to the last charter, and who by another writing declared that Walter abbot of Waltham had often spoken with him seeking a place where he might make an inn in a place convenient to himself and his men and carts, which often came to London for his victuals and other necessities. That at length he shewed the abbot it would be most desirable to purchase the land of Scotland de Ifeld and Idonea his wife, if any adjoining land could be acquired, because the aforesaid land was of itself too small, and that by agreement he treated with Scotland and Idonea for its purchase, lest, if they chanced to know that the abbot desired to buy it, they should have made it too dear to him. Whereupon he publicly bought the said land of the said man and his wife, and had their charter of it; but the money which he paid, the abbot gave him of the money of his house. Therefore he disclaimed all right to the land, and before the alderman and many neighbours and honest men delivered it to the abbot, and for him and his heirs for ever he quit-claimed the same to the House of Waltham, and delivered to them the charter of the aforesaid knight (as Scotland de Yfeld is now called), saving to himself while he lived lodging in the abbot's house, as testified by a writing which he had of the abbot and convent. Witnesses, Jordan the alderman, Alexander Sperleng, Jordan of the Tower,<sup>a</sup> Odo and Ralph chaplains, Constantine, Robert Blund,<sup>b</sup> William Veisin, John son of Alexander Sperleng, Martin and Ralph<sup>c</sup> his brothers, Symon de Garschirche, Odo the baker, Gilbert the feltmaker, Symon the weaver, Ralph oter, Geoffrey the fishmonger, Matthew of Billingsgate, William the smith, Bernard the bedell. (Harl. MS. No. 391, fo. 90 b.)

On the ground thus obtained Abbot Walter erected his mansion, but he added to it several other acquisitions; as it appears, from the declaration of William

<sup>a</sup> In 7 John the King granted to Thomas Lavell of York all the houses, lands, rents, &c. of Jordan of the Tower, in London. Rot. Cart.

<sup>b</sup> Robert Blund was sheriff of London 1196-7.

<sup>c</sup> Ralph Sperleng was an alderman in 1245, twenty-ninth Henry III. Lib. de Antiq. Legib. ij. In 33 Henry III. the aldermanry of Ralph Sperleng owed the king 10s. for harbouring Martin de Maydenstan, a fugitive. (Madox, Firma Burgi, p. 92.)



Sperling, that the ground obtained from Scotland de Ifeld was not of itself sufficient for the purpose, and the family of Sperling aided the abbot, by grants of their own land, in order to enable him to erect a house fit for the residence of a mitred abbot.

By another deed (without date) Alexander son of Sperling granted to God and the church of the Holy Cross of Waltham, and the canons regular serving God there, a part of his garden near his house in London, as it was then inclosed, which he acquired from Wot and from Drueline, which lay to the south and to the west of the house of William fitz Isabel,<sup>a</sup> which William Veisin held of him; reserving the rent of one farthing at the feast of Easter for all services. Witnesses, Odo and Ralph his chaplains, John, William, Martin, and Theodoric his sons, Henry fitz Eilwine, Bernard the beadle, Ralph the ironmonger, Odo the baker, Robin White, Gilbert the feltmaker, Thomas the corn-meter, Matthew of Billingsgate, William Veisin, Geoffrey of Billingsgate. (MS. Harl. No. 391, fo. 91.)

Another addition was made to the possessions of Waltham Abbey in London by the same Alexander son of Sperling, who by deed (undated) confirmed to God and the church of the Holy Cross of Waltham, and the canons regular serving God there, for the health of his soul, and the souls of all his ancestors, and all the faithful, the cellar which he held of the church of St. Mary of Southwark, by [the rent of] two shillings, and all the land that Ralph Pol held of him, which land extended ten feet towards the west from the cellar, and the shop that Geoffrey held of him towards the east of the cellar, and the land which James Grenefugel held of him, and the land which Theobald son of Yvo held of him, and the land which William the smith held of him, and the land of Bernard the bedell, with the land of Robert de Benestede, to find lights before St. Mary's altar in the church of Waltham, in pure, and perpetual, and free alms. And therewith he also gave his body to be buried with his most dear brothers of Waltham. Witnesses, Master Symon of Cornwall, Odo chaplain of St. Andrew's,<sup>b</sup> Helyas son of Godard, Robert de Enefeld, John Aperil, Philip Aguilun, Stephen son of Edward. (Harl. MS. No. 391, fo. 91 b.)

By a deed of convention and exchange (without date) between Walter abbot and the canons regular of Waltham, and Gervase of Aldermansberi and Agnes his maternal aunt, and Atheliza niece of the said Agnes, they released to the abbot and canons all the land which they had between the house of Robert Blund and the house of Brunman the smith, and all their right to the said land, for ten marks and a half of silver, which the abbot and canons gave to the said women. And

<sup>a</sup> William fitz Isabel was Sheriff of London 1194.

<sup>b</sup> St. Andrew Hubbard, a neighbouring parish, or St. Andrew Undershaft.



the abbot and canons agreed to pay the annual rent of one penny and one farthing to the lord of the fee for the same land. And moreover the abbot and canons granted to the said Gervase, and Agnes, and Atheliza, in exchange, all the land which they had on the other side of the way, which lay between the land of Walter Brune which William the feltmaker held, and between the lane which was near the house of Henry de Buhun, to wit, whatever the abbot and canons possessed there, without any reservation, and for which the said Gervase, and Agnes, and Atheliza should pay the annual rent of one halfpenny to the lord of the fee. Witnesses, Jordan the alderman, Roger son of Alan,<sup>a</sup> John son of Herlie<sup>b</sup> (Herlyson), Simon de Aldermanbury,<sup>c</sup> John Esperleng, William his brother, Robert Blund, Philip son of Roger, Gilbert the feltmaker, Matthew of Billingsgate, Godard the tanner, Walter his brother, Ralph oter, William Veisin, Odo the baker, William the smith, Geoffrey the fishmonger, Bernard the bedel, Edward the clerk. (MS. Harl. No. 391, fo. 92.)

Robert Chamberlain, son of William Chamberlain,<sup>d</sup> by deed (undated) gave to God and the church of the Holy Cross of Waltham, and the canons regular serving God there, four shillings quit-rent in the parish of St. Benedict Gracechurch, from the land which Godard the mercer, and Roger and Adeliza his wife, daughter of the same Godard, held of him, for the love of God and the health of his soul, and the souls of his father and mother and his ancestors, in perpetual alms, reserving annually for all services one pound of pepper, or six pence, for which grant the said canons gave him in full hustings the sum of forty shillings. Witnesses, Henry fitz Ailwin,<sup>e</sup> Jordan of the Tower, Robert Besant and Jukell, then sheriffs, John son of Herlie, William son of Sabeline, William Blund, Peter son of Edward Blund, Nicholas Duket,<sup>f</sup> Gilbert Dane, John Burg, Arnisius son of Alulf,<sup>g</sup> Samson of St. Martin's, William Esperleng, Henry the Welshman, Geoffrey bonehaie, Robert and Michael sons of Robert Besant, Edward the clerk. (MS. Harl. 391, fo. 92.)

Robert Besaunt and Jukel, alderman, were sheriffs of London in 1195. In Fabyan's Chronicle and the Chronicle of London the latter is called Jokel le Josne (or the young). The date of the last deed is therefore ascertained; and the preceding grants and the erection of the abbot's house in London may in all probability be assigned to the same, or a somewhat earlier date.

<sup>a</sup> Roger fitz Alan was sheriff of London 1193.

<sup>b</sup> John Herlyson, sheriff of London 1190.

<sup>c</sup> Simon de Aldermanbury, sheriff of London 1201.

<sup>d</sup> William Chamberlain was sheriff of London 1203.

<sup>e</sup> Henry fitz Alwyn was mayor of London from 1189 to 1212.

<sup>f</sup> Nicholas Duket, sheriff 1192.

<sup>g</sup> Arnaud fitz Alulf was sheriff of London 1199.

The following grant mentions Walter the first abbot of Waltham, and I therefore conclude its date to have been after the death of Abbot Walter, in 1201.

Constantine fitz Aluph,\* by deed (also undated) granted to God and the church of the Holy Cross of Waltham, and the canons regular serving God there, all the land that he held of the nuns of Clerkenwell, in the parish of St. Mary de Hulla, to wit, that land which lies between the stone house which Walter first abbot of Waltham built in the same parish and the land of Cecilia of Billingsgate, reserving a yearly rent of one pound of pepper, or six pence, for all services, at the feast of St. Michael, and sixteen pence which the said church of Waltham should pay yearly for him and his heirs to the nuns of Clerkenwell at Michaelmas and Easter, for which grant the abbot of Waltham gave him, of the money of his church, six marks of silver. The witnesses are, Jordan the alderman, Jordan of the Tower, Alexander son of Sperleng, William fitz Aluph, John the Burgundian (?), Gilbert the Dane, Jordan Peverell, John son of Alexander, William and Martin his brothers, Galfridus fitz Herbert, Robert White, Gilbert feltmaker, Adam feltmaker, Bernard the bedell, William Veisin, Robert cook, Alfwine carpenter, Odo baker, Ralph oter, Matthew of Billingsgate, Geoffrey of Billingsgate, Arnisius, William the smith, Helyas son of Godard, Godwin the merchant, Henry the mason, Symon de Garschirsche, Leward the porter, Robert de Woburn, Paulin the merchant, Bernard de Beauvais, Alketin of Billingsgate, Stephen the painter, Walter Limbarue, Robert de Walton, Roger de Garschirche, William the vendor of the house of Odo the baker, and many others. (MS. Harl. No. 391, fo. 90 b. 91 d.)

Philip of St. Bride's also granted to the abbot and canons of Waltham certain land in London; but the description is wanting, and the date unascertainable, for the cartulary breaks off at the commencement of this grant, a leaf or more being wanting; and Le Neve, in whose handwriting are the marginal notes to this MS., has written at the bottom of the page, "*cetera desiderantur adhuc.*"

It was most probably on the ground purchased of Constantine fitz Aluph that Richard abbot of Waltham (I believe the fifth abbot, from 1218 to 1229) built a chapel, and he obtained licence from William (De Sancta Maria) bishop of London, (1199 to 1221), with the assent of his chapter of Saint Paul's, to celebrate divine

\* Constantine fitz Aluph was sheriff of London in 1198. He was a favourer of Louis of France against King John, and even in 1222, during the minority of King Henry III. in which year he had the misfortune to be hanged, by order of Hubert de Burgh, chief justiciary, (*sine judicio*), for heading the citizens in a riot, directed against the abbot of Westminster, arising out of a wrestling match. This illegal execution was charged against Hubert de Burgh by the citizens when he fell into disgrace ten years afterwards. (*Liber de Antiq. Legib.* 2, 5.—Maitland's London.)

service in the chapel which he had built in his court near the church of St. Mary-of-the-Hill, in London; saving all episcopal rights, and those of the archdeacon, and of the parish church of St. Mary-of-the-Hill. And if any oblations should come to the hands of the said abbot, his brethren or successors, in the said chapel, they should be transferred to the said parish church, without any deduction, retention, or delay. Witnesses, Master Robert de Watford, dean of London; Master William de St. Mary's Church, archdeacon of London; Master Roger Niger, archdeacon of Colchester; Dñs Peter de St. Mary's Church, treasurer of London; Master Henry Cornhill, chancellor of London; Dom<sup>s</sup> Roger of Worcester, Master John Witheng, Master Ralph de Besants, Master Alexander de Wereford, archdeacon of Shrewsbury, Master Philip de Haddam, Master John de Storteford, Master William de Purl, and others. (MS. Harl. 391, fo. 120b.)

I have not met with any notices of the abbots of Waltham during the period of their occupation of this mansion; and I must therefore pass over a period of three hundred years between the erection of the chapel and the sale of the abbot's kitchen to the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, whereon the south aisle of the church was built in 1501, as before stated.

The accounts, however, of the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, published by Mr. Nichols, in "Illustrations of the Manners and Expenses of Ancient Times in England" (1797), give us some instances of an interchange of courtesies between the abbots and the parish, *ex. gr.*—

A.D.	s.	d.
1485. Paid for two gallons of wine, red and claret, given to the Abbot of Waltham and to Sir Thomas Bowghser (Bourchier), for that they should have been good benefactors to our church in divers things . . . . .	1	8
1500. Spent at the Abbot's Inn on Mr. Wryne, Mr. Suckling, R. Howling, when we began to make a note for the said ground (the ground on which the Abbot's kitchen stood, and on which the south aisle of the church was built) . . . . .	0	5
1502. Paid for a pike sent to my Lord Abbot of Waltham to the Abbot's Inn . . . . .	2	8
For a turbot ditto . . . . .	1	8
To a servant of ditto for a reward for bringing venison . . . . .	1	8
1503. Spent at the Abbot's Inn, at the "etting of a bok" (eating of a buck) that my Lord Abbot of Waltham gave to the parish . . . . .	1	8
Same year. Spent at eating at Mr. Alderman's "a bok" (buck) given to the parish by the Lord Abbot of Waltham . . . . .	9	8

We obtain some description of the abbot's house after the surrender of the abbey and its possessions by Abbot Fuller to King Henry VIII. in the thirty-first

year of his reign, from the Ministers' Accounts in the Augmentation Office, and it appears to have been a very extensive and considerable mansion.

In the thirty-first and thirty-second years of King Henry VIII. John Higham accounts for rents arising from houses, wharfs, and tenements in the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, which I take to have been part of the property of Waltham Abbey, and, among others, for eight shillings for the farm (rent) of two cellars lying in Love Lane, situate under the great chamber of the great messuage called "The Abbot's Inn," in the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, (received) from Roger Chaloner, (demised to him) his executors, administrators, and assigns, by indenture, dated 18th February, in the twenty-fifth year of Henry VIII. from the feast of St. Michael then last, for the term of ninety years, for the profits coming or arising from the farm of the outer part of the great messuage or mansion called the Abbot's Inn, in the parish aforesaid, situate and being towards the rectory, as far as a small chamber, next adjoining the chapel chamber, as well above as built under, to wit, a certain stable chamber above the gate of the aforesaid mansion, the erection of the cloister, and also the shed with a private tenement built beneath, next adjoining the new parlour (*conclavi*) there, to wit, within the time of that account not received, because the late abbot and convent of the said late monastery, by their writing indented, gave and granted to the aforesaid Roger Chaloner and Dorothy his wife the keeping of the said great messuage or mansion aforesaid near Billingsgate, to hold to the said Roger and Dorothy, their executors and assigns, during the term aforesaid; and moreover they gave and granted to the said Roger and Dorothy, during the term aforesaid, for the keeping of the said mansion, all the outerpart or front of the said mansion, with all the buildings, solars, and other things above declared and specified, without paying any rent for the same. And in which said indenture it is covenanted that the said late abbot and convent, and their successors, should perform all the reparations of the said mansion during the said term at their own expense.\* And he certified that he had not received any profits from the residue of the house and buildings of the said mansion, called Abbot's Inn, in the said indenture reserved and excepted (to wit), the great court called the court yard, the hall, the chapel, the chamber called the chapel-chamber built above, together with the dormitory, kitchen,

\* It does not appear whether this lease was granted by the abbot and convent to Chaloner for a valuable consideration, or whether it was a voluntary grant; but it was not the only thing he had from them, for Robert abbot of Waltham Holy Cross, and the convent, patrons of the sinecure chapel of St. Andrew Altrichesey (Arlesey, in co. Bedford,) granted the next presentation to Roger Chaloner of London, mercer. Dated 12 March, 1530.—Collect. Top. and Gen. vol. vi. p. 232.



larder, with a small new parlour (*conclave*), a small chamber below, next adjoining the great gate, and likewise the coal-house, because the said court, chamber and certain premises so in the aforesaid indenture reserved and excepted, could not be let within the time of that account.

Roger Chaloner was a substantial citizen of that day. He is mentioned in a list of the Mercers' Company in 1537, preserved at the Chapter House, Westminster.

He was descended from an ancient Welsh family, and was the father of Sir Thomas Chaloner, of Guisborough, Yorkshire, and Steeple Claydon, Bucks, who was equally renowned in arms and literature; having been knighted at Musselburgh by the Protector Somerset in 1547; and he was the author of some celebrated works in Latin and English, verse and prose, and after the accession of Queen Elizabeth he was sent as her ambassador to Philip of Spain. His son, also Sir Thomas, was equally celebrated with his father as a man of great accomplishments. He was tutor or governor to Prince Henry, son of King James the First, and he introduced the manufacture of alum into England, establishing it at his estate of Guisborough.\*

Roger Chaloner was an inhabitant of the adjoining parish of Saint Dunstan-in-the-East, and he seems also to have occupied land at Low Layton, in Essex, for by a deed (*penes me*) dated 28th January, thirty-third Henry VIII. John Elryngton, of Hackney, gentleman, in consideration of thirty pounds, bargained and sold to Roger Chaloner and his heirs all those his lands, pastures, woods, underwoods, rents, and services, with their appurtenances, called Knott's lands, containing by estimation forty-six acres, more or less, as well free as customary, situate, lying, and being in the town and parish of Leighton, in Essex, which he the said Roger, before the making of that deed, had and occupied in farm of the demise and lease of Robert Elryngton, father of the said John.

By his will, in which he is styled Roger Chaloner of the city of London, esquire, dated 7th June, 4th of Edward VI. he gave and devised to his (third) wife, Isabel (who was widow of William Allen of London, and mother of Sir William Allen, lord mayor in 1571), his great mansion in St. Mary-Hill parish, called Waltham, and also his dwelling-mansion in Tower Street, during the term of her life, with remainder to his next heirs. And he gave the residue of his estate to his three sons, Sir Thomas, John, and Francis, and to his two daughters, and he nominated his wife sole executrix, who proved the will in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 24th June, 1550, and buried her husband at St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, where she herself was buried 21st August, 1558, according to the directions of her

\* Memoirs of both the Sir Thomas Chaloners will be found in the *Biographia Britannica*.



will, before her pew in the body of the church, and as near to her late husband as convenient.\*

I have not discovered to whom the house of the abbot of Waltham was granted by the king, but Roger Chaloner must have acquired the reversion, and turned his lease into a freehold estate by some means previous to his death in 1550, for he devises it by his will to his heirs; and I find among the pleas of land in the Court of Hustings at Guildhall, in the first year of Queen Mary, the record of a recovery suffered in that year by Sir Thomas Chaloner, Knt. son and heir of Roger Chaloner, and Dame Joan his wife, to William Allen, citizen and leather-seller, who was his stepbrother, and afterwards Sir William Allen, and to Thomas Blanke, junior, citizen and haberdasher (afterwards Sir Thomas Blanke, Lord mayor of London in 1582), of one messuage or tenement situate in the parish of St. Peter at Paul's Wharf, and also one great messuage or inn called Abbot's Inn, situate in the parish of the blessed Mary-at-Hill, near Billingsgate, in the ward of Billingsgate, London.

That recovery was suffered upon a sale of the abbot of Waltham's Inn by Sir Thomas Chaloner to Thomas Blanke the elder (father of Sir Thomas Blanke,) and the abbot's house was thereupon pulled down by Mr. Blanke, who rebuilt the same, and it became the residence of his son Sir Thomas Blanke, the lord mayor.

Thomas Blanke the elder, citizen and haberdasher of London, lived in Gracechurch Street, and by his will dated 2nd June, 1562, and proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 23rd December, 1563, he gave and bequeathed unto Thomas Blanke his son, and to Margaret his wife, all that his great messuage or tenement called Abbot's Inn, wherein they (his son and his wife) then dwelt, with all cellars, sollars, warehouses, and other edifices thereunto belonging, situate, lying, and being in the parish of Saint Mary-at-Hill in the city of London, and his messuage or house with the appurtenances lying in Peter Lane nigh Paul's Wharf, within the city of London; that is to say (in his own words), "all the whole purchase which I late bought of Sir Thomas Challynor, Knt. which purchase cost me three hundreth pounds in money; and I paid more of my own money towards the new building of the same great house called Abbotts Inn, nine hundreth pounds, so that in verie deed the said purchase of the said old house and the building of the new house thereupon cost me in the whole in ready money twelve hundreth poundes, I give God thanks for it, praying also unto God that my son Thomas Blanke and his said wife may long dwell in the said great

\* Her will proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 6 October, 1558. (See Machyn's Diary, Camden Society, p. 171.)

house, and to serve God therein according to their duties above all other things and charges. To have and to hold both the same my two messuages or tenements with their appurtenances to the said Thomas my son and Margaret his wife, and to the heirs males of the body of the said Thomas lawfully begotten or to be begotten, upon condition that the said Thomas my son, or any of the heirs males of his body, shall not alien, discontinue, or suffer any feint recovery of the premises or any part thereof." And, for want of issue of his son Thomas Blancke, the testator devised the same hereditaments to Thomas Altham, son of James Altham, alderman of London, and of his wife, Elizabeth (then deceased), who was a daughter of Thomas Blancke the elder, and his heirs in tail, with remainders successively to Edward, James, John, and Matthew, brothers of the said Thomas Altham. He gave many charitable and other legacies, among which were 60*l.* to the free school at Guildford, and 5*l.* per annum payable out of the Abbot's Inn to the poor of Bridge Ward, and a cup and cover to the Haberdashers' Company; and he desired to be buried at St. Leonard's, Eastcheap.

His son Sir Thomas Blancke was elected alderman of Queenhithe ward, 23rd February, 1572. He was sheriff in 1574, and lord mayor in 1582. He died 28th October, 1588, and was buried at St. Mary-at-Hill. His epitaph in Stowe's Survey is very laudatory, and says he was known as "the good knight." His second wife was Margaret Traves, who died 2nd February, 1596, and was also buried at St. Mary-at-Hill.

Sir Thomas Blancke dying without issue, the Abbot's Inn went, according to the entail in his father's will, to the Althams. They were a family of some standing in London: Edward Altham had been sheriff in 1531. He was the father of James, who married, first, Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Blancke the elder, and secondly, Mary widow of Sir Andrew Judd, lord mayor of London in 1550, and was the father of Thomas, Edward, James, John, and Matthew, mentioned in the will of their grandfather Thomas Blancke the elder. In this family the Abbot's Inn remained vested until the Fire of London, when the house built by Thomas Blancke the elder on the site thereof shared the fate of the large portion of the city which was consumed in the conflagration of 1666, and a decree was made by the Court of Judicature for the determination of differences between landlords and tenants and owners of adjoining buildings destroyed by the great fire, dated the 28th October, 1667, on the petition of Sir James Altham, Knight of the Bath, setting forth that James Altham, Esq. being seized in fee, had demised a certain large messuage called "The Abbot's Inn," in the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, to Elizabeth Freeman, widow, for a term of thirty-one years, at the

rent of 33*l.* per annum (the premises being worth 150*l.* per annum), of which term but one year remained unexpired at the time of the fire; and that the lease had become vested in Thomas Lenthall, Esq. who had refused to contribute towards the rebuilding of the house, which would cost 2,500*l.*; and Mr. Lenthall being summoned, and appearing by his counsel, and the matter being debated in court whether the petitioner should be the builder, or the defendant, it was declared by the court that although a tenant who desires to build and to return to the place of his habitation and trade, if he be a shopkeeper who lives by his customers resorting to his shop, ought to be preferred to be the rebuilder, yet in this case the defendant, being a merchant, keeping no outward shop, and being a person very aged, who hath had and enjoyed his lease within one year of its expiration, and the building being now to be in another form than formerly, and inasmuch as the petitioner having the inheritance in all probability would rebuild better than any termer, and for the best advantage, the court declared that the premises should be rebuilt by Sir James Altham, and that the residue of the term of the lease should be surrendered and determined.

Sir James Altham was the eldest son of Sir Edward Altham, of Marks Hall, Essex, which he inherited, and he was made a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of King Charles II. in 1661.

Having brought the history of the Abbot of Waltham's Inn to comparatively modern times, it is unnecessary to pursue the inquiry further. The documents before us disclose the history of the place from the purchase by the first abbot (of the new foundation) about the year 1195 till the fire of London in 1666, and afford altogether a very remarkable series of topographical documents relating to an interesting edifice, which has escaped the notice of the painstaking and indefatigable Stowe and other city historians.

At the head of Billingsgate Dock (now covered by part of the Market-house) and in close proximity to the house of the Abbot of Waltham, in St. Mary-at-Hill, was an open piece of ground called "Romeland."

Of this place Maitland says, "Roomland," or place where the masters of coal-ships, coalmongers, and heavers, daily meet to transact their affairs in.<sup>a</sup> And at the head of Queenhithe Dock there was also an open space of ground called "Rome-land;" but the most remarkable circumstance as connected with our present subject, is, that at Waltham Abbey, near the Abbey Mill, is a wide space of ground surrounded by small dwellings, called "The Bramblings," but formerly

<sup>a</sup> Maitland's History of London, 1st edit. 1739, p. 455.

"Rome-land," which is conjectured to have been so called from its rents having been in former times appropriated to the use of the Holy See. On this spot King Henry VIII. is reported to have had a small pleasure-house which he frequently occupied on his visits to Waltham. The statute fair is still held on this piece of ground.<sup>a</sup>

Of this Romeland (at Waltham) Fuller says, "Yet Waltham bells told no tales every time King Henry came hither." And he further says, "The mentioning of the consent of Pope Alexander to the suppression of Waltham dean and canons, and substituting Augustinians in their room, mindeth me of a spacious place in this town at the entrance of the abbey, built about with houses, called 'Rome-land' (as Peter-pence were called Rome-scot) at this day. It is generally believed that the rents thereof peculiarly belonged to the Church of Rome."<sup>b</sup>

In the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Mary-at-Hill, we find the following references to Romeland: viz.—

A.D. 1518. For cleansing of the Romeland and Billingsgate:—

[Several items for lighters and labour amounting to] . . . £9 13 0

Mr. Nichols refers this to Romeland at Waltham, but it was Romeland at Billingsgate.

1557. Paid for bringing down the images to Romeland, and other things, to

be burnt . . . . . 0 1 0

By a decree of the Court of Chancery, in the thirty-seventh year of Henry VIII. concerning Romeland at Billingsgate, between the Corporation of London and the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, it was confirmed to the city. (See Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxxix. N.S. 1853, p. 393. Id. pp. 509 and 617.) There was a Romeland at St. Alban's bearing the same relative position to the abbey there as Romeland at Waltham does to that abbey; and on it was a mansion called Rome-land House. "The Sheriffs brought George Tankerfield to the place where he should suffer, which was called 'Romeland,' being a green place near to the west end of the abbey church." (Foxe's Acts and Monuments, iii. 330, edit. 1688.)

There seems to be much obscurity about the origin and meaning of the name of Romeland, and I have not been able to arrive at any conclusion satisfactory to my own mind upon the subject; but I have mentioned the subject, as it seems to be peculiarly connected with Waltham Abbey, in London and Essex, and whether it had any reference or peculiar dedication to the Church of Rome, or whether

<sup>a</sup> The Graphic Illustrator, p. 105.

<sup>b</sup> Fuller's History of Waltham Abbey.



these places were mere landing-places for the convenience of shipmasters and merchants, and called "Room-lands," I must leave to more learned antiquaries to determine.

I remain, dear Sir Henry,

Your very faithful servant,

GEO. R. CORNER.

## APPENDIX.

[Harl. MS. No. 391, fo. 90.]

### CARTA SCOTLANDI de YFELD de loco et t̃ra edificioꝝ ñroꝝ in LONDONIIS.

London.<sup>a</sup>

Oñibus xp̃i fidelibꝫ ad q̃s p̃sēs s̃c̃ptū p̃venit Scotland<sup>o</sup> de Yfeld ⁊ Idonea uxor ej<sup>o</sup> sãtm. Notū sit vob oñibꝫ nos dedisse ⁊ g̃cessisse ⁊ p̃senti carta g̃firmasse Deo ⁊ eccl̃ie S̃c̃e Crucis de Walth ⁊ Canonicis reglaribꝫ ibidē D'o svientibꝫ in p̃petuā elemosinā p̃ salute ñra ⁊ omniū ñrorū t̃ra q̃ fuit Alurici de Hulla juxta eccl̃iā S̃c̃e Marie de Hulla in Landoniis vers<sup>o</sup> occidentē ⁊ eandē t̃ra q̃ietā ⁊ liberā clamamus p̃dc̃is Canonicis i p̃petuū ab ōi exaccione seculari ⁊ nich̃ juris vel q̃suetudinis nob̃ retinem<sup>o</sup> vel h̃edibꝫ ñris i jād̃icta t̃ra vel i edificiis ibidē edificatis, nisi unū denariū q̃m Dom<sup>o</sup> de Walth nob̃ solvet annuatī ad festū S<sup>i</sup> Michael. Et Dom<sup>o</sup> de Walth adq̃uetabit nos de p̃fata t̃ra ūs<sup>o</sup> capitalē dūm ⁊ de t̃b<sup>o</sup> s̃ot annuatī. Et cū hac donatione ñra ⁊ Ego Scotland<sup>o</sup> do ⁊ g̃cedo cor̃p̃ meū sepeliendū cū k̃ñis fribꝫ meis ap̃d Walth. Testibꝫ his, Nigello capello. Rad capello. Gilebto d̃ Dakenhā. Sỹm̃ elico. Rič Diač de Scapeya. Rič elico. Huč elico. Jord̃ aldmanno. Wiffo elico fit Alexand̃ Spleng. Johe, M<sup>o</sup>rtino, t̃rico frib̃ ej<sup>o</sup>. Hamone fit Hugoñ. Johe de Polstede. Hudoñ. Wiffo pistorbꝫ. Godwino m̃catore. Gilleb felt<sup>o</sup>rio. Sỹm̃ telař. Bernard̃ bedello. Alwino Maie. Rob̃ de Waleř. Normanno d<sup>o</sup>pario. Wiffo fab<sup>o</sup>. Wiffo fit Jord̃. Walř telario, ⁊ m̃ltis aliis.

[Harl. MS. No. 391, fo. 90, 90 b.]

### CARTA WILL'I SP'LENG, de t̃ra nobis empta a SCOTLANDO de YFELD in LONDONIIS.

London.

Oñibꝫ xp̃i fidelibꝫ ad q̃s p̃sēs s̃c̃ptū p̃venit: Wiffo fili<sup>o</sup> Alexand<sup>o</sup> Splēg de Lond̃ sãtm. Certū sit vob oñibꝫ q̃d Walř abbas de Walth sepe locut<sup>o</sup> ⁊ mecū q̃rēs ubi hospiciū q̃ddā facē possit utili loco s<sup>i</sup> ⁊ suis ⁊ caretis suis q̃e sepi<sup>o</sup> p̃ victualibꝫ suis ⁊ aliis s<sup>i</sup> necessariis Lond̃ veniebāt ⁊ tandē cū ego ostendem illi q̃d utilissima c̃et s<sup>i</sup> t̃ra q̃ fuit Scotlandi de Yfeld ⁊ Idonee

<sup>a</sup> The marginal notes are in the handwriting of Peter Le Neve.



uxoris illi<sup>o</sup> s<sup>i</sup> ēn aliq<sup>s</sup> ēras vicinas adq<sup>r</sup>ere posset q<sup>a</sup> pfata ēra nimis arta erat: cōmuni q<sup>s</sup>ilio ē p<sup>d</sup>cō Scotlādo ⁊ Idonea uxore ej<sup>o</sup> locut<sup>o</sup> sū q<sup>d</sup> pfatā ērā m<sup>i</sup> venderēt. Ne si forte scirēt q<sup>d</sup> p<sup>d</sup>ict<sup>o</sup> abbas illā emle vellet: nimis ei carā illā fecissent. Quappē pfatā ērā a p<sup>d</sup>cō viro ⁊ uxore sua publice emi ⁊ cartā eoꝝ inde habui. S; pecuniā q<sup>a</sup>m solvi: p<sup>d</sup>cō abbas m<sup>i</sup> t<sup>d</sup>idit de pecunia dom<sup>o</sup> sue. Igit<sup>r</sup> ne aliq<sup>s</sup> meoꝝ possit aliq<sup>o</sup> t<sup>p</sup>re i pfata ēra aliq<sup>d</sup> jus s<sup>i</sup> vendicare: pfatā ērā corā aldmanno ⁊ multis vicinis ⁊ p<sup>b</sup>is hōib<sup>o</sup> p<sup>d</sup>cō abbi t<sup>d</sup>idit ⁊ domui de Walth de me ⁊ oib<sup>o</sup> heredib<sup>o</sup> meis q<sup>l</sup>etā i<sup>p</sup>petuū clamavi ⁊ cartā pfati militis illis t<sup>d</sup>idit: ⁊ hāc meā cartā de negotio si<sup>c</sup> gestū fuit i vitate illis feci, ⁊ sigillo meo q<sup>f</sup>irmavi. Salvo m<sup>i</sup> q<sup>a</sup>mdiu vixero hospicio in domo abbis: sicut carta test<sup>o</sup> q<sup>a</sup>m habeo de abbe ⁊ g<sup>r</sup>entu de Walth. Testib<sup>o</sup> his, Jordano aldermāno. Alexand<sup>o</sup> Spleng. Jordano de t<sup>r</sup>i. Odone ⁊ Rad cap<sup>t</sup>is. Constantino. Robto Blundo. Wiffo veisin. Johe fit Alexand<sup>o</sup> Spleng. Martiñ ⁊ Rad frib<sup>o</sup> illi<sup>o</sup>. Sym<sup>o</sup> de Garschirche. Odone pistore. Gileb felt<sup>r</sup>io. Sym<sup>o</sup> textore. Rad oter. Galfrid piscario. Matho de Billingesgate. Wiffo fabro. Bernardo bedello.

[Harl. MS. No. 391, fo. 91.]

CARTA ALEXANDRI filii SP'LENG de q<sup>d</sup>ā parte GARDINI sui juxta domū suā in LONDON'.

Oñib<sup>o</sup> S<sup>c</sup>e M<sup>r</sup>is eccl<sup>i</sup>e filiis Alexand<sup>o</sup> fili<sup>o</sup> Spleng salē. Notū sit oñib<sup>o</sup> vob<sup>o</sup> q<sup>d</sup> Ego intuitu London.  
di ⁊ p salute mea ⁊ meoꝝ q<sup>g</sup>essi ⁊ dedi dō ⁊ eccl<sup>i</sup>e S<sup>c</sup>e Cruci<sup>s</sup> de Walth ⁊ canoñ reglarib<sup>o</sup> ibidē dō ſvientib<sup>o</sup> unā partē Gardini mei juxta domū meā in Londoniis. Sicut jā m<sup>i</sup>catū est q<sup>a</sup>m adq<sup>s</sup>ivi de Wot ⁊ de Drueline q<sup>o</sup> jacet ad austrū ⁊ ad occidētē añ domū Wiffo filii Isabel q<sup>a</sup>m Wiffo Veisin tenet de illo. Quappē volo q<sup>d</sup> p<sup>d</sup>cō canonici pfatā ērā habeāt ⁊ teneāt de me ⁊ de hēdib<sup>o</sup> meis in p<sup>p</sup>etuā elemosinā libe ⁊ q<sup>l</sup>ete pacifice ⁊ honorifice reddēdo m<sup>i</sup> ⁊ hēdib<sup>o</sup> meis unū q<sup>d</sup>ntē [quadrantem] ad pascha p oī ēreno ſvitiū. Et ego ⁊ hēdes mei defendem<sup>o</sup> ⁊ adq<sup>l</sup>etabim<sup>o</sup> ⁊ warantizabim<sup>o</sup> p<sup>n</sup>oiatā ērā pfatis canoñ p p<sup>d</sup>cō ſvitiū. Ita q<sup>d</sup> ego nec hēdes mei n<sup>l</sup>tm ſviciū n<sup>i</sup> pfatū q<sup>d</sup>ntē de p<sup>n</sup>oiatis canoñ de jādca ēra exi<sup>g</sup>e po<sup>r</sup>im<sup>o</sup>. Ut aū hec donatio mea firma sit ⁊ stabilis: cartā meā p<sup>d</sup>cō canonici feci ⁊ illā sigillo meo q<sup>f</sup>irmavi. Testib<sup>o</sup> his, Odoñ ⁊ Rad cap<sup>t</sup>is meis. Johe, Wiffo, M<sup>r</sup>tino ⁊ T<sup>r</sup>i filiis mei<sup>s</sup>. Hen<sup>r</sup> fit Eilwine. B<sup>r</sup>nardo le bedet. Rad le ferruñ. Odoñ pistore. Robino Albo. Gileb le feltrier. Thoma le corñ me<sup>te</sup>. Matho de Billigesgate. Wiffo veisin. Galf<sup>i</sup>d<sup>o</sup> de Billingesgate.

[Harl. MS. No. 391, fo. 91 b.]

CARTA ALEXANDRI SP'LENG de terris q<sup>u</sup>s nobis q<sup>t</sup>ulit in LONDONIIS.

Oñib<sup>o</sup> s<sup>c</sup>e m<sup>r</sup>is eccl<sup>i</sup>e filiis ad q<sup>o</sup>s p<sup>s</sup>cō s<sup>c</sup>ptū venit: Alexand<sup>o</sup> fili<sup>o</sup> Spleng satm. Notū sit London.  
vob<sup>o</sup> me dedisse et q<sup>g</sup>essisse et hac p<sup>s</sup>enti carta q<sup>f</sup>irmasse dō et eccl<sup>i</sup>e S<sup>c</sup>e Cruci<sup>s</sup> de Walth et canoñ reglarib<sup>o</sup> ibidē dō ſvitiū p salute aīe mee et omniū antecessoꝝ meoꝝ et omniū fideiū cellaria que teneo de eccl<sup>i</sup>a S<sup>c</sup>e Marie de Sudwre p ij sol et totā ērā q<sup>a</sup>m Rad Pol tenet de me, q<sup>o</sup> ēra durat x pedes vers<sup>o</sup> occidētē de cellario, et Sopā q<sup>a</sup>m Galfrid<sup>o</sup> tenet de me v<sup>s</sup>us oriētē de cellario, et ērā q<sup>a</sup>m Jacob Grenefugel tenet de me, et ērā q<sup>a</sup>m Theobald<sup>o</sup> filius Yvonis tenet de me,

et fr̃a q<sup>m</sup> Wiffrs faber tenet de me, et fr̃a B<sup>n</sup> nardi bedelli cū fr̃a Robti de Benestede ad luminaria īveniēda ante S<sup>e</sup> Marie altare ī ecclia de Walth ī purā et ppetuā et libā elemosinā. Et cū donatiōe et gressiōe p̃dictaz fr̃az do corp<sup>o</sup> meū ad sepeliēdū cū km̃is (carissimis) fr̃ib<sup>o</sup> meis de Walth. Et ut hec donatio mea et gressio mea firma sit p̃dc̃is canoñ de Walth et stabilis īppetuū / cartā meā jād̃cis canoñ feci et sigillo meo gfirmavi. Testib<sup>o</sup> his, Magistro Symōe cornubiēsi. Odone capello S<sup>e</sup> Andree. Helya fit Godardi. Rob de Enefeld. Johe Aperil. Phylippo Aguilun. Steph fil Edwardi.

[Harl. MS. No. 391, fo. 92.]

CYROGRAFU' GERVASII DE ALDERMANNESB'i de escābio t̃re ī LONDONIIS.

Sciāt p̃sentes et futi q<sup>d</sup> hec ⁊ gvetio sc̃a in fr̃ Walthū ab̃bem et canoñ regl̃ares de Walth et Gervasiū de Aldermannesberi et Agnetē maīterā ejus et Athelizā neptē ipi<sup>o</sup> Agnetis scit q<sup>d</sup> idē Gervasi<sup>o</sup> et Agnes et Athel p̃noīate clamaveūt q̃etā īppetuū Abbi p̃dc̃o et canoñ de Walth totā fr̃a q<sup>m</sup> habuerūt in fr̃ domū Rob Blundi et domū Brunmāni fab et totū jus q<sup>d</sup> habueūt ī pfata fr̃a p̃ decē m<sup>o</sup>reis et dimid argēti q<sup>as</sup> p̃faī abbas et canoñ eisdē feminis dederūt. Et p̃fat<sup>o</sup> abbas et canoñ p̃noīatā fr̃a adq̃etabūt annuatī vers<sup>o</sup> dñm fundi de j. d et q<sup>d</sup> nte. P̃tea jād̃cis abbas et canoñ de Walthā dederūt et gcesserūt p̃noīato G<sup>o</sup> vas<sup>o</sup> et Agneti et Ath p̃fatis ī excābiū huj<sup>o</sup> fr̃e totā fr̃a q<sup>m</sup> habueūt ex alīa parte vie q<sup>e</sup> jacet in fr̃a Waltē bruni q<sup>m</sup> Gilleb feltrari<sup>o</sup> tenet / et in venellā q<sup>e</sup> ⁊ juxta domū Henr̃ de Buhun, scit q̃icq̃d abbas et canoñ sepefati ibidē habueūt sine aliq<sup>o</sup> retimēto, q<sup>m</sup> G<sup>o</sup> vas et Agnes et Athel et heredes Gervas annuatī adq̃etabt vs<sup>o</sup> dñm fundi, scit de j. d. Hāc etiam fr̃a p̃fate Agnes ⁊ Athel tenebt oīib<sup>o</sup> diebz vite sue. Et p<sup>o</sup> mortē eaz fr̃a ista in excābiū s<sup>i</sup> dedita remanebit G<sup>o</sup> vas sepefato et hēdibz suis in feodo et hereditate libe q̃lete intēge finabili. P̃ hoc aū excābio p̃fat<sup>o</sup> G. ⁊ hēdes sui warantizabt p̃dc̃o abbi et canoñ de Walth totā p̃noīatā fr̃a q<sup>m</sup> p̃dc̃e femine tenuerūt q̃t<sup>o</sup> oīs hōīnes et feminas. Et seped̃cis abbas et canoñ de Walth warātizabūt eid G<sup>o</sup> vas<sup>o</sup> et hēdibz suis q̃t<sup>o</sup> oīs hōīes et feminas fr̃a p̃dc̃am s<sup>i</sup> in excābiū donatā et gcessā. T<sup>o</sup> Jord ald̃m. Rogo fil Alani. Joh fit H<sup>o</sup>lici. Symōe de Aldmāneb. Johe Espleng. Wiffo fr̃e ej<sup>o</sup>. Rob Blundo. Philipp fit Rogi. Gilleb felt<sup>o</sup>rio. Matho de Billingsgate. Godardo tan<sup>o</sup>. Walfo fr̃e suo. Rad Oī. Wiffo Veisin. Odone pistore. Wiffo fab<sup>o</sup>. Galf<sup>o</sup> piscario. B<sup>n</sup> nardo bedello. Edwardo efico.

[Harl. MS. No. 391, fo. 92.]

CYROG<sup>o</sup> FUM ROB'TI CAMERARII de q<sup>o</sup>tuor solidatis terre in LONDONIIS.

Sciāt p̃sentes et futuri quod ego Robt<sup>o</sup> camerari<sup>o</sup>, fili<sup>o</sup> Wiffr camerarii, dedi et gcessi et dimisi et p̃sēti carta mea gfirmavi deo et ecclie S<sup>e</sup> Crucis de Walth et canoñ ibidē d<sup>o</sup>o svientib<sup>o</sup> q<sup>o</sup>tuor solidatas q̃eti reddit<sup>o</sup> in parroch S<sup>i</sup> Benedicti ap̃d Garschirche de fr̃a q<sup>m</sup> Godard m̃ceri<sup>o</sup> et Rog<sup>o</sup> et Adeliza filia ej<sup>o</sup>dem Godardi de me tenuerūt, scit q̃icq̃d ibidē habui in reb<sup>o</sup> cūctis, p̃ amore d<sup>i</sup> et salute aīe mee et aiab<sup>o</sup> p̃ris et mat̃is mee et aīcessoz meoz ī ppetuā elemosinā, reddendo inde annuatī m<sup>i</sup> vel hēdib<sup>o</sup> meis p̃ oīi svitio et exacciōe et p̃ oīib<sup>o</sup> reb<sup>o</sup> unā libm pipis sive vj d. infra oct̃ pasche sine oī occasiōe. Sciendū itaq̃ etiam q<sup>d</sup> ego Rob<sup>o</sup> sepefat<sup>o</sup> attornavi p̃noīatū Rogum et Athelizā uxore ej<sup>o</sup> filiā p̃dei Godardi ac heredes suos / respōsuros p̃dc̃is canoñ

sup p̄dcis .iiij. solidatis reddit<sup>o</sup> finabili<sup>r</sup>. Has aũ .iiij. solidatas reddit<sup>o</sup> ego Robt<sup>o</sup> p̄noiat<sup>o</sup> et heredes mei waratizabim<sup>o</sup> et de oib<sup>o</sup> exactionib<sup>o</sup> adq<sup>u</sup>etabim<sup>o</sup> canoñ p̄dcis q<sup>u</sup> oñs hoies et femias et p oia inde respōdebim<sup>o</sup> p p̄dcem censū scit unā librā pipis vt vj d. Pro hac aũ donaciōe et q<sup>u</sup>essiōe, et dimissiōe, et warantisione, et adq<sup>u</sup>etatiōe, et p̄sentis carte mee q<sup>u</sup>firmatiōe: p̄dcī canoñ dedēit m<sup>i</sup> i pleno Hustingo q<sup>u</sup> d<sup>u</sup>ginta sol s̄lingoz i gersuñ. Testib<sup>o</sup> hīs. Henr fit Ailwini. Jord de t̄ri. Rob besant. Jukello t̄c vicecoñ. Johi fit Herliç. Witto fit Sabeline. Witto Blundo. Petro fit Edwardi Blundi. Nich Duket. Gillib daco. Johe Burç. Arnisio fit Alulf. Samsonē de S<sup>i</sup> M<sup>o</sup>rtino. Witto Espleng. Henr Walensi. Galfr bonehaie. Rob. Mich filiis Rob Besanti. Edw<sup>o</sup> do clico.

[Harl. MS. No. 391, fo. 90 b, 91 a.]

CYROGRAFU' CONSTANTINI filii ALULFI de q<sup>u</sup>dā t̄ra in LONDONIS.

Sciant p̄sētes et futuri q<sup>u</sup>d ego q<sup>u</sup>stantinus fili<sup>o</sup> Alulfi q<sup>u</sup>essi et dimisi et hac mea carta q<sup>u</sup>firmavi London. do et ecclie S<sup>i</sup> Crucis de Walth et canoñ reglarib<sup>o</sup> ibidē do v̄vientib<sup>o</sup> totā t̄rā q<sup>u</sup>m tenui de monialib<sup>o</sup> de Clerchenewelle in parrochia S<sup>i</sup> Marie de Hulla. Scit t̄rā illā q<sup>u</sup> jacet in domū lapideā q<sup>u</sup>m Walr p̄m<sup>o</sup> abbas de Walth in ead<sup>e</sup> parrochia edificavit, et in t̄rā Cecilie de Billingsgate, tenēdā in ppetuū et finabili<sup>r</sup> de me et hēdib<sup>o</sup> meis. Reddendo annuatī m<sup>i</sup> et hēdib<sup>o</sup> meis unā lib<sup>u</sup>m pipis vel vj d p oñi v̄vicio ad festū S<sup>i</sup> Mich et xvj d. q<sup>u</sup> p̄dcā ecclia de Walth reddet singtis annis p me et hēdib<sup>o</sup> meis p̄dcis monialib<sup>o</sup> de Clerkenewelle ad duo<sup>o</sup> t̄mino<sup>o</sup>, scit ad festū S<sup>i</sup> Mich viij d. et ad pascha viij d. p oī v̄vicio. Et p hac q<sup>u</sup>essione et dimissiōe et carte mee q<sup>u</sup>firmatiōe: dedit m<sup>i</sup> p̄fat abbas Walr de pecunia ecclie sue de Walth vj m<sup>o</sup>reas argēti. Et idō ego Cōstantin<sup>o</sup> et heredes mei p̄dcām t̄rā p̄dcē ecclie de Walth et custū quē p̄dcā ecclia de Walth sup p̄dcām t̄rā ponet: q<sup>u</sup> oñs homines et feminas warantizare debem<sup>o</sup> et waratizabim<sup>o</sup>. His testib<sup>o</sup> Jordano Aldmāno. Jordañ de t̄ri. Alexandro filio Splēg. Witto fit Alulf. Johe B<sup>o</sup>guignun. Gilib daco. Jord Peverel. Johe fit Alexand. Witto et M<sup>o</sup>rtino fr̄ib<sup>o</sup> ej<sup>o</sup>. Galfrid fit Herebti. Rob Albo. Gilebto felt<sup>o</sup>rio. Ada felt<sup>o</sup>rio. Bernardo bedello. Witto vicino. Rob coco. Alfwino carpētario. Odone pistore. Rad oter. Matho de Billigesgate. Galfrido de Billigesgate. Arnisio. Witto fab<sup>o</sup>. Helya fit Godardi. Godwino M<sup>o</sup>catore. Henrico Macun. Symōe de Garschirsche. Lewardo portitore. Rob de Wburne. Paulino m̄catore. Bernard de Belueiz. Alketino de Billingsgate. Stepho tictore. Walero libarūe. Rob de Waletone. Roço de Garschirche. Witto vēditore de domo Odonis pistoris. et m̄tis aliis.

[Fo. 92 b.]

CARTA PHILIPPI de S<sup>i</sup>C'A BRIGIDA de quadam terra in LONDONIIS.

Oñib<sup>o</sup> s̄cē mat<sup>is</sup> ecclie filiis ad q<sup>u</sup> p̄sens sc̄ptā pvenit: Philipp<sup>o</sup> de S̄cā Brigida salm. London. Notū sit vob oñib<sup>o</sup> me dedisse et q<sup>u</sup>essisse et hac p̄senti carta q<sup>u</sup>firmasse do et ecclie de Walth s̄cē crucis et canoñ reglaribus ibidē do v̄viētib<sup>o</sup> in ppetuā elemosinā p salute mea et omniū meoz . . . .

(Here a leaf or more is wanting. At the bottom of the page Le Neve has written, "Cetera desiderantur adhuc.")

[Harl. MS. No. 391, fo. 120 b.]

## De Capella in domo nra de BYLLYNGGESGAT, LONDON'.

De capella in  
domo abb'is  
Waltham apud  
Billingsgate  
Lond'.

Carta dñi Willm London' Epi nob collata de Cantaria in capell London'.

Willm Di Gracia London' Epc. Oibz fidelibz pntem paginam visuris, etnam in dno salm. Ad oiu volum<sup>9</sup> noticiam pvenire Nos ad instanciam difetoz filioz in xpo Ric'i di grā Abbis de Walthm et ej<sup>9</sup> dē loci cōvent<sup>9</sup> p assensum capitli nri de Scto Paulo licenciā dedisse ppetuā, ipis et oibus successoribz suis canōicis tm et nō aliis; celebrandi divina in capella q<sup>a</sup> edificavūt in curia sua juā eccliam Scte Marie de la Hille in London'. Salvo p oia jure epōali et jure Archidi London'. Et salvo p oia jure pochis ecclie, s. Scte Marie de la Hylle. Et si contingat qd aliqua oblaō in eadm capella ad man<sup>9</sup> dci Abbis vī frat<sup>m</sup> suoz aut successorz eozdm obveit: sine aliq q<sup>a</sup> dicōne retencōe vī dilaōe dce pochiali ecclie t<sup>a</sup> de. Promisunt et dci abbs et convent de Walthm eidm pochiali ecclie oimodam indempnitatē. Ita qd ptextu pfate capelle: in nullo p eos dampnū vī juris sui senciēt lesionem sive in retencione oblaōnū ut dcm est: sive in admissione parochianoz ej<sup>9</sup> dē poch ecclie: sive in aliq alio. Et in huj<sup>9</sup> gcessiōis nre et pmissionis sue memoriā: hoc scīptū eis fecim<sup>9</sup>: Et sigillo nro roboravim<sup>9</sup>. Hiis testibz, Magro Robto de Watford decano Lond. Magro Willm de Scte Marie ecclia Archid Lond. Magro Rogo nig<sup>9</sup> Archid Colcestrie. Dño Pet<sup>9</sup> de Scte Ma<sup>r</sup> ecclia Thesaurar Lond. Magro Henr de Corhelle Cancellar Lond. Dño Rogo de Wygornia. Magro Johē Withenē. Magro Ranulpho de Besaciis. Magro Alexandro de Wereford Archid Setopesbi<sup>r</sup>. Magro Philippo de Haddam. Magro Johe de Storteford. Magro Willm de Pur. Et aliis.

## MINISTERS' ACCOUNT, 31 and 32 HENRY VIII.—COURT OF AUGMENTATIONS.

Com<sup>r</sup> Essex.

Compā oñiū 7 singloz battioz firmar et al officiar et minist<sup>r</sup> oim 7 singloz dñioz man<sup>9</sup>ioz ter<sup>r</sup> 7 posses quarūcumq tam tempa<sup>r</sup> q<sup>a</sup>m spua<sup>r</sup> in mañ dñi Regis existeñ Raōe sursū Reddie<sup>r</sup> 7 voluntarie resignaē<sup>r</sup> div<sup>s</sup> monaste<sup>r</sup> abbiar 7 p'ora<sup>r</sup> ac al domoz religio<sup>s</sup> infra com<sup>r</sup> p<sup>r</sup>dm modo sup<sup>r</sup> 7 dissolu<sup>r</sup> compu<sup>r</sup> existeñ, videt. A Fest Scti Michis Archi anno r̄ r̄ Henrici octavi dei grā Anglie 7 Fraunc Fidei Defensor Dñi Hibnie ac in ter<sup>r</sup> sup<sup>m</sup> cap<sup>r</sup> Angliē ecclie xxxij<sup>mo</sup> usq eundm Festū Scti Michis Archi extunc pxi<sup>m</sup> sequeñ anno regni eiusdm dñi regis xxxij<sup>do</sup>. Scit p unū annū integrum. Ut inferius.

(omission)

Terre 7 possessioñ nup monaste<sup>r</sup> de Walth<sup>a</sup>me ptiñ.

Offic Coll Redd inf<sup>a</sup> } Compus Johis Highame Coll ibm p tempus p<sup>r</sup>dc̄m.  
Civitātē London. }

Arreragia. Null q primus compus ipius nunc compu<sup>r</sup>.

Firma teñtoz in pochia } Et de liij<sup>9</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> de firma unius ten<sup>r</sup> cum pistrino cellar solar 7 cit s  
bte Marie at Hull. } ptineñ in venet<sup>r</sup> p<sup>r</sup>dca in eadm pochia dimiss Thome Cleyton p inden<sup>r</sup>  
da<sup>r</sup> xv<sup>to</sup> die Julij anno xix<sup>mo</sup> r̄ r̄ H. viij<sup>vi</sup> p t<sup>m</sup>io l<sup>v</sup> anno<sup>r</sup> a Fest Scti Michis Archi adtunc p<sup>r</sup>



futu<sup>r</sup> sequen<sup>t</sup> & plen<sup>o</sup>ie complend<sup>t</sup> Redd ut sup<sup>a</sup> so<sup>r</sup> ad iij<sup>or</sup> anni t<sup>m</sup>ios in Civitate London usuales  
p annu repaco<sup>n</sup> d<sup>e</sup>i ten<sup>t</sup> in omib<sup>z</sup> & omis firmarij put in ead<sup>m</sup> indentu<sup>r</sup> in<sup>t</sup> memo<sup>r</sup>ad huius officij  
verbat<sup>i</sup> irro<sup>t</sup> plenius fr<sup>z</sup> Vide<sup>t</sup> in o<sup>n</sup>e h<sup>m</sup>oi firme p deis iij<sup>or</sup> annis infra tempus huius Comp<sup>i</sup>  
ut sup<sup>a</sup> hoc anno t<sup>m</sup>ini xij<sup>cio</sup>. Et de viij<sup>a</sup> de firma ij<sup>or</sup> cella<sup>r</sup> iace<sup>n</sup> in Lovelane scitua<sup>t</sup> sub  
magna can<sup>l</sup>a magni me<sup>s</sup> vo<sup>c</sup> Abbott<sup>e</sup> Inne scitua<sup>t</sup> in pochia p<sup>d</sup>ca [de] Rogero Chaleno<sup>a</sup> exe<sup>c</sup> & Interlined.  
assign<sup>t</sup> s p inden<sup>t</sup> da<sup>t</sup> xvij<sup>o</sup> die Febr anno xxv<sup>to</sup> r r H. viij<sup>vi</sup> a Festo S<sup>c</sup>i Michis ad tunc ultio Sic.  
p<sup>t</sup>ito usq<sup>z</sup> ad finem t<sup>m</sup>ini iij<sup>or</sup> anno<sup>r</sup> extunc p<sup>x</sup> sequen<sup>t</sup> & plen<sup>o</sup>ie complend<sup>t</sup> solvend<sup>t</sup> ad festum  
o<sup>m</sup> S<sup>c</sup>oz t<sup>m</sup> p annu hoc anno termini s vij<sup>mo</sup>. D<sup>r</sup> aliquo p<sup>h</sup>c pvenien<sup>t</sup> sive cresce<sup>n</sup> de firma  
ext<sup>r</sup>ioris p<sup>t</sup>e sive fronte<sup>r</sup> magni me<sup>s</sup> sive mansionis vo<sup>c</sup> Abbott<sup>e</sup> Inne pochia p<sup>d</sup>ca scitua<sup>t</sup> & existe<sup>n</sup>  
p quid<sup>a</sup>m scituan<sup>t</sup> versus placeam ib<sup>m</sup> vide<sup>t</sup> a rectoria ib<sup>m</sup> usq<sup>z</sup> p<sup>v</sup>am can<sup>l</sup>am p<sup>x</sup> adja<sup>c</sup>en le  
chappell chamber t<sup>m</sup> sup<sup>a</sup> q<sup>a</sup>m subtus edifica<sup>t</sup> scit<sup>t</sup> quodd<sup>a</sup>m stabulum can<sup>l</sup>a ist<sup>a</sup> super januam  
mans<sup>a</sup> p<sup>d</sup>ic<sup>t</sup> edifica<sup>t</sup> deambulatorum atq<sup>z</sup> le shedde unacum p<sup>v</sup>ic<sup>t</sup> ten<sup>t</sup>e subtus edifica<sup>t</sup> p<sup>x</sup> adja<sup>c</sup>  
nove conclavi ib<sup>m</sup> vide<sup>t</sup> infra tempus huius comp<sup>i</sup> non & eo q<sup>d</sup> nup abbas & conven<sup>t</sup> d<sup>e</sup>i nup  
monast<sup>i</sup> p scriptum suu indenta<sup>t</sup> sup<sup>ius</sup> specifica<sup>t</sup> dederunt & concess . . . p<sup>h</sup>a<sup>t</sup> Rogero Chaleno<sup>a</sup> Illegible.  
& Dorothee ux<sup>i</sup> eius Custodiam magni me<sup>s</sup> sive mansionis p<sup>d</sup>ce vo<sup>c</sup> Abbott<sup>e</sup> Inne in pochia  
p<sup>d</sup>ca jux<sup>a</sup> Billingsgate . . . . . H<sup>e</sup>nd eisdm Rogero & Dorothee exe<sup>c</sup> & assign<sup>t</sup> suis p t<sup>m</sup>io Illegible.  
. . . . . sup<sup>ius</sup> in d<sup>e</sup>a inden<sup>t</sup> recita<sup>t</sup>. Et ulterius dederunt & concesserunt . . . . Rogero &  
Dorothee exe<sup>c</sup> & assign<sup>t</sup> s duran<sup>t</sup> t<sup>m</sup>io p<sup>d</sup>co p custodia eiusdm mansionis totam d<sup>e</sup>am ext<sup>r</sup>ior  
p<sup>t</sup>em sive frontem d<sup>e</sup>e mans<sup>i</sup>onis cum omib<sup>z</sup> edific<sup>i</sup> sola<sup>r</sup> & at sup<sup>ius</sup> declara<sup>t</sup> & spe<sup>c</sup> absq<sup>z</sup>  
aliquo inde reddend<sup>t</sup> solvend<sup>t</sup>. In qua quidem inden<sup>t</sup> conven<sup>t</sup> est q<sup>d</sup> d<sup>e</sup>s nup abbas & conven<sup>t</sup> &  
succes<sup>s</sup> . . . . omnes & omio<sup>d</sup> repaco<sup>n</sup> d<sup>e</sup>e mans<sup>i</sup>oni & cuist<sup>a</sup> inde p<sup>e</sup>est incumbentes de . . . .  
in tempus duran<sup>t</sup> t<sup>m</sup>io p<sup>d</sup>co sump<sup>t</sup> suis p<sup>p</sup>riis & expe<sup>n</sup> sustentabunt supportabunt & manutene  
bunt; p<sup>h</sup>ea q<sup>d</sup> d<sup>s</sup> Rogerus & Dorothea exe<sup>c</sup> et assign<sup>t</sup> s omia paviamen<sup>t</sup> in vico sive placea ib<sup>m</sup> ac  
paviamen<sup>t</sup> curie vo<sup>c</sup> le courte yard<sup>e</sup> ac eciam escura<sup>t</sup> latrina<sup>r</sup> inf<sup>a</sup> ead<sup>m</sup> mansio<sup>n</sup> existe<sup>n</sup> de tempe  
in tempus duran<sup>t</sup> t<sup>m</sup>io p<sup>d</sup>co sump<sup>t</sup>ib<sup>z</sup> s p<sup>p</sup>riis & expe<sup>n</sup> supportabunt, sustentabunt, & manutenebunt  
put in ead<sup>m</sup> inden<sup>t</sup> inter memo<sup>r</sup>ad huius off<sup>i</sup>c<sup>i</sup> verbat<sup>i</sup> irro<sup>t</sup> sup hunc comp<sup>m</sup> exami<sup>t</sup> plenius liquet &  
apparet hoc anno t<sup>m</sup>ini s v . . . . Nec & de aliquo p<sup>h</sup>c pvenien<sup>t</sup> sive cresce<sup>n</sup> residuo domo<sup>r</sup> & Illegible.  
edificio<sup>r</sup> d<sup>e</sup>e mans<sup>i</sup>onis vo<sup>c</sup> Abbott<sup>e</sup> Inne in sup<sup>a</sup> d<sup>e</sup>a inden<sup>t</sup> res<sup>v</sup>at & except<sup>t</sup> scit<sup>t</sup> magne curie vo<sup>c</sup>  
le court yard / aule / capelle / can<sup>l</sup>e vo<sup>c</sup> the chappell chamb<sup>r</sup> sursum edifica<sup>t</sup> simulcum dormi  
t<sup>r</sup>io coquina lardario cum p<sup>v</sup>o novo conclave p<sup>v</sup>a can<sup>l</sup>a subtus p<sup>x</sup> adia<sup>c</sup> magne porte, necnon  
domo<sup>r</sup> carbonis imponend<sup>t</sup> vide<sup>t</sup> infra tempus huius comp<sup>i</sup> non & Eo q<sup>d</sup> d<sup>e</sup>a cu<sup>r</sup> can<sup>l</sup>e & ce<sup>t</sup>a  
p<sup>m</sup>iss<sup>a</sup> sic in inden<sup>t</sup> p<sup>d</sup>ca ut p<sup>h</sup>ertur res<sup>v</sup>at & except<sup>t</sup> n<sup>u</sup> adhuc arrentan<sup>t</sup> qua ra<sup>c</sup>one infra tempus  
p<sup>d</sup>cm on<sup>o</sup>ari non possunt. Et ideo memorand<sup>t</sup> erga p<sup>x</sup>imu comp<sup>m</sup>, &c.

Sm<sup>a</sup> li<sup>a</sup> iij<sup>a</sup> ex.



XXXVI. *Excavations prosecuted by the Caerleon Archæological Association within the Walls of Caerwent in the Summer of 1855. By OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq. M.P. F.S.A.*

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Read 6 December, 1855.

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IN the course of last season I informed the Society of Antiquaries that it was my intention to make, on the part of the Caerleon Archæological Association, an examination of some of the remains of the ancient Roman buildings at Caerwent; and I promised to lay before them the result. In redemption of that promise, I have now the pleasure to communicate to the Society the particulars of the excavations which were made in the course of last summer, under the direction and superintendence of our excellent and able Secretary, J. Y. Akerman, Esq.; and I gladly take this opportunity of publicly tendering to him, on the part of the members of the Caerleon Association, and myself, our thanks for the very careful attention and unremitting assiduity with which he directed the operations. I must also tender my acknowledgments to Thomas Wakeman, Esq. who has made deep researches and large collections relative to the history of Monmouthshire; and who, at the Annual Meeting of the Caerleon Archæological Association, in August last, read a paper on the history of Caerwent, of which he has kindly allowed me to embody a large portion in this communication.

The identity of Caerwent, or Caergwent, with Venta Silurum, one of the stations on the Via Julia, mentioned in the 14th Iter of Antonine, has been uniformly admitted. Not so the actual course of the Via Julia, or the exact spot where the channel was crossed. The very able and valuable memoir, "On the British and Roman Roads communicating with Caerwent," by George Ormerod, Esq. F.S.A. which was read at the Bristol Meeting of the Archæological Institute, in 1851, and printed in the Bristol volume of its Proceedings, has discussed that subject at length, and in a most able and satisfactory manner; and to that I must refer all who may desire information upon that point. We have now only to do with Venta Silurum itself.





With regard to the name *Venta* it is very probably only the Latinised form of the British *Gwent*, the ancient name of the district which included the present county of Monmouth, and parts of those adjoining. No satisfactory etymology of this name *Gwent* has yet been given. Dr. Owen Pugh defines it a fair, open champaign region, deriving it from *gwen*—fair, white. How unsuited such a descriptive name is to the county of Monmouth, all who have been there will testify, though it might be applied to the flat country along the banks of the channel; including, perhaps, the immediate vicinity of Caerwent. Leland calls this country *Venteland*, and says it was divided into low, middle, and high; and the name *Netherwent*, as applied to the district in the vicinity of Caerwent, obtains to this day in the name of a neighbouring parish, St. Bride's *Netherwent*, probably to distinguish it from St. Bride's in *Wentllwch*, which is still the name of that tract of country lying between the rivers *Usk* and *Rumney*, as it was in the time of Leland. The name *Gwent* was probably the designation of this region till the formation of the English county of Monmouth, by statute in the reign of Henry VIII. The name *Gwentllwch* is said to have been derived from *Gwynllyw*, a chieftain of that country, and one of the Cambro-British saints who lived in the sixth century; and Leland states that "the Welshmen say it is no part of the three *Wencelands*;" but, from their contiguity, it is probable that the names *Gwent*, *Gwynllyw*, and *Gwentllwch* were derived from some common source.

Mr. Wakeman proposes another derivation. Winchester had the same name, with the addition of *Belgarum*; and there was also *Venta Icenorum* in Norfolk: and he suggests that, whatever may have been its real import, it may be traced in the names of the *Venedi*, or *Wendi*, a people of Germany, the *Veneti* in Italy, and the *Veneti* in Gaul, all Celtic tribes; and these latter occupied the country to the south of *Armorica*, on the western coast, and were a people powerful by sea. According to the *Triads*, the third social tribe which settled in Britain came from *Armorica*; may it not then be inferred that our *Gwenti* were a colony of those of the same name in that country? This is also a suggestion of Richard of Cirencester, in his account of Britain. If this were so, the preservation of their original appellation would be a strong confirmation of the truth of the tradition recorded in the *Triad*; and the Romans, finding *Gwent* the established name of the region, Latinised and gave it to the town which they built, distinguishing it by the name of the tribe which inhabited the country. In like manner the river *Wysk*, or *Usk*, though flowing through an extensive district, was made to give the name only to the town founded on it.

Sir Richard Colt Hoare, in a note to his Introduction to Giraldus's Itinerary, says, "The Silures, with their subordinate tribes the Dimetæ and Ordovices, possessed all the country west of the Severn and the Dee, under their capital Venta, or Caerwent," whence he seems to have inferred that a British town or fort existed here, upon the site of which the Roman station was afterwards founded; and others have fallen into the same error. There is, however, no authority whatever for the assertion that the Silures had a town called Caerwent at all, nor is the name of this capital anywhere mentioned. Moreover, the situation of this place does not at all agree with those chosen by the Britons for the sites of their strongholds, which were placed on lofty hills, where the nature of the ground rendered them difficult of access, or easily defended; whereas, it is just the situation which the Romans would have chosen for a *castrum stativum*, which might afterwards have become a town.

There are some British Caers in the neighbourhood, but the only one of sufficient magnitude to warrant the supposition that it may have been the capital, is the Gaer Vawr (the great fort), some three or four miles to the north; but it is impossible to say what its original name may have been.

Of the foundation or early history of Venta nothing is recorded, and the first mention of its name, and only the name, is in the 14th Iter of Antonine. The next is by Richard of Cirencester, who in the fourteenth century wrote his Itinerary and account of Britain. He says that the chief cities of the Silures were Sariconium (Ross), Gobaneum (Abergavenny), and Venta their capital; and adds, that a Roman colony possessed the city built on the Isca, and called it after that name. Again, "Fuerunt olim apud Britannos xcii. urbes; earum vero celebriores et præ reliquiis conspicuæ xxxii. scilicet municipia ii. coloniæ viii. (among which is Isca), civitates Latio jure donatæ x. et stipendiariæ minorisque momenti xii." of which Venta Silurum heads the list. The *urbes stipendiariæ* were, I believe, those which paid their taxes in money and not in kind. It is curious that he should have styled Venta the capital of the country, when the more important town of Isca was so close: unless, indeed, being a *colonia*, he considered it rather in the light of a foreign than of a native place. All that we certainly know of the place is, that it was a Roman station; and the remains of the walls still visible, and the discoveries that have been made from time to time within the walls, and in the neighbourhood, prove, I think, beyond a doubt that it was a town of considerable importance, and, during the Roman occupation, second only to Caerleon. The area within the walls is about 40 acres, that of Caerleon being 50.



The Silures were reduced to subjection about the year 72 of the Christian era by Julius Frontinus, from whom the Via Julia is thought to have been named; and he very probably laid the foundation of Venta, which from what follows would seem to have been a town of some importance down to a period a little anterior to the Norman conquest—that is to say, above 900 years—during which long space, however, we know very little of its history.

Within a century after the extinction of the Roman power in Britain, this district formed part of the principality of Glamorgan, which was under the government of chieftains who claimed to be, and perhaps were, the direct descendants of the Silurian prince Caractacus. Gwent appears to have been under the rule of a junior branch of the same family; and the chieftains were generally, but according to our ideas improperly, termed Kings of Gwent. It is probable that these subreguli made Caerwent their capital. One of them, Caradoc ap Ynyr, King of Gwent, apparently in the early part of the sixth century, gave certain lands at Caerwent to his wife's nephew St. Tathay,<sup>a</sup> who here founded a school and monastery, in which, among others, our celebrated Gwentian saint Cadoc was educated. Tathay is also said to have been guardian and instructor of Maches, a sister of Cadoc, who, having been murdered by a Saxon mendicant, was esteemed a martyr; and the memory of both her and St. Tathay is preserved in the name of the neighbouring church, called in the records Llanvaches alias Llantatheys, although the latter name is now obsolete. St. Tathay is commemorated in the calendar on the 26th December. The situation of this church confirms in some measure the connection of St. Tathay with Caerwent. As to the school, it may be observed that all the great schools in Wales, Llancarvan, Llanilltyd, and the rest, were also monasteries, and the superiors styled abbots. A grant to Bishop Pater, recorded in the *Liber Landavensis* between the years 943 and 961, was witnessed, among others, by Goronwy of Gwrvod, abbot of the city of Gwent (*Guentoniæ urbis*). Two other grants to Bishop Gwrgan, between 972 and 982, were witnessed by Eidef, reader of the city of Gwent (*lector urbis Gwenti*). According to Ducange, the lector in monasteries was the professor or teacher of philosophy and theology. Both school and town were then existing, as the term “*urbs*” would hardly have been applied to a mere village—and this brings us down to within a century of the Conquest. A grant to Bishop Herwald in the time of Roger, son of William Fitz-Osborn, which fixes the date 1072, was witnessed by Jevan ap Rhun, priest of Caerwent. It was no longer styled

<sup>a</sup> See his life in the *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, and the *Liber Landavensis*, published by the Welsh Manuscript Society.

"urbs;" and it may be inferred that the town had been destroyed in the interval—most probably by the Saxon earl Harold, who in the reign of Edward the Confessor overran the greater part of Gwent eastward of the Usk, and commenced building a house at Portskewett, which was destroyed by Caradoc ap Grifflith ap Rhydderch in or about the year 1056: this we learn from the Saxon Chronicle. At the time of Domesday survey, Beli Hardd ap Brochvael was lord of Caerwent. He is mentioned in that document as Beluard de Carven, and held half a carucate of land of the king, but paid nothing. There is no mention of a town, and the small quantity of land which he held leads to the inference that Beli was much reduced in state and influence; and the erection of Chepstow Castle and lordship at this period would prevent Caerwent ever again rising into importance. His son Owen ap Beli seems to have been the last Welsh lord of Caerwent: he was living in the reign of Henry I. In the same reign, Walter Fitz Richard de Clare is styled in Dugdale Lord of Caerwent—no doubt on some good authority; though Mr. Wakeman has failed to find anything in the records to confirm it. The Anglo-Norman Barons were not over-scrupulous in ejecting Welsh proprietors on very slight pretences. Whether in this instance Owen was so ejected, or received an equivalent elsewhere in exchange, is uncertain: he removed, however, into Somersetshire, where he and his descendants for many generations, under the name of De Carwent, and latterly Carent, held lands under the Clares and their successors, lords of Chepstow.

The earliest subinfeudists of Caerwent mentioned in the records were the Lucys, who were seated here in the reign of King John.<sup>a</sup> In the beginning of the sixteenth century the manor belonged to a branch of the Kemeys family, who were the last resident proprietors. What was the manor-house is about a quarter of a mile on the Chepstow road, and now called Slough or Slow, an English corruption of Islaw Gwent, that is, the lower side of the town of Gwent. The manor in some documents is called Slough, alias Caerwent, and the Kemeys are described in deeds as of Islaw Gwent, or Slow. After the Kemeys it was the property of the family of Williams of Llangibby, and in 1701 was sold by Sir John Williams to John Jeffereys, Esq. of London, who in 1732 sold it to Admiral Matthews, whose grandson Thomas sold it in 1782 to Sir Mark Wood, Bart.: from him it was purchased by the father of the present proprietor, the

<sup>a</sup> The manor of Caerwent is a mesne manor holden of the lords of Gwentllwch by the service of one knight's fee, but it now includes Maesgwenith, holden of the lords of Strigul by half a knight's fee. Both belonged to the Lucys, and have always gone together.

Rev. Freke Lewis, to whom I am much indebted for permission to make the excavations.<sup>a</sup>

Caerwent is situated on a gentle rise in the middle of a broad valley, bounded on the north and south by ranges of low hills. The walls inclose an area of about 40 acres in the form of a parallelogram, in round numbers about 500 yards long by 400 wide. By actual measurement the north wall is 507, the south 505, the east 390, and the west 409 yards: the position N.W. and S.E., the angles being nearly in the direction of the four cardinal points. The Via Julia, now the turnpike road from Chepstow to Newport, passes through the middle of it from east to west, dividing it into two equal parts. A brook, called the Troggy in the higher part of its course, but here in this lower part the Nedern, flows by on the south side, about a furlong distant, and after a course of three miles falls into the Bristol Channel at Caldicot Pill. This brook is generally dry in summer.

The earliest descriptive account we have is in Leland, who may have visited it about 1545. He says, "Cairgwent in Base Venteland is iiii. miles from Chepstow, in the way to Cairlion. It was sum tyme a fair and a large cyte; the places where the iiii. gates was yet appear, and the most part of the wall yet standeth, but al to-minished and torne. In the lower part of the wall toward a lytle valey standeth yet the ruine of a stronge . . . Within and about the waulle now be a xvi. or xvii. small houses for husbondmen, of a new making, and a parish church of S. Stephen. In the towne yet appear pavements of the old streets, and in digging they find foundation of great brykes, tessellata pavimenta et numismata argentea simul et ærea. A great lykelihood is that when Cairgwent began to decay, then began Chepstow to flourish." The next mention is in Camden's *Britannia*, the first edition of which was printed in 1586. "Several do affirm, and not without reason, that Chepstow had its rise not many ages past from the ancient city Venta, which flourished about four miles from hence, in the time of Antoninus, who calls it Venta Silurum, as if it were their chief city, which name neither arms nor time have been able to consume, for at this day it is called Caerwent, or the city Venta; but the city itself is so much destroyed by the one and the other that it only appears to have once been, from the ruinous walls, the chequered pavements, and the Roman coins. . . The city took up about a mile in circumference; on the south side a considerable part of the wall is yet remaining, and more than the ruins of three bastions. What repute it had heretofore we may gather from hence, that, before the name of Monmouth was heard of, this whole country was called Gwent, Wenset, or Wentsland. More-

<sup>a</sup> For these details of the history I am chiefly indebted to my friend Mr. Wakeman.

over, we read in the life of Tathaius, a British saint (*Lib. Landavensis*), it was formerly an academy, or place dedicated to literature, which this same Tathaius governed with great commendation; and also furnished a church there in the reign of king Cradoc ap Ynyr, who invited him here from the hermitage."

The remains of the walls are still fine even in their ruined state, the original fosse is still clearly seen on the northern and western and eastern sides, and the wall exists nearly all round the inclosure.

The most perfect portion is, however, on the south side, and near the south-east angle is about 25 feet in height. Much of the facing of the wall, especially along the base where it is within easy reach, has been removed for building purposes, thus showing the internal masonry, which is a kind of herring-bone work; the stones are flat, of irregular sizes, and are set obliquely and bedded in the mortar. On the south side are still seen the remains of the three bastions, or octagonal turrets, projecting from the wall: one has almost disappeared, and a recent clearance of rubbish has revealed the remains of a fourth, 175 feet eastward of the other three, thus showing that the south wall was defended by four towers along its face, nearly equidistant from each other. These were not part of the original wall, but later additions built up against it. According to Roy, the generality of Roman stations in Britain seem to have been originally constructed without turrets at the angles, or in the intermediate spaces of the walls, though the corners of the inclosure were generally rounded, as is the case here. This seems to argue in favour of the early foundation of Venta, and its being strengthened at a later period by these turrets or buttress-towers being built up against it.

There are also visible the bonding-courses of thin layers of old red sandstone, probably in imitation of brick, though now the colour is the same as the other stone. In this south wall, which is yet called the port wall, it is said that mooring rings were fixed for the convenience of vessels which came up the river to some pool or basin beneath the walls. No traces of such rings have ever been found or recorded to have existed, nor is there the least vestige of such basin or canal; besides which, the Nedern is generally dry in summer; and at a short distance outside the south wall, many years ago, a very large pit was found, full of black soil, and appearing as though it had been the cesspool for the drains on that side of the town.

Within the inclosure the ground is nearly on a level with the top of the wall; it seems, therefore, that what was excavated in making the foss was thrown up inside the wall, and on the south side it looks as if the gentle slope had been cut



away, and, by throwing up the soil so removed inside the wall, increased the height within, and gave greater depth outside the wall. Seyer, in his History of Bristol, gives an account of Caerwent, from some observations made in 1786, which state that "the eastern gateway was not entirely obliterated. On the left, as you enter, the quoin to which the gate was hung still remains." And Coxe, when he visited it in 1801, says that "the remains of the masonry of the eastern gate were still visible, and that a stone, to which one of the hinges was attached, stands at the door of a public house, and was used as a horse-block:" these have, however, all long disappeared.

The following list will afford an idea of the number of interesting remains existing, or at one time existing, within the walls of Caerwent. The localities are indicated by corresponding figures on the map:—

1. Remains of tessellated pavement, disturbed and partly destroyed.
2. Remains of tessellated pavement.
3. Remains of two tessellated pavements, in great part destroyed.
4. Well of Roman construction.
5. Remains of a ruined hypocaust, with sandstone pillars.
6. Two semicircular walls, apparently parts of towers.
7. The site from which a tessellated pavement was removed by the late Bishop of Llandaff. It was discovered by accident in digging the foundations of a barn, which now occupies the spot.
8. Sawpit, in digging which were found the base silver coins, exhibited by the Rev. Macdonald Steel to the Soc. Antiq.: see Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 107.
9. A mortuary urn was found here by a labourer digging in his garden. It is now in the museum at Caerleon.
- 10, 11. Remains of buildings excavated in July, 1855.
12. The site of the fine pavement discovered in 1777.
13. Well, unexamined.
14. The mouth of a drain was discovered here, running from east to west, in building the vicarage in 1846.
15. Cesspool or rubbish-pit, about 8 feet deep, laid open when the vicarage was built.
16. When the vicarage was built, three coffins, formed of rough slabs, were found here; one contained three crania of persons of different ages.
17. Remains of foundations, with traces of tessellated pavements.
18. The ground is slightly raised here, the soil very black, and tesserae have been turned up.



19. The ancient south aisle of the church covered this spot. When the earth of the churchyard was lowered, the grave of an ecclesiastic was discovered, with a chalice and paten on the breast. The churchyard appears to be full of Roman remains. The foundations of buildings may be traced in the S.W. corner. Roman coins have been frequently turned up.

20. This spot was once a common field. On planting an orchard there some years ago, the ground was found to be crammed with human remains.

21. The pound. In digging the foundation for the wall, three stone steps were discovered here.

22. Traces of foundations were met with when a barn was built on this spot.

23. Anciently a cross stood here.

24. Remains of the foundations of several rooms.

Of the church I shall not at present speak, which, though evidently built with stones from the more ancient structures (in many of which the lewis holes are still visible, such stones being in places and positions where no such instruments would have been used to raise them), is mediæval. There are, however, two arches that some persons have considered Roman, though I must confess that I entertain some doubts. A few stones and remains have been found in the churchyard, and the soil is said to be very black, as though it were the ancient cemetery. That, however, may well be the case if it has only been the Christian burial-ground for so many centuries. There are no very ancient tombstones, nor has it been discovered where the cemetery was in the time of the Roman occupation; and, strange to say, only one inscribed stone has ever been discovered here, and no one knows where it was found, or what has become of it. Seyer records the fact in the following words: "An inscription on a stone dug up here was—'Julia esse-unda vixit annos xxxv.'" In November, 1854, however, a Roman grave was discovered by some men who were cutting deep drains in a field by the side of the road leading to Newport, about a quarter of a mile from the walls. The circumstances of this grave were peculiar, and I examined it carefully; but there was no inscription nor anything calculated to give a clue to the date, or the individual interred.

Many tessellated pavements are recorded to have been discovered at Caerwent and its neighbourhood, perhaps more than in any other spot. Leland and Camden mention them generally as common features of the place.

Gibson, in his *Additions to Camden*, says that "in the year 1689 there were three chequered pavements discovered in a garden here (Fr. Ridley's), which being in frosty weather exposed to the open air, upon the thaw the cement was

dissolved, and this valuable antiquity utterly lost. In one of these pavements, as the owner relates, were delineated several flowers, which he compared to roses, tulips, and flowers-de-luce, and at each of the four corners a crown, and a peacock holding a snake in his bill and treading it under his foot. Another had a figure of a man in armour from the breast upwards. There were also imperial heads and some other variety of figures, which, had they been preserved, might have been instructive as well as diverting to the curious in the study of antiquities." Again, "In the year 1693, one Charles Kinton showed me part of a Roman brick pavement in his yard; the bricks were somewhat above a foot long, nine inches broad, and an inch and a half thick—all marked thus  $\sigma$ ."

Caerwent seems soon to have attracted the attention of Fellows of this Society, and in the early volumes of the *Archæologia* are several notices respecting it.

In 1763 (Vol. II.) the Society was informed, that in an orchard adjoining the street was discovered, a few years previously, "the remnant of a tessellated pavement, about a yard over. The colours are lively enough, but the figure of a dog or other animal under a tree very ill expressed."

In 1775 John Strange, Esq., F.S.A., communicated a long paper (printed in Vol. V.), in which he describes another pavement, which is accompanied by an engraving; it was in a cellar or out-house in an orchard belonging to Mrs. Williams, on which was still preserved part of a vase and a bird, and on which there had been figures of a lion, a tiger, and a stag.

He also communicated, in 1778, a description of the beautiful pavement which had been discovered the previous year, of which, fortunately, an accurate coloured drawing has been preserved; and Seyer tells us that the side wall of the chamber was plastered smooth and painted red. This chamber and pavement were roofed in with a view to their preservation, but being neglected, and becoming decayed, the tiles were taken from the roof to repair another building, and the pavement, from exposure to the weather, and the depredations of collectors, soon utterly perished, and the walls which inclosed it alone remain.

In a field called the Cherry Orchard, about half a mile westward of Caerwent, some Roman remains of great interest were discovered about twenty-five years ago. One very handsome tessellated pavement was destroyed by children, and a large portion of another pavement was subsequently found, but immediately covered up as the only means of preservation. And a few years ago a portion of another pavement was discovered in a cottage garden, a few inches below the surface; there was nothing remarkable in its pattern or quality, and, being unprotected, it was soon destroyed.

Great quantities of Roman coins have from time immemorial been found here, in such abundance, indeed, that one would think they had been sown broadcast, for the earth is hardly ever moved without some being turned up. They are chiefly, if not entirely, of the Lower Empire, and many of base metal. We find in Bishop Gibson's enlarged edition of Camden, in 1722, that a collection of these coins had been made by George Kemeys, Esq. of Llanvair, and that they were chiefly of Valerianus, Gallienus, Probus, Dioclesianus, Constantius Chlorus, Constantinus Magnus, Julius Crispus, Constans, and both Valentinians. "In that collection was one adulterated coin of Antoninus Pius, which seems to have been counterfeited, not of late but anciently, when that emperor's coins were current money; it is a brass piece, of the bigness of a denarius, covered with a very thin leaf of silver, which when rubbed off the letters disappear." Nothing is known as to what became of this collection, and the Kemeys family no longer exists here.

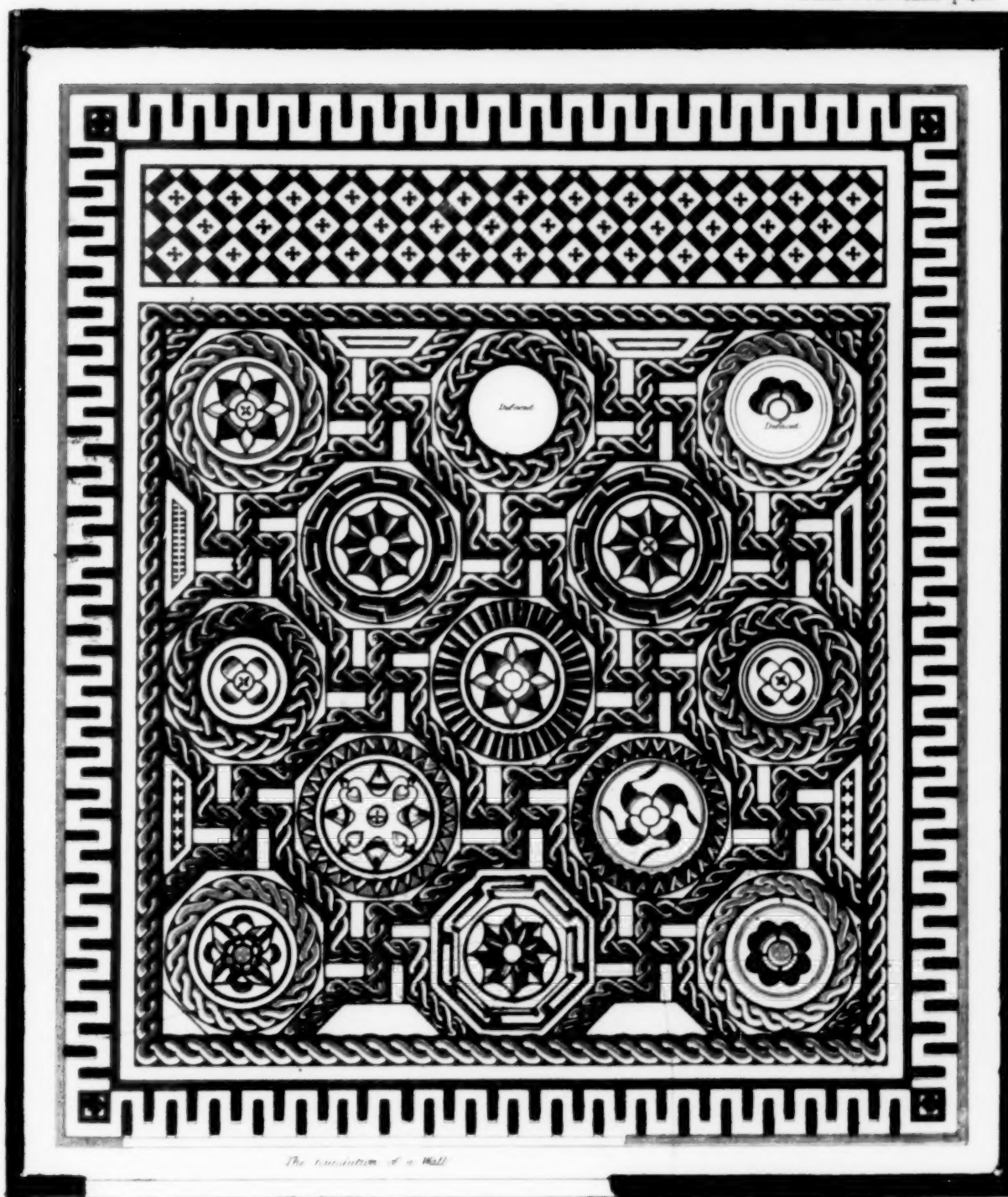
I have here endeavoured to extract from all the previous accounts of Caerwent, as well as from other sources, every particular relating to its history and locality, and to arrange the information thus collected, so as to form a complete history of the place, as an introduction to the account of the recent excavations, the particulars of which I will now proceed to detail.

The south-east corner of the inclosure within the walls is occupied by an orchard belonging to a large old farm-house, the largest in the place, and called, in the old parish-books of the last century, *Ty Mawr*, and the *Great House*.<sup>a</sup> This is occupied by Mr. George Dowle, to whom we are much indebted for his aid in our works, this orchard being the scene of our operations. At the south-east angle of the wall, within the orchard, is a lofty mound, from which could have been obtained a view of some miles of the roads in the direction of the Passage and Chepstow. In this orchard are several rough mounds, marking the remains of ancient buildings, and it was by one of these that the beautiful pavement was discovered in 1777. The mound where we commenced our operations was a little to the north-east of this, and we were induced to begin here by an opening which had long before been broken into the chamber of a hypocaust.

This building had to all appearance been a Roman villa, or dwelling-house, within the walls; it is situated near the eastern wall, and must have been a house of some extent. A large portion of it on all sides had, to use the provincial term, been "mooted up," and carried away, for the sake of the stone for building

<sup>a</sup> As Leland does not mention any large house, this building is probably not much earlier than the beginning of the last century.





*The translation of a Hall*

TRANSLATED PAYMENT.

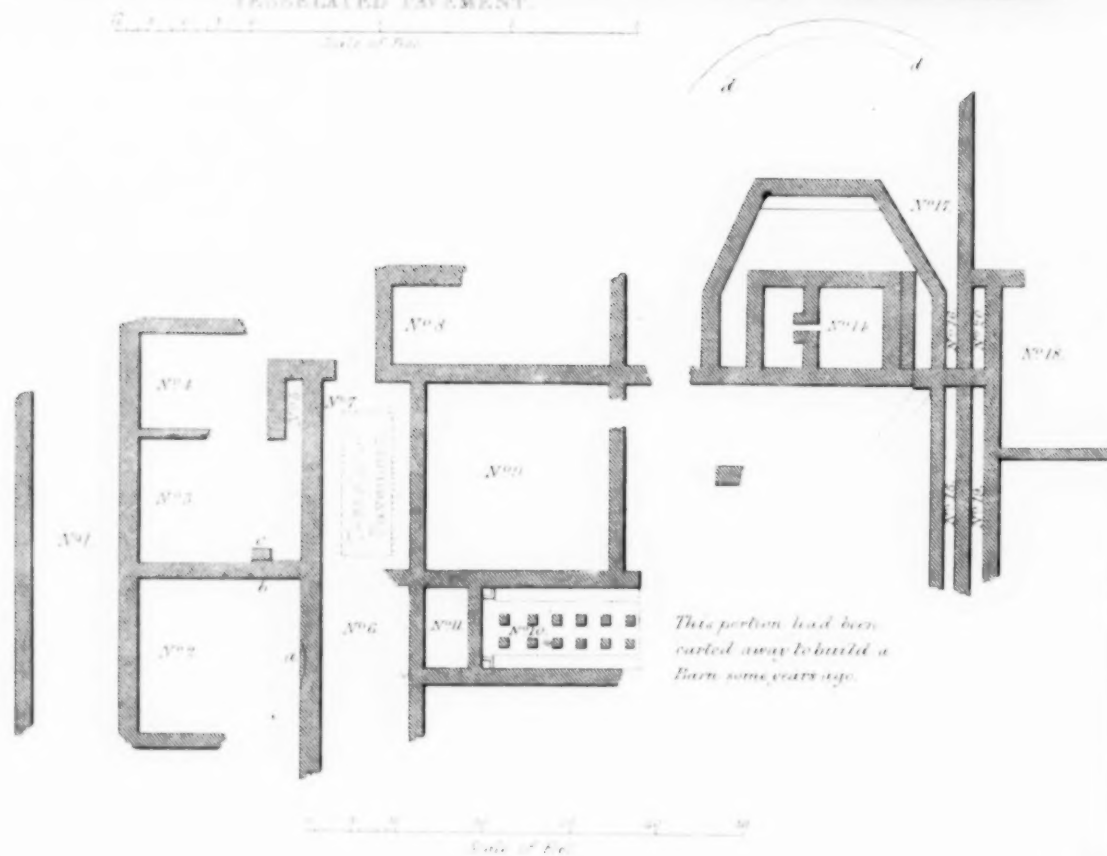
*December, February 1888 at Sarum*

*Published by the Society of Proprietors, at London, 17th April, 1888.*



TERRAZZED PAVEMENT

Scale of Feet



This portion had been  
carted away to build a  
Barn some years ago.

Scale of Feet

GROUND PLAN of a ROMAN BUILDING at CAERWENT

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 21 April 1866

J. Smith, del.



purposes, and it is not improbable that the Great House and its offices were built out of these ruins. The ground-plan No. 2 will give an idea of the walls and the arrangement of the chambers which we excavated. The arrangement of all the Romano-British villas and houses which I have seen is, I must confess, to me very unintelligible, and seems to bear no relation to the plans of Roman villas in Italy. I shall not therefore attempt to assign any use to the different apartments; one thing was however quite clear, that this house had undergone various alterations, and had had some additions made to it. The walls were for the most part, where the chambers were cleared, from 4 to 6 feet high, and 2 feet thick, and the mass of soil to be removed therefore was very considerable.

The ground first opened was the area marked 10 in the plan, which had long been known to cover a hypocaust. It was filled up with earth mixed with numerous large stones, which about a foot above the surface of the floor were found mingled with broken concrete, mortar, fragments of stucco, with fragments of common pottery, oyster and mussel shells, the bones of the ox, sheep, and pig, and large flat-headed iron nails. In the north-east corner was discovered a bronze armilla, and another object of the same metal, now exhibited. The walls of this room had been covered with a reddish or salmon-coloured stucco, and the floor consisted of a layer of concrete, about three inches thick, resting on slabs of sandstone, which formed the roof of the hypocaust beneath, and were supported in the middle on two rows of roughly squared sandstone pillars, resting at the sides on two dwarf walls. In each angle of this chamber was fixed a square upright flue-tile, communicating with the hypocaust. The small area at the end of this chamber, No. 11, was next cleared. In one corner was discovered the upper portion of a stone quern, the lip of a glass vessel, fragments of pottery, a bronze stylus, and several roofing tiles, of the form of an elongated hexagon, made of the slaty sandstone of the district called tile-stone; they at once explained the meaning of the flat-headed nails already noticed, some of them being still fixed in these tiles. Further excavation showed that the *præfurnium* of the hypocaust was at this end.

The bottom of this small chamber, which was about 5 feet by 10, was on a level with the floor of the hypocaust; it therefore resembled a deep pit, being about 6 feet below the present top of the walls. Here the fuel must have been kept; but there was no doorway, and the attendant who had charge of the fire could only have had access by means of wooden steps or ladders. The mouth of the *præfurnium* was not arched, but was a pseudo arch, formed with horizontal overlapping stones. In the area No. 6 was the same accumulation of earth and stones and concrete, with traces of a ruined tessellated pavement.

In No. 2 was the same accumulation of earth and stones, to the depth of 6 feet. In the south wall, at *a*, was a shallow recess, resembling a rough sort of open fireplace, marked by fire, with traces of ashes, bones, and fragments of copper slag. At *b* a doorway had been walled up. Here were also found a large iron bar, 2 feet 3 inches long; a piece of iron, 9 inches long, like a skewer, with a ring at one end; and some small, much-worn, coins of Magnentius and Valentinianus. In the north-east corner of this chamber were also found the bronze chain of twisted links, a bronze armilla of small size, a bronze stylus, and a minute silver hook. The floor of this chamber was found to be of stone and concrete, to the depth of 3 feet. No. 1 was portion of an area or passage between two parallel walls, probably outside the building. No. 4 was filled with large hewn stones to the depth of 6 feet, rendering the work more like the labour of a quarry, the heap being overgrown with bushes and stumps of trees. Here was found a well preserved silver coin of the Emperor Julian, A.D. 360.

No. 3 presented no remarkable feature save the inexplicable recess. No. 5, at *c*, was a projecting block of stone, about 12 inches high.

No. 8 had clearly been an addition made at some time to the building, and in a corner of it were found coins of third brass of Gallienus, Tetricus, Constantine, Constans, Carausius, and Arcadius.

In No. 9 were found two bone pins, the bowl of a spoon of some mixed metal, a spindle-whirl formed of a disc of red ware, a small bronze finger-ring, a bronze armilla, and twenty-eight small brass coins, principally of Tetricus, Constantine, and Valentinian.

On continuing the excavations towards the south, the foundations of two buildings, one within the other, were soon disclosed, the forms of which are given in figures 12, 13, 14; the whole appeared to have been inclosed within a semi-circular area, indicated by a dotted line, *d d*; the wall, however, had been removed, though the foundation of concrete remained. In clearing the space at 17, the ground had been disturbed to the depth of 8 or 9 feet, and had in fact been used as a deposit for rubbish, among which were found a coin of Gallienus, a bone bodkin or needle, a fragment of a bowl of Samian ware, fragments of an amphora, and coarse black pottery; bones, horns, and teeth of animals; the bottom of a cup of Samian ware, with the potter's mark *PRIMA*, and one of the sides of a knife-handle of bone. The walls of all these buildings, from 12 to 20, had all been razed to the ground, and nothing above the foundations remained, and these showed evident signs of additions and alterations having been made to the original structure; at 13 there was some trace of what seemed a *præfurnium*; but it is in vain to conjecture the uses of these small, curiously arranged apartments and

parallel walls. In 13 and 14, however, were found the fragments of a prettily ornamented vessel of unusually pellucid glass, bones of animals, shells of whelks, bodkins, some pins and spindle-whirls, and fragments of stucco of various colours. From the frequency of the bodkins, pins, and spindle-whirls in these chambers, we may fairly conjecture that these were the apartments appropriated to the females of the family.

No. 7 and No. 2, the continuation of it, appear to have been a passage going through the house, but none of the apartments seem to have opened into it. At No. 7, however, was discovered a fine tessellated pavement. It was covered to a considerable depth with the stucco and plaster, as if of the walls and ceiling, on the removal of which it was found to be entire, with a slight depression in one part. It is divided into four compartments, each 4 feet square: two of these contain circles formed by a bold twisted border, within plain bands, having a fret in the centre; and the other two contain a smaller square, set transversely, within which is a large reticulated fret, the spandrels being filled with a kind of chequer-work; the colours are bluish-grey, yellow, white, and red, and the tesserae are composed of the usual materials. The space between the coloured pavement and the walls was filled in with large coarse tesserae of dark sandstone. The pavement has been carefully taken up and removed to the museum at Caerleon, where it will be preserved. It is curious that, though the walls of most of these apartments are 5 and 6 feet high and more, there is no trace of any windows. How then were the rooms lighted? If by windows, they must have been very high above the floors, and there could have been no looking out; nor is it exactly clear how they could have obtained light, for some of the rooms seem to have had no external wall. From the various articles found here, it would seem as if this building had gone to decay or been destroyed during, or immediately after, the Roman occupation. There is no trace of fire: it was, therefore, not destroyed by burning. No article or utensil of later date than Roman has been found, nor is there any appearance of its having been inhabited or used in the mediæval period, except perhaps as a stone-quarry, else these Roman bronze articles could hardly have remained in the apartments. It is difficult to reconcile these facts with the idea of Caerwent having been a place of such importance between the departure of the Romans and the Conquest, unless, indeed, it sank to ruins after their departure, and was subsequently revived. The fact of there being no remains of intermediate buildings between the Roman stone structures and the modern cottages and houses may be easily accounted for, if we suppose that the Britons constructed their buildings of timber, which was in fact most probably the case, as the whole

country must at that time have been nearly covered with forests; and, even at this day, there are very extensive tracts of wood covering many of the hills.

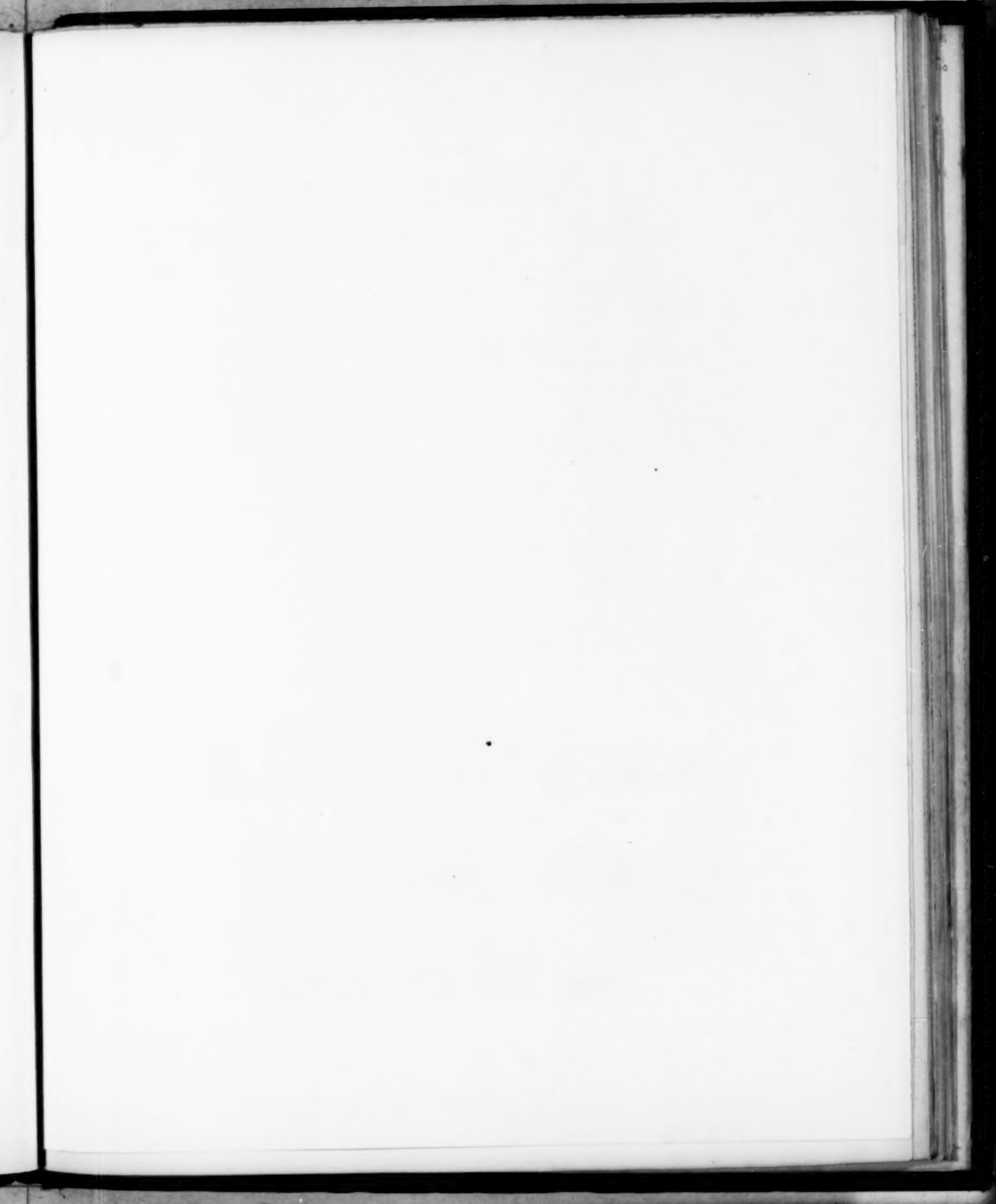
We will now proceed to the most interesting portion of our works, namely, the Baths.

*The Baths.*

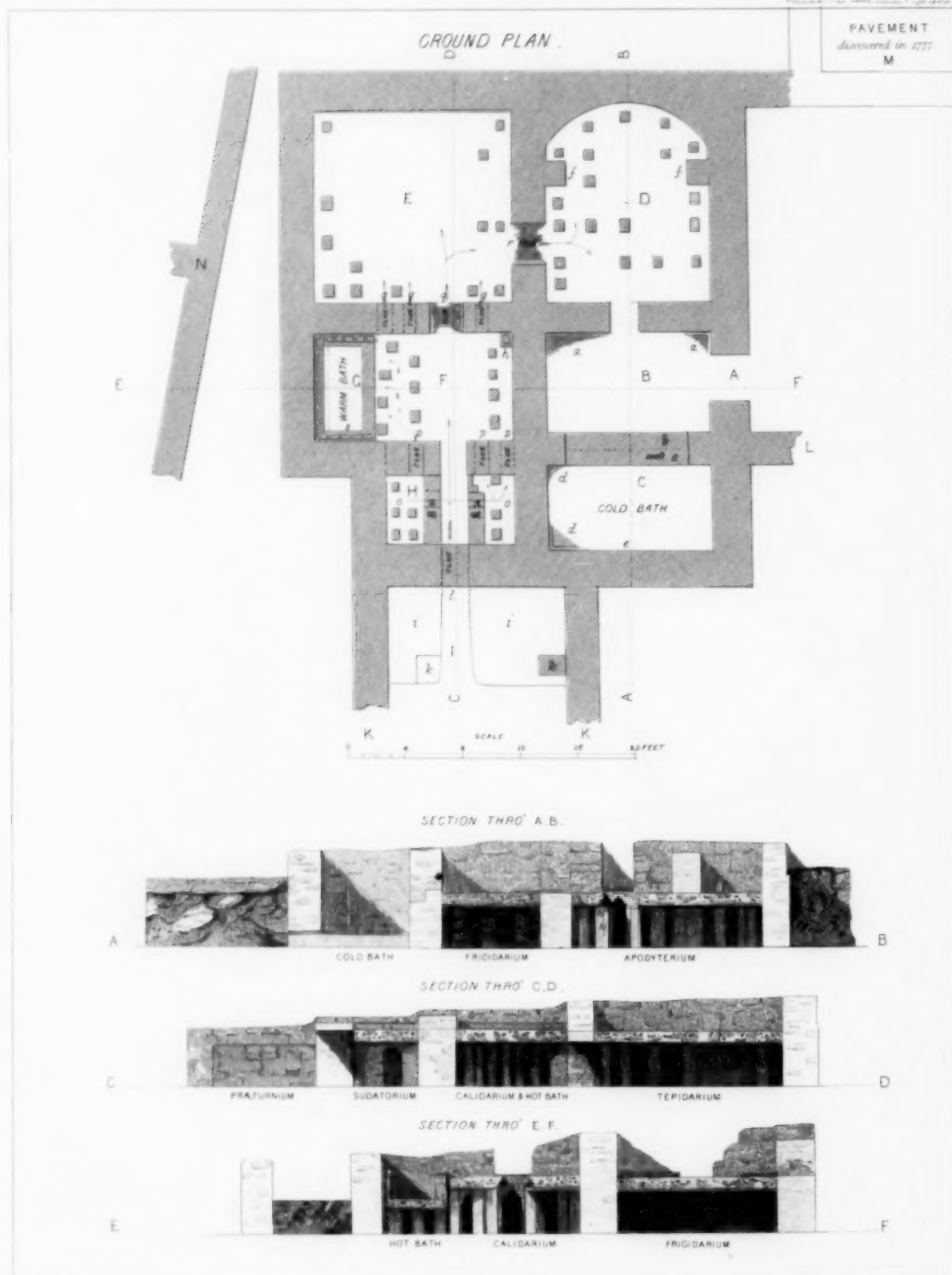
Close adjoining the south-west corner of the wall, inclosing the tessellated pavement which was discovered in 1777, was a rough heap or mound indicating the remains of former buildings. It was thought desirable to examine these, and excavation was commenced at the south side of the mound. A wall of very solid construction was discovered, and within this, at the depth of 5 feet, the men arrived at the floor of a hypocaust. Some of the pillars, which were formed of sandstone, had been displaced, and amongst them there was a quantity of wood-ashes, with masses of slag. This excavation was proceeded with, and there was ultimately uncovered a small block of building, 31 feet by 34, exhibiting a complete set of Roman baths, perhaps the most perfect exemplification of a private suite of baths attached to a dwelling-house yet brought to light. I say private baths, for I think they are on too small a scale to have belonged to any public establishment, though they contain, as I think I shall be able to show, all the requisite apartments, and exhibit the entire economy of Roman baths, both with regard to the mode of heating them as well as the general arrangement of the chambers, more completely than any others that I know, excepting the *Thermæ* at Pompeii.

Although it is not necessary here to go into the general question of Roman baths, it may be stated on the authority of various ancient writers, illustrated by the discoveries at Pompeii, that the essential apartments of a Roman bath were—the *frigidarium*, with the *piscina* or cold-water tank; the *apodyterium*, or dressing-room, which was slightly warmed; the *tepidarium*, a moderately heated chamber, where the processes of anointing, perfuming, shaving, and other such operations were performed when there were no apartments specially provided for them, which was only the case in the very large public establishments; the *caldarium*, a strongly heated chamber with a *calida piscina*, or hot-water bath; and lastly, the *sudatorium*, a chamber raised to a high temperature with a dry heat. All these apartments I think our baths exhibit arranged in the most compact manner. This building covers an area 31 feet by 34; and by reference to the ground-plan the arrangements of the various apartments will









be understood, whilst the sections will show the relative heights and depths of the floors, hypocausts, and bathing-tanks.

A, Entrance to the baths.

B, Frigidarium, having on one side

C, The Piscina, or cold-water bath.

D, The Apodyterium.

E, Tepidarium.

F, The Caldarium, with

G, The Calida Piscina, or hot-water bath.

H, The Sudatorium, close to

I, The Præfurnium, where the fire was made by which the hypocausts beneath the different chambers were heated.


K, Walls, probably forming portion of the court-yard inclosing the Præfurnium.

L, Portion of a Wall, which may have been part of a court or a chamber.

M, Corner of the area of the Pavement discovered in 1777.


N, Piece of Wall, which may have been part of some earlier building.

The entrance-doorway to these baths was at A; the walls were 2 feet 6 inches thick, and the doorways 2 feet 6 inches wide: there is nothing to indicate whether it opened from a court-yard or a room, but it seems probable that the chamber of the pavement of 1777 opened into the same place. The doorway entered at once into the Frigidarium, a chamber 10 feet 6 by 6 feet 6; there was no hypocaust beneath it, it was therefore not warmed. The floor had been covered with a tessellated pavement, portions of which (*aa*), composed of coarse tesserae of dark reddish sandstone, about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch square, remained in the north-east and north-west corners; the central part of the pavement had been destroyed, but it was probably not of an ornamental character, as no small tesserae were found. In the middle of this room was a heap of stones mixed with clay, which had undergone the action of fire. At the south side of this chamber was the cold bath, a tank 10 feet 6 inches long, 5 feet 6 inches wide, and 3 feet deep, extending the entire width of the room, and sunk down below the floor. At the edge of the tank a dwarf wall (*b*) rose about nine inches above the pavement of the room, and served as the back of a seat (*c*), which was formed in the thickness of the wall along the tank, for the convenience of the bathers. This bath was found in a very perfect state; it was lined with red stucco, which remained uninjured. It had been paved at the bottom with flag-stones bedded in concrete, but these had been removed, with the exception of two fragments at the corners (*dd*). The stucco all round the bottom of the bath was moulded into a quarter round,

 of two inches wide, forming a kind of skirting, and this was the case round the floors of all the doorways and apartments. At the bottom of the bath was a hole (*e*) through the wall, by which the water was let off. On examining the exterior of the wall there was no drain found; the external aperture was probably on the then level of the ground, and the water flowed away by an open gutter.

The Apodyterium (D), the dressing-room to the baths, was entered from the frigidarium by a doorway in the centre of the wall. It is 10 feet 6 inches wide by 13 feet 3 inches in its entire length. The end of the room opposite the door of entrance terminates in a segment of a circle, which was formed into an alcove by two projecting piers. The floor had been supported on square sandstone pillars above the hypocaust by which it was warmed, as Pliny describes the apodyterium of his bath to have been. This apartment had once been ornamented with a tessellated pavement, as many fragments were found. Of the hypocaust a description will be given when we trace the course of the flues.

A doorway, 2 feet 6 inches wide, on the sill of which the tesserae of sandstone which formed the pavement still remain, opens into the Tepidarium E, a room, as we shall see, of a warmer temperature than the last: its dimensions were 12 feet by 13. The tessellated pavement with which it had been floored, and beneath which there had been a hypocaust, was utterly destroyed by the roots of a large apple-tree which was growing there, though some of the pillars remained *in situ*. Here were found two bone hair-pins, a bronze ring, and coins of Helena, Constantine, and Tetricus.

The Caldarium, F, is entered from the tepidarium by a doorway 2 feet 6 inches wide, on the sill of which, as in the last, the coarse sandstone tesserae still remain, and in the angle of junction of the upright jamb with this pavement is a quarter-round skirting of stucco. This caldarium, which is 13 feet long by 7 feet 6 inches wide, is the most curious and interesting of all the chambers, for here is the warm-water bath, G, which, on the rubbish being cleared away, was found as it originally existed. This is a tank, 6 feet by 3 feet, sunk in the floor at the west end of the room, and its depth was 2 feet. The whole chamber was heated by a hypocaust, which extends underneath the bath, three sides of which are surrounded by upright flues proceeding from it. These flues at the two ends of the bath are formed with four of the usual square flue-tile pipes, with  small lateral openings communicating with each other, whilst at the side half-tiles are employed. These tiles are fastened to the wall by T headed nails, some of which yet remain *in situ*,

performing their office. The tank itself is formed by a thick lining of fine concrete or stucco, of a red colour, attached to these tiles. The roof of the hypocaust, underneath the bath, consists of large red tiles, supported on stone pillars, and the bottom of the bath itself of one large paving-slab, set in concrete, having the usual quarter-round skirting. On the south end of the bath, on the level of the bottom, is the hole (*g*) by which the water was let out. This hole, which passed between the flue-tiles, seems at one time to have leaked, and to have been clumsily repaired by a large rough patch of the stucco.

The edge of the bath towards the room is about 4 inches higher than the sill of the entrance-door; a portion of it, 8 inches in width, remains. No tesserae were found here; the floor was therefore probably of the same red concrete or stucco as the bath, and, indeed, might have been a continuation, having a gradual slope towards the tank, in which case the room must have been entered by a step. This stucco is deserving of particular attention, for it was the interior lining of the bath, and must have had the quality of resisting the action of hot water to a very considerable degree, if not entirely. It seems to be composed, like concrete, of lime and pulverised brick, the facing being very fine in its grain, and in both the baths had been coloured red. It is not improbable that this colour may have been mixed with wax, or some fatty substance, and so have mechanically filled up the pores of the stucco, and also resisted the action of water by its greasiness, and if no soap or alkaline substance were used would last some time, and could easily be renewed. The wall of the opposite end of the room seems also to have been warmed with flues, as a square flue-tile still remains in the corner (*h*), and the plaster of the wall still bears the impress of the tile which had been fixed against it.

From the caldarium a narrow doorway, only 18 inches wide, opens into a small oblong apartment (*H*), only 8 feet long by 4 feet wide, which has no other outlet, and which I think may have been the Sudatorium, a chamber which was raised by a dry heat to a high temperature, which, from its close proximity to the mouth of the furnace, must have been the case here. The floor, now destroyed, under which was a hypocaust, if it were of the same thickness as the rest, must have been about 6 inches higher than that of the caldarium, from the pillars of the hypocaust being so much taller than those under the other rooms, in which case this room must have been entered by a step, but as the sill of the doorway is destroyed there is nothing to indicate its real level. If it were on the same level as its neighbour its substance must have been much thinner, and the room would sooner have reached its high temperature.



In a small area, inclosed by two walls (K), on the outside of this chamber was situated the *Præfurnium* (I), or mouth of the furnace, which heated the hypocausts of all these apartments. What now remains of it is a narrow channel, between two masses of wall 3 feet high (*i*). This was probably covered over, and the two blocks of stone (*k*) which still remain show that there had been some more buildings, and it is possible that there may have been some arrangement here for heating water. This channel, though only 18 inches wide where it passes through the wall at *l*, widens to nearly 3 feet at its mouth, the sides having to all appearance been burnt away by long-continued fire. Wood ashes and slag, or indurated clinkers, formed by the partial fusion of stones and earthy matters that may have got into the fire, which must have burnt fiercely, were found here.

We will now trace the flues and examine the mode of heating these apartments. The smoke and heated air from the *præfurnium* passed through an arched aperture in the wall at *l* into the hypocaust beneath the sudatorium; two dwarf walls (*m m*) which supported the floor above directed its main course into the hypocaust of the caldarium. In these walls, however, are lateral openings (at *n n*), through which currents passed into the small side chambers (*o o*), and thence through three other apertures also into the hypocaust of the caldarium. The pillars of the hypocausts were formed of roughly-squared pieces of sandstone, about nine inches square, and about two feet high,—those, however, under the sudatorium being taller, and those beneath the bath somewhat shorter. The roofs, when found, were of large square tiles, or slabs of paving-stone; and the floors above them were of concrete, 14 inches thick; they must therefore have required a long time to heat through, but once warm would long retain the heat.

The heated currents having entered the hypocaust of the caldarium, passed underneath the bath and ascended through the upright flues in the wall at the end and side, as also by those at the other end of the chamber. As the upper part of these vertical flues are destroyed, we know not how they terminated, but from the proximity to the *præfurnium* the heat must have been great; and that the fire, being of wood, was strong, and the draught rapid, would appear from several small pieces of charred sticks having been found in many of the vertical flues. From this arrangement it seems very probable that the bath itself was the actual vessel in which the water was heated, and in fact always kept hot. These particulars are curious and interesting, for I am not aware that any similar arrangements have been observed or recorded.

Four apertures (marked *q*) convey the heated currents from the hypocaust of



the caldarium into that of the tepidarium, which, having performed their office there, would pass through the single opening at *r*, under the apodyterium. No traces of vertical flues were found in these chambers, and their temperature was of course more moderate, being further removed from the source of heat. We have here four chambers of four different gradations of temperature heated by one furnace, by what I must consider a very ingenious, though a simple contrivance; and I think it shows that the Romans had made some progress in that art of warming their domestic buildings.

In the constructions of these flues no arches have been used, the apertures through the walls, except the first, being all covered by a series of horizontal overlapping stones, forming a pseudo arch, till at last one stone crowns the opening. There seems to me to be some practical science in this arrangement. A single stone might have cracked with the heat; but these overlapping stones would allow of expansion and contraction, and thus no displacement or fracture would occur. A problem to be solved is where the supply of water for the baths was procured, and how it was introduced. The brook is distant, and is dry in summer, and the village is now only supplied from wells, and that we must conclude was the source from which the Romans procured it. To have carried the quantity of water required for the baths through the chambers by hand would have been very inconvenient, and it is possible that there may have been some contrivance in the portions of the walls now destroyed for its introduction from the outside.

To clear this building entirely, and preserve it open, is in its present position impossible: I have, therefore, endeavoured to obtain from it all the information I could. With that view I caused to be made the accurate model now exhibited, which will be deposited and kept in the Museum at Caerleon; and with the model, plan, and sections, a faithful record of it will be preserved. Directions have been given for filling it in carefully, so as not to injure or destroy what is curious, and thus to preserve its existence for the gratification and information of future Antiquaries, should any desire to re-examine these curious remains.

XXXVII. *The Old Tapestry in St. Mary's Hall at Coventry.*  
 By GEORGE SCHARF, Jun. Esq. F.S.A.

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Read February 21, 1856.

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I BEG to call attention to a very interesting monument still preserved at Coventry. It consists of a large piece of Tapestry, 30 feet long by 10 feet high, wrought at the close of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, and affording a singularly perfect example of the arts of design and weaving at that period. I am not aware that we possess many examples of tapestry before the sixteenth century; but specimens after the establishment of a manufactory at Mortlake, under Sir Francis Crane,<sup>a</sup> seem to have become very numerous, chiefly, however, of Scripture-historical and allegorical compositions. The greater part of these are of the French school; although, in accordance with the wish of King Charles I., several sets of tapestries from Raphael's Cartoons, which are now at Hampton Court, were executed at that manufactory.

Before the seventeenth century, most of the tapestry used in England seems to have been Flemish, and much was wrought at *Arras*; hence the name with which we are so familiar in Shakspeare and most of the writers of the Elizabethan age, and the designation *Arazzi* in Italy. The devices of these tapestries were generally allegories combining love and chivalry; and of this class a very fine series is preserved at Hampton Court Palace, in the withdrawing room that leads out of Wolsey's Great Hall. The names of the personages are written in Latin above them; but the other legends, in white letters upon red, are in French. The costumes, however, are perfectly German. Many of the subjects are repetitions, so that they may possibly have all come from a manufactory in this country.

The celebrated tapestries of Nancy, now in Paris, were also allegorical, and are highly important for their art, costume, and historical associations.

The rarest class of subjects in this department of art is the strictly historical; and I am sure one instance of this kind connected with our own country, although not in England, will occur to the minds of all present—I mean that of the famous

<sup>a</sup> The manufactory at Mortlake in Surrey was erected under James I. by Sir Francis Crane. Francis Cleyne of Roetock, a painter who had studied in Rome, was appointed by Charles I. to superintend the manufacture of hangings from Raphael's Cartoons, of which he had become possessed.—Passavant's *Life of Raphael*, vol. ii. pp. 252 and 275.

Bayeux Tapestry, wrought by Queen Matilda and her ladies to chronicle the Norman conquest of this country. It is still preserved at Bayeux, and was formerly employed to decorate the cathedral of that town on grand occasions. During the period of the French Revolution, it was carried about from town to town, and displayed as a means of exciting the people to the invasion of England. For a minute account of that valuable monument, and the historic information which it affords, I need only refer you to the memoir contributed by Dr. Bruce upon the Bayeux Tapestry, at a meeting of the Archæological Institute, and the beautiful volume which he has produced very recently.

The workmanship of the Bayeux Tapestry is particularly rude, and in that respect contrasts strikingly with the fabric of the tapestries at Hampton Court and in St. Mary's Hall at Coventry. Indeed, so rude is the production of Queen Matilda and her maidens, that it can only be compared to a little girl's sampler; and I believe few ladies would now award to it the unqualified designation of embroidery.

Still, it is one of our most important chronicles; and especially valuable from having the names of the individuals written against them; it is therefore historical. The subject of each compartment, also, is frequently inscribed on the border, in Latin.

The Tapestry at Coventry is an important specimen of art; and may be called historical, inasmuch as it represents a King and his court, every figure being undoubtedly a portrait, arranged in the same manner as Edward III. and his court in the old chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster. But, unfortunately, there is no writing to help identification, and therefore, in the absence of records, our explanation remains conjectural. For this reason I submit it to your notice, first, as a work of art—and so far of certain interest—and, secondly, as a problem, inviting your remarks and consideration upon the subject represented.

The ancient city of Coventry (the scene of Lady Godiva's celebrated exploit, and the story of Peeping Tom,) has always been distinguished for its textile productions. It was conspicuous during the Wars of the Roses for its steady adherence to the house of Lancaster, and seems to have been as much the favourite of Henry VI. as the venerable city of Shrewsbury appears to have afterwards become with Edward IV.

The guilds of Coventry were anciently much celebrated. They were four in number, not connected with particular trades, but partaking of the nature of the modern benefit societies. The names of the guilds were of the Holy Trinity, St. Mary, St. John, and St. Katharine.

They were afterwards united, and the more recent form of oath is preserved by Dugdale as follows :

"Ye shall be good and true to the Master of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, our Lady, St. John, and St. Katharine, and to all the brothers and sisters thereof."

They assembled in a spacious hall to the south of St. Michael's church, called St. Mary's Hall, which is mentioned by name about the end of the reign of Edward III.

The present hall was commenced in 1394 and finished in 1414. In the year 1580 the inside was new painted and beautified.

It is remarkable that, though the constant designation of the united guilds was the *Trinity* guild, yet this hall has uniformly maintained its original appellation of St. Mary's Hall.

The hall, really an architectural study, has also a magnificent roof, with ten admirably carved figures of angels playing musical instruments. The inevitable darkness of the apartment is rendered still greater by a quantity of stained glass, of the deepest possible hues, displaying a very curious arrangement.

At Shrewsbury I had occasion to observe the filling-up of spaces of glass with paintings made to imitate a brick wall. At Coventry I found the prevailing pattern for filling up odd—and frequently very large—spaces to be a kind of patchwork of bright flat colours, not combined with the taste of old patchwork quilts, still seen in our country villages, but put together *anyhow*. Nor does this singular device possess the irregularity and variety of fragments of glass in a kaleidoscope : the Coventry pattern is made up, like the ancient polygonal walls, of odd-shaped pieces of plain, flat, stained glass.

Such gewgaws, it is but justice to the present corporation to say, were all perpetrated a long time back, when the side windows were filled with glass, under name of restoration, by Pemberton of Birmingham. At that time the fine old glass was taken out, on account of its ruined condition, and replaced with modern, wretchedly-executed, versions of the originals, partly copied from Dugdale, and inserted as substitutes. In refitting the windows the former arrangement of subjects does not seem to have been implicitly observed.

At the present time I believe a very earnest spirit of respect for the antiquities of the venerable city, and a desire to preserve in the best possible manner these vestiges of the olden time, prevail in the corporation of the city of Coventry, and that Mr. Alderman Eld is an especial promoter of these good feelings. Shrewsbury is a most venerable town, retaining many features of the sixteenth and



seventeenth century, but there is nothing so complete, so well kept, so unspoilt, as Ford's Almshouses and Bablake Schools at Coventry.

As a lover of the picturesque I regret to say that my sketchbooks, since 1850, contain records of many timber houses at Coventry that have since exchanged the gable front of wood and plaster for the rectangular brick and mortar face, brilliantly heightened with red and white. But these changes, although adding space to the inhabitants within, and externally indicative of manufacturing prosperity, cannot be observed without regret, and it is to be wondered at that the photographer has not hitherto set up the three legs and black veil in a city that would afford better subjects for his operations than any other within our shores.

St. Mary's Hall is a large square apartment, with a great window at the upper (north) end, towards the church. This window is, however, of a very remarkable proportion, being unusually short compared with the length and the curve of the arch of its upper part. By this means a large space of wall is left clear beneath it. On the outside it was ornamented by six niches and statues, and this space internally was filled exactly by the Tapestry I propose to describe to you. The architectural framework in the Tapestry so exactly corresponds with the mullions of the window above, that I fancy this to be an additional proof that it must have been wrought for the place. The local guilds, also, we shall see, are typified in the figures of certain Saints introduced, and it is the more to be regretted under these circumstances that documentary evidence should still be wanting of its origin.

The only entries in the guild accounts that can be referred to the Tapestry, are the two following; and for these I am indebted to Mr. Alderman Eld, of Coventry:—

1519. Item to two men, that take upon them to mend the cloth of arras, by advice of Mr. Mayor and his brethren . . . 16 shillings and 8 pence.

1605. Charge in the city accounts of 4*s.* 6*d.* for 6 ells of linen cloth to line the cloth of arras at S<sup>t</sup> Mary's Hall.

I believe that these are all the notices that can be found relating to the history of the Tapestry, and beyond this we must depend upon internal evidence. The drawing that I have the honour of submitting to you is still in progress, and is the result of repeated visits to Coventry. It was begun with a desire to secure some careful record of so curious and frail a monument. The hall in which it hangs is freely open to the public, and is occasionally let out for the exhibition of various shows and performances. On my first visit to Coventry, six years ago, I



was horrified to see a phantasmagoria and fireworks on a small scale played off in front of this very hanging tapestry. A single spark would have destroyed the whole relic, for it is little better than tinder. I have, however, begged the present authorities to have it taken down and relined, and to have it in some way strained to prevent the lodgment of dust, and to ensure its better preservation. The central upper part was removed in Puritan times, and a figure of Justice, in a very different style, inserted instead; that portion in my drawing still remains uncoloured. The corners and some parts of the borders have also been pieced with other tapestry; and it is the more to be regretted, as I discovered, only on my last visit, that at each angle had been originally a small scroll with writing on it. The upper right-hand corner is the only one remaining perfect. The upper left-hand one is entirely wanting.

In the centre, over the more recent figure of Justice, still remains a Hebrew inscription, of which I have provided a transcript on a larger scale.

The writing on the books before the King and Queen, I had hoped would have been sufficiently legible, but from the angularity of the letters, caused perhaps by the working of the loom on so small a scale, there seems little chance of decipherment. The manufacture, and the peculiar mode of reducing the various shades of the draperies by perfectly upright lines, is identical with the specimens already referred to at Hampton Court. My friend Dr. Waagen, when last in England, was not able to visit Coventry; but he studied my drawing very carefully, and pronounced the original to be of Flemish workmanship, and relating to a German Emperor. The crown on the *prie-dieu*, before the principal male figure, he considered to be the imperial crown; but he was not aware of some minute circumstances that I discovered afterwards. In the border above and below, at the four points where the upright divisions continue the line of the mullions of the great window, is a large red rose, heraldically designed; and, in that respect, utterly at variance with the rest of the flowers in the border. Here we have a Lancastrian sign; but the costume and style of art are so evidently of a period subsequent to the marriage of Henry VII. and union of the houses of York and Lancaster, that it is difficult to account for the singleness of colour in the rose, which in the time of Henry VII. would have been red and white, as we see at Windsor, Cambridge, and Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster. That the rose so heraldically drawn is not intended to connect itself with the rest of the border, has further proof in the introduction of a small rose in one spandril only, and that immediately over the crown of the principal figure. It has been an entirely red rose, thus favouring the ancient tradition that, although executed in

later times, it commemorates the court of the city's especial benefactor, King Henry VI. Some persons have supposed from the costume that Henry VII. is the monarch so represented; and, indeed, the Queen and her costume closely resemble Elizabeth of York on the tomb in Westminster Abbey; but then the colour of the rose rises in contradiction. Others have suggested, from the fact that the King wears a bonnet and the crown lies by his side, that it represents Prince Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VIII. and his wife Katharine of Arragon. They were married in 1501; but the figure in question, although beardless, is far from that of a youth. King Henry VI. is always represented beardless; Edward IV. I believe also. Moreover, there are no signs of the Prince of Wales, nor occurrence of the pomegranate, which is so characteristic a symbol of Aragon. The tree beside her can scarcely be so interpreted. The beardless Cardinal, designated Cardinal Beaufort, has milder features than are seen in his effigy in Winchester cathedral; but his prominent place, immediately next to the King, as one of the family, and not in an ecclesiastic capacity, tends in no small degree to strengthen the identity. The figure standing between the King and Cardinal is named the Good Duke Humphrey, and the lady nearest to the Queen the Duchess of Buckingham; these personages, I need hardly say, have no other claim beyond tradition for the appellation.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Blaauw has kindly called my attention to an instance of portraiture in hangings in the Will of Sir David Owen, published in the *Sussex Collections*, where mention is made of five pieces of hanging with imagery of Henry V., Henry VI., and his brothers:—

EXTRACT from the WILL of SIR DAVID OWEN. (From *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. vii.)

"A counterpoynte of verder with a great lyone in the middes of golde and silke; a trussyng bedde of black velvet and russett satin imbrowdered with wolfes and swaloes, wyth O and N of golde, with diverse other flowers inbrowdered, with a tester and curtens to the same; an other tressyng bedde of blak damaske and russett satin with a tester, curtens, and valaunce to the same; *fyve peceys of arrays made with imagery of King Henry Vth, Henry VIth, the Duke of Clarence, the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Gloucester, with diverse other great men*; a great tester of a bedde with a selar to the same of arrays; with haffe the stuffe of householde, that is to say, pottes, pannes, disshes, spetes, cawdeyernes, cofers, and of all other thynges; a dossene of kyne, tenne great oxene for her wayne; alle which parselles afforlymyted I geve and bequethe to my wiffe to be lovyng unto my children and hers, and upon that condicōn that she lyff soole without mariage, and if she doe marye all my forsaid goodes to her before bequethed to be and remayne to my children betwixt her and me begoten. Item, I geve to my sonne Jasper Owen and to theires males of his body lawfully begoten all my landes and tenementes in the cytie of Coventrie, and in Watford, Frethyngstone, and Shotlanger, in the countie of Northampton, to the said Jasper and to theires males of his body lawfully begotten; and for lake," &c. &c.

*Note.*—Thomas Duke of Clarence, who was killed at Baugy in 1421; John Duke of Bedford, the Regent, who died in 1435; and Humphrey the good Duke of Gloucester, who died in 1446, were the second, third,

The shape of the crown should not escape observation; it is arched, and ornamented with balls, crosses, and fleurs-de-lis. The four arches are decorated with architectural crockets, and support a ball and cross not larger than those upon the lower circlet. The arched crown is seen in our Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, and the seals of Edward the Confessor and our first Norman kings, but it does not appear on any of the Plantagenet monarchs until Henry VI., and then only, I believe, on painted glass. It does not appear, I think, on our coins till the reign of Henry VII. The arch of the crown in the Coventry Tapestry is, however, very peculiar; it consists of a double curve like an ogee, and I only know one other example, which is to be found in the painted window of St. George's Chapel at Windsor, representing Edward IV. and V. although dating of the time of Henry VII.\*

The arches of the *imperial* crown were not, I believe, arranged, like ours, so as to intersect and form a cross; nor do I remember that the fleur-de-lis was ever a part of its decoration.

The crown of Charlemagne, at Vienna, has merely a single arch across the circlet.

The crown of the Queen is in fact nothing more than a coronet decorated entirely with fleurs-de-lis, and smaller trefoils like the shamrock between them. A short veil hangs down at the back of her head, and, with the exception of the ermine lining to her sleeves, her dress differs little from that of her ladies.

The central compartment between the two groups already referred to pertains especially to the glorification of the Virgin Mary, to whom the hall itself was dedicated; and the treatment of the subject is somewhat remarkable.

The Virgin, a full-length figure, stands with her hands joined in prayer. She wears a richly embroidered dress, like that of the Queen, displaying the well-known pine-apple pattern which became so prevalent in the early part of the sixteenth century. Over this extends a full blue mantle, fastened on the breast with a band and two clasps. Her hair is peculiarly long and dishevelled, such as would be more becoming to St. Mary Magdalene, and is never appropriated to the Virgin except by the older masters of Cologne, or Jan van Eyck and his

and fourth sons of Henry IV., and the arras may probably have been the property of the Queen, widow of Henry V. and so passed to her second husband, the testator's father. The curious arras now in the Guild Hall of Coventry, apparently of the later date of 1493, represents Henry VI. and the Duke of Gloucester. The bequests here remind us of Gremio's boast of his wealth in *Taming the Shrew*, II. 1.

"Thy hangings all of Tyrian tapestry,  
In Cypress chests my arras counterpoint,  
Valance of Venice gold in needle-work."

\* See Carter.

scholars. It certainly never appears so in Italian art. The North Italian masters displayed it in full profusion, but not in the dishevelled condition adopted by the Germans.

The feet of the Virgin rest on the shoulders of an angel, who holds the crescent moon. Four angels in the air are also in the act of supporting the figure of the Virgin, and on either side six of the Apostles kneel, with hands placed in various attitudes of prayer. The drapery of these saints is remarkably well arranged, and, by the largeness of the folds, evinces an already advanced period of art.

One of the Apostles in brown mantle is singularly like a figure in Masaccio's fresco of the Tribute Money, at Florence. The flowers beneath the Virgin are not lilies, but small red flowers with long stalks. The angels have no nimbus, and are clothed in the long loose dress that first appeared in the fifteenth century. Their hair is long and divided in the centre, and not cut square as in Edward the Fourth's time. The figure of the Virgin is encircled with clouds which are bluish green; the space inclosed by them is red.

The larger compartments above, to the right and left, are occupied with groups of patron saints, the male on one side, and female on the other. The latter may be named in the following order, beginning from the centre over the Queen: St. Katharine, with the sword and wheel; St. Barbara, holding the book and palm-branch (the tower appears between them); St. Dorothy, with a basket of roses; St. Mary Magdalene, the only saint without a nimbus, holding the ointment vase; St. Margaret with the dragon; St. Agnes, with the lamb and palm-branch; St. Gertrude of Nivelles, in monastic habit, with a crozier and three white mice<sup>\*</sup>; St. Anne, with book and staff; and, finally, St. Apollonia, with a book, holding a tooth in a pair of pincers.

The figure of St. Gertrude had by some been named St. Modwena, who was an Irish saint, but became especially venerated in the midland counties, as the king built for her the monastery of Polesworth, in Warwickshire, where she became the instructress of his daughter Edith.

The nimbus round the heads of the female saints it may be remarked is composed of a single ring, whilst that of the male saints on the opposite side is a double ring.

The names of the saints on the left hand compartment, beginning from the centre over the King, are, St. John the Baptist, in red mantle, covering the hair-

<sup>\*</sup> For the identification of this saint I am indebted to the friendly aid of Mrs. Jameson, who has also told me of an instance where the saint is represented in a MS. illumination with the three mice running playfully up her crozier.



shirt, holding a book with the kneeling lamb with cross and banner on it; St. Matthias (or St. Jude, or St. Thomas) holding a lance; St. Paul with a sword; St. Adrian, in armour and cloak, standing on a lion, and holding a sword and anvil; St. Peter with a key; St. George holding a banner with red cross on it; St. Andrew resting on his transverse cross; St. Bartholomew with a short knife, or dagger; St. Simon with his saw; St. Thaddeus with a halbert.\* This saint is the only one in the whole series with a nimbus in the form of a solid circular plate seen in perspective. The heads of two other saints appear behind, without any distinctive attribute or especial character of countenance. One female head also appears behind the group on the other side.

What remains of the central upper compartment uncovered by the figure of Justice is a group of eight angels; four of them holding the instruments of the passion, namely, the crown of thorns, the spear and sponge and pincers, the pillar and whips, the cross and three nails. The remaining four above in the clouds are in attitudes of adoration. Behind the figure of Justice, judging from what now remains of a handsome throne and part of a richly embroidered mantle, may have been a seated figure of Christ in full robes, a subject often painted at this period.

Many suggest that it was a personification of the Holy Trinity; whatever it may have been, it certainly was something sufficiently offensive in representation to the zealots to induce them to take the trouble to substitute another subject with so much care. Had it been a representation of the Trinity, with the first person holding a crucifix, I do not think we should have had the Angels, with the instruments of the passion, but rather the four emblems of the Evangelists, as on the canopy of the tomb of the Black Prince at Canterbury, and various MS. illuminations.

The principal guilds of the city were represented, as we have seen, in the prominent figures of St. John, St. Katharine, and the Virgin Mary.

The architectural framework that divides the whole into six compartments is peculiar; it has very much of the character that we at present designate German. The pattern of the diaper behind the figures is remarkably elegant and well distributed. The armour, as seen on the figures of St. George and St. Adrian, marks a late period in the reign of Henry VII., if not actually belonging to that of his son and successor. The broad toes in these instances formed a violent contrast to the sharp points of Richard II.'s period. The drawing of the extremities is in many instances very faulty; St. John the Baptist has only four toes to each foot.

\* See Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, p. 105.



Some of the heads, however, are remarkably fine, with much individuality of character, especially in the lower series. They were doubtless all portraits, and seem to have originally been very well coloured. At present the complexion of two or three only is well preserved, but in several instances the light of the eyeballs has turned white, which gives the face a very peculiar appearance, inasmuch as the ball now looks lighter than what we call the white of the eye.

It may be interesting to note that the fabric of the tapestry is loom, and not needlework. The pattern appears on both sides.\* The loops or stitches are arranged horizontally, but the tints and shading off of the drapery are disposed in vertical lines, the darker shades widening downwards.

This tapestry, owing to long neglect, has become sadly distorted and coated with dust, but fortunately it is neither moth-eaten nor injured by damp; for the latter advantage it is indebted to the fine high and dry situation of the hall itself.

The room, however, is unfortunately so dark that it is generally impossible to discern even the mere subject of the tapestry. The best time I have found to be in the morning, whilst the sun is in the south-east, when all the details and colours can be made out most completely. I hope that by calling your attention to this interesting monument I may induce a few of my hearers to visit Coventry, and to examine the relic for themselves. At present, however, my earnest wish is to obtain remarks and information that shall tend to place the identification of the portraits upon a somewhat more certain and satisfactory foundation.

I have only of late become aware that Mr. John Carter made a careful drawing of this tapestry, which is in the possession of Mr. Nichols, of Parliament Street; but I have never seen it. Had I been aware that the hand of so distinguished an artist and antiquary as Mr. Carter had been exercised in its behalf I should not have devoted so much time and anxiety to the subject. My sole motive has been to rescue from oblivion and afford some record of this truly national monument.

I have since received the favour of a communication from Mr. John Gough Nichols, F.S.A., relating to the subject of my investigations, which, from its importance, I desire to transcribe verbatim.

\* This I made an especial point of verifying since the reading of my paper, when Mr. Ashpitel laid much importance on this question of the fabric. I had before only judged by the appearance of the border at the edges. A hole worn in the stuff nearer the centre, has since enabled me more to determine the question.

Read March 13, 1856.

25, Parliament Street, February 29, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

Being aware that many interesting extracts from the Municipal Records of Coventry, and other collections relative to the history of that city, had been left in manuscript by the late Mr. William Reader, I have requested his son to search them, with the view of discovering any particulars that might throw light upon the history of the Tapestry which has recently engaged so much of your attention. I beg to communicate the result, chiefly consisting of facts in the history of the city, which lend a certain amount of historical illustration to the subject, and, though they do not supply direct information regarding the Tapestry, will assist in forming the most probable conjectures respecting it.

And first with regard to the guilds in which the citizens were associated. The prior and monks of Coventry received licence from King Henry III. to establish a merchants' guild in the year 1267. But in the middle of the fourteenth century this guild expanded into several branches or distinct companies. The guild under the patronage of the Virgin was founded in 1340, that of St. John the Baptist in 1342, that of St. Katharine in 1343, that of Corpus Christi in 1348, and that of the Holy Trinity in 1364. During the same period the city at large received a new constitution, and the first mayor was appointed in 1345. At the close of the same century four of the five guilds coalesced into one; and during the fifteenth century there were but two, that of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Mary, St. John, and St. Katharine, and that of Corpus Christi. These two were united in 1534. When the four guilds coalesced they resolved to build a new hall on the site of that occupied by the guild of St. Mary. This, therefore, was pulled down, excepting its porch and exterior kitchens, and the present magnificent structure was completed in 1414. An intimate association was always maintained between the general corporation of the city and the guilds, and the mayor of the city and the master of the guilds were accustomed on state occasions to sit together in a large and magnificently carved double chair. Of the existing half of this chair engravings have been published in John Carter's *Architecture and Painting*, and in Mr. Henry Shaw's *Ancient Furniture*. Its right-hand side is richly carved, but the left side is plain and rough, the corresponding half having doubtless been carved on the left side. In the same chair it is traditionally related that King Henry VI. and his Queen were seated when they were admitted brother and sister of the guild in the year 1450.

Henry VI. is recorded to have been a frequent visitor of Coventry. He was there in 1436, when he kept Christmas at Kenilworth Castle. In the year 1450 he was lodged in the priory at Coventry, and on St. Michael's day came thence to attend high mass in St. Michael's church, the Bishop of Winchester officiating. On this occasion he gave the church a gown of gold tissue, and in that gown he has been supposed to be represented in the Tapestry. Again, on Whitsunday, 1456, King Henry and Queen Margaret, wearing their crowns, walked in procession from Coventry priory into St. Michael's churchyard, round by the steeple, and thence to the cathedral gate which opened into Trinity churchyard. The Bishop of Hereford performed high mass in the cathedral. The prior and convent of Coventry, with the dean and members of the King's Chapel, were present. The Duke of Buckingham followed next the King on his right hand. The Lord Beaumont bore the King's train, the Earl of Stafford his cap of state, Sir John Tunstall his sword. The Queen's train was borne by the Duchess of Buckingham. She was also attended by the Lady Rivers, by the Lady Shrewsbury the elder, and the Lady Shrewsbury the younger.

So particular an account having been preserved of this visit of Henry VI. and of the names of the nobility who formed his retinue, it is not surprising to find that the two groupes on the Tapestry, representing royal personages and their attendants, have been supposed to commemorate it. Accordingly, I find in Mr. Reader's manuscript the principal male figures in the Tapestry are assigned to King Henry VI., the Duke of Gloucester, Cardinal Beaufort, and the Viscount Beaumont; and those on the ladies' side to Queen Margaret, the Duchess of Buckingham, &c.

But it appears that King Henry VII. and his Queen were also admitted as brother and sister of Trinity Guild, in the year 1499, and this date certainly agrees better with the fashion of the costume in the Tapestry. This opinion I find is adopted in the recently published Number of the *Archæological Journal*.<sup>a</sup>

In this case, supposing the crowned figures are Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, the Cardinal may have been intended for Cardinal Morton.

I think so far as this we may be assured, that the intention was to represent certain courtly personages who had condescended to enter the fraternity of the guild at Coventry, but how far individual portraiture was attempted it is not easy to determine. Possibly the design was rather to personify the whole series of distinguished members that had been enrolled in the guild than those which were living at any one time, after the plan which was pursued in the prints of

<sup>a</sup> December, 1855, p. 417.

the Oxford Almanacs at the beginning of the last century. In that case, however, the artist might have introduced more than one king, for the guild of Coventry had enrolled among its members all the Lancastrian monarchs—Henry IV., Henry V. when still Prince of Wales, Henry VI., and Henry VII., as well as Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward V. who was admitted at the age of seven, in the year 1478. Among the other royal and noble members were John of Ghent, King of Castile and Leon, and his wife Constance; John Duke of Bedford; Henry Earl of Warwick, and his wife Cecily; Sir John Beauchamp, &c. &c. but no perfect list appears to be preserved.

At the neighbouring town of Stratford-upon-Avon there also was a guild, which was honoured in like manner by the association of many persons of high rank, as will be found in Fisher's Antiquities of Stratford-upon-Avon. In 1477 the King's brother George Duke of Clarence and his wife Isabella, together with Edward Earl of Warwick their son, and Margaret their daughter, were received into the fraternity of the guild of the Holy Cross at Stratford-upon-Avon, and thereupon paid for their fine five marks.

Mr. Reader's manuscripts do not contain any other extracts from the city records at Coventry relative to the tapestry than the two which have already been supplied to you. The first in 1519:

"Item, to ij men that take upon them to mende the cloth of arras, by advice of Mr. Meir and his bredren, xxvj s. viij d."

The second in 1605:

"Item, for vj ells of linen clothe, to line the cloth of arras at St. Mary hall, iiij s. vj d."

With regard to the first of these entries it has been remarked that the year 1519 was an early date for the arras to require repair, supposing it to have been made after Henry VII. became a member of the guild in 1499. Still, we cannot tell to what amount of wear and rough usage it had then been subjected during a period of eighteen years or more, at a time when the hall was frequently thronged by busy multitudes; and the circumstance of no earlier entry of the kind having been found is perhaps in favour of our assigning its manufacture to a date as near the commencement of the sixteenth century as may be, in the absence of positive historical evidence.

It would have given me pleasure had the result of my inquiries elicited more direct and satisfactory information than the foregoing in illustration of the subject of your very beautiful drawing; but some of the particulars I have stated appear



to me to be deserving of attention, and, if you agree in that view, you will do me the favour to communicate them to the Society of Antiquaries.

I am, dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS.

To George Scharf, Esq. F.S.A.

These notes on the guilds are especially interesting, and I learn with pleasure the existence of one guild, the Corpus Christi, that I did not know of before, and one which strongly favours my interpretation of the upper central compartment of the Tapestry in its original condition.

The Corpus Christi guild would naturally be personified by a seated figure of Christ, as in the central compartment of the chapter-house at Westminster, holding up the pierced hands. A scarlet robe, embroidered with gold borders, fastened by a gilt fibula on the centre of the breast. The wounds, also, in the side and feet clearly visible. The subject at Westminster was surrounded by angels holding the instruments of the Passion.

The most perfect development, it may be observed, of this representation occurs in the works of Raphael, especially the central figure of his celebrated fresco called the "Disputa," or Theology, in the Stanze of the Vatican; in the first fresco Raphael ever painted, still preserved in San Severo, at Perugia; and also in the principal figure of the design engraved by Marc Antonio, generally known as the "Five Saints."

The Corpus Christi guild was founded in Coventry a quarter of a century (twenty-six years) after the canonization of the great promoter of the festival, St. Thomas Aquinas. The guild of the Holy Trinity was not founded till twenty-one years later. That of St. Mary had been established before all. The founders of Corpus College at Cambridge were brethren of the guilds of Corpus Christi and of the Virgin Mary, and these two guilds were probably often united. With respect to the circumstance of payment for mending the Tapestry at so early a date after its manufacture, no importance can be attached to such a notice as an argument that it had long existed, as accidental injury might very easily occur to such frail materials.

The Tapestry appears singularly wanting in inscriptions or lettering, when compared with other known examples of the period; and it is remarkable that no armorial bearings, crests, or devices, are introduced. No shields are to be seen, and even the *prie-dieu* is left without heraldic blazonry.

I call to mind the celebrated altar-piece by King René of Anjou, at Aix,



where he is represented kneeling in like manner at a *prie-dieu*.<sup>a</sup> He also wears a close cap on his head, whilst the crown is deposited beside the book before him. His queen, Isabella, the mother of Margaret of Anjou, as in the representation of her daughter at Coventry, wears the coronet on her head.

Another parallel will be found in the curious pictures at Hampton Court Palace,<sup>b</sup> which were the wings of an altar-piece containing portraits of James IV. and Margaret of Scotland. In this, as in the René picture, armorial bearings are conspicuous.

In all, not omitting the royal portraits on the east wall of St. Stephen's Chapel, the King and attendants occupy the north or left-hand side, the Queen and females the south.

The names of the personages given in the procession of 1456 might be very serviceable towards naming the various characters. I cannot think that Henry VII. is the monarch represented. Being wrought at the conclusion of his reign, some of his family would at least be introduced, as in the east-wall paintings of St. Stephen's family. Three figures only of the royal party are in attitudes of prayer; none but the King, Queen, and Cardinal kneel. The rest stand round at respectful distance.

Before concluding, I beg to add two or three words upon the merits of this tapestry, in comparison with other known examples. I have gone through the magnificent works of Jubinal<sup>c</sup> and Du Sommerard with the express object of finding either parallels or some peculiarities of style which might throw further light on the monument at Coventry.

To judge from these publications, there is a great similarity between the style, drawing, and treatment of the Coventry Tapestry and two pieces of Flemish Tapestry, of the close of the 15th century, now in the Louvre. They are given in full colours by Du Sommerard (*Album*, 3<sup>me</sup> série, plates xxiv. and xxv. chap. 19). The shadows on the draperies are produced by the same vertical lines of colour as at Coventry—the head-dresses are in many cases perfectly identical; many

<sup>a</sup> D'Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. 166. *Œuvres du Roi René*, avec une biographie, par le Comte de Quatrebarbes, &c. Paris, 4to. 1849.

<sup>b</sup> Formerly in Kensington Palace. J. D. Passavant, *Kunstreise durch England*. Frankfurt, 1833, p. 49, where the picture is attributed to Hugo van der Goes. Waagen, *Treasures of Art*, Lond. 1854, vol. ii. p. 366, assigns it to Mabuse. The wings have been engraved in Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*, and in John Pinkerton's *Iconographia Scotica*. 8vo. 1797. Compare also Mrs. Jameson's *Public Galleries*, vol. ii. p. 411; and Kugler's *Handbook of German Painting*, English edition, 1846, p. 80, note.

<sup>c</sup> Jubinal, *Anciennes Tapisseries*, oblong folio. Paris, 1838. A superb coloured copy is in the Library of the British Museum.

of the countenances and mode of drawing the heads are precisely the same. The architectural framework also affords considerable resemblance. In the Louvre Tapestry the figures are more crowded and heaped one above the other, and a greater number are kneeling. The subjects are said to be Saul and David, and David and Abigail.

The "Tapisseries de Nancy," alluded to at the commencement of this paper (Du Sommerard, *série 3<sup>me</sup>*, plate xxxv.; and Jubinal, plate i.), are of an earlier period; the men's head-dresses generally partake more of the turban with the hanging end, but some are very similar. The draperies are more formal, and wanting in pliant folds.

The "Tapisseries de Dijon" display all the peculiarities in costume of the reign of Henry VIII.

The most striking resemblance in all respects to the Coventry Tapestry appears to be in the "Tapisserie du Château d'Haroué," published in full colours by Jubinal. The subject is a hawking party, with a numerous company of ladies and gentlemen. It is considered by Jubinal as of the commencement of the sixteenth century, nearly coeval with that of Dijon and the Tournament Tapestry of Valenciennes, A.D. 1500. The Château d'Haroué in the département de la Meurthe, some leagues from Nancy, belonged to the Princes de Beauveau.

The little labels in the corners of the Coventry Tapestry, which I have already had occasion to notice, are very similar to the curved labels with the motto **PAX** that are strewn over the ground of one of the Tapestries of Beauvais (plate iv. of Jubinal). The architecture contained in the preceding plate of the same series displays a considerable amount of German characteristics, united with the flowing curved forms, denominated, I believe, flamboyant.

The contrasts of colour, yellow lights shaded with blue, and red shaded with a deeper tint of the same colour, are strikingly seen in the Hampton Court Tapestry mentioned at the beginning of this paper; but the Coventry specimen has suffered most in its colours from dirt and in the drawing of the features by ill-treatment and unequal straining. Some of the countenances have, by this means, become sadly distorted. I trust that these attempts to make a rare specimen of art better known may have the effect of contributing towards some means for securing its future preservation, and that it may be more generally recognised as one of our most curious national monuments of the middle ages.

GEORGE SCHARF, JUN.

XXXVIII.—*On Horse-trappings found at Westhall. In a Letter from HENRY HARROD, Esq., F.S.A., to J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq., Secretary.*

Read May 3, 1855.

MY DEAR SIR,

I HAD the honour of exhibiting, at a Meeting in May last, a collection of remarkable antiquities which had been shortly before found in Suffolk.

A farmer at Westhall (a small village about three miles north-east of Halesworth) was engaged in draining a field, called the "Millpost Field," carrying the trenches to a depth of between two and three feet from the surface, in a stiff clayey soil, and in the direction of a small watercourse which ran along the east side of the field. A space of about two acres in extent, in the lowest part of the field adjoining the watercourse, presented, when ploughed up, a much darker soil than the other parts of it; and in making his drains through this part of the field much burnt earth and fragments of pottery were thrown out of the trenches. Near the centre of the space, and about two feet from the surface, he met with a quantity of bronze rings and other fragments, which he gave to a Mr. Hylton, a Norfolk farmer, who communicated the discovery to me, and enabled me to exhibit them to the Society: and in order that every possible information might be obtained, I joined them, on the 2nd of May, and carefully went over the ground with the spade. All the bronze fragments had been gathered together, and my search added nothing to the collection.

Every part of the two acres I have mentioned presented, at the depth of eighteen inches to three feet, a soil blackened by the action of fire, much charcoal, and a great quantity of broken pottery, all of the commonest and plainest kind, and in great variety; but the ground had been so disturbed that no single urn could be found complete, each spadeful of earth containing a dozen fragments of a dozen different urns. A solitary fragment of a plain Samian patera was thrown out, but my search after the rest of it was fruitless. All, however, were indubitably of Roman-British manufacture.

The various bronze objects appear to have been contained in a bronze vessel, of which the bottom and part of the side remained, and over them the thin bronze

plate or cover, of which the fragments are figured on Plate XXXVIII. fig. 1. Upon this was placed a large flint stone. The thin bronze plate seems to be of a ruder workmanship than the other bronzes, and has, in its centre, a circular ornament with a figure of an animal rather difficult to identify.

Of the objects contained in the vessel, the Plates will give a better idea than any written description.

The two bronze plates, of which Plate XXXVII. figs. 1 and 2 show the front and back, are about an eighth of an inch thick, and have on one side an enameled pattern, much resembling that on a similar plate among the Polden Hill Antiquities now in the British Museum (figured in the *Archæologia*, Vol. XIV. Plate XVIII. fig. 3), and the back is furnished with projecting loops for a rein or strap, exactly like those on the Polden Hill specimen. A similar ornament, with a number of bronze rings, was found at Saham Toney, Norfolk, near the great Roman Camp at Ovington some years ago; they are now in the Norwich Museum, and are figured in the Appendix to the second volume of the *Journal* published by the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society. In addition to the dull red enamel, these plates are further ornamented with small circular pieces of coloured glass, and what appears to be white marble.

No doubt can exist that these plates and those of Polden Hill and Saham were all intended for a similar purpose.

The object (Plate XXXVII. fig. 3) has also its counterpart among the Polden Hill and Saham collections, although they all differ in their ornamentation. The Polden Hill ring had a series of knobs; the Saham one was flattened on the outer side, on which was an enameled pattern. In the Westhall specimen, the ring spreads out like a cockscomb, and has a very curious and graceful pattern in enamel on each side, the outer edge being milled. The purpose to which these rings were applied seems to be the same as that of the modern turret (as our saddlers term it), namely, for the passage of the reins over the back of the horse. All have about a fourth of their diameter left rough; and this part was probably embedded in the harness on the back or neck of the horse. The inner side of the Westhall example being a good deal worn, appears to confirm this idea.

The rings marked 4 and 5, Plate XXXVII., although of the same pattern as the large one, are evidently for a different part of the harness—instead of the rough, unfinished portion there is a flat bar. These, again, are like some of the Polden Hill and Saham rings; and also like some in the Stanwick Collection in the British Museum. Of the larger size (fig. 4), four were found at Westhall, and three of the smaller (fig. 5).



Together with these were six hollow bronze cylinders, about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. in length (Plate II. figs 2 and 3), three of them with the larger end open, and the other having a square aperture. The fourth has been a good deal injured, and contains a mass of iron; as has the fifth, which also has the square aperture at its smaller end blocked up with iron: and, to still further perplex the inquirer, the sixth—exactly like the others in every other respect—has not the square hole at all. There is a slight corrosion of the bronze—but clearly nothing more.

Some small pieces of bronze—one of which had been riveted over another—were among the miscellaneous fragments; a small blue glass bead was also with them, and a brass coin, said to be of Faustina, very much corroded.

I presume there can be little doubt that these objects are of the Roman-British period. There can be no doubt, however, about the next one (Plate XXXVIII. fig. 4)—a bronze lamp of undoubted Roman manufacture. Over the handle is a crescent cast with the lamp, and on each side loops for small chains, by which it could be suspended. In the Eighth Volume of the Journal of the British Archaeological Association, I find four lamps of a similar pattern engraved. Two of these had been found in the City of London, one in Cannon Street, and the other in Princes Street, and one of them retained a link of the chain. The Author of the Memoir accompanying the engraving maintained that these lamps with crescents were sacred to Diana; and one he referred to in the Brandenburg Museum has a dedication to Artemis of Ephesus on the crescent. Were these lamps intended for sacred purposes or not, it should be observed that the crescent over the handle does wonderfully facilitate its steady carriage when taken up by the hand; and there is a small knob at each end of the crescent which protects the thumb from being scratched.

Three flint-stones of the kind found on the sea-coast some seven miles from Westhall were with these bronzes. Two had each of them one of their sides much rubbed down, and the other had both sides so treated—a work of very considerable labour.

Since I had the honour of exhibiting these interesting antiquities to the Society, they have been purchased for, and will be now found at, the British Museum.

HENRY HARROD.

To J. Y. Akerman, Esq.





HORSE TRAPPINGS  
found at Westhall in Suffolk.  
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 20<sup>th</sup> April 1856.

J. Russell del.





HORSE-TRAPPINGS AND OTHER OBJECTS

found at Westbury.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 25th April, 1896.

Chas. L. Smith



*Addenda to Mr. SCHARF's Memoir on Paintings of the Last Judgment.*

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[Insert in page 375.]

SINCE reading this paper before the Society I have referred to Fosbroke's History of Gloucester, and find the mistake about the Italian language to have originated with Mr. Britton. In amplifying Fosbroke he misleads others. The original uses the word *Italian* merely to mark the nation of the painter. Fosbroke and Counsel are both in error where they describe the picture as joined in the middle like folded doors. The two labels also they have united into one. Respecting their opinions upon the architecture, it will be more interesting, I imagine, to have their opinions literally transcribed, and I therefore offer an extract from Fosbroke's account. Mr. George Counsel was a solicitor, and resided on College Green, Gloucester.

"The fact is, that it is *not* of *Grecian* architecture. It has *perforated battlements*; that mixture of *Grecian* and *Gothic* adopted in Italy, which has so lately been exhibited in the *Archæologia*, and originated in the revival of the arts during the *Crusades* by the *Pisans* trading to *Greece*, and bringing back columns and other monuments of ancient *Greece*. From a suspicion that it might be the offering of a *Crusader* at *Edward's* shrine, and be brought from the *Holy Land*, the author desired Mr. Counsel to examine whether it accorded with Dr. Clarke's description of these paintings, viz. yellow or golden ground upon sycamore wood. From Mr. Counsel's account, it appears that it was executed by an *Italian in England*, from the label being in the language of that country. Oil-painting was then scarcely known here, and foreigners were our leading artists in the fifteenth century, and long afterwards. 'The picture of the *Last Judgment* (says Mr. Counsel) in the whispering-gallery is not painted on canvass, or on a golden or yellow ground. It is in two separate parts, or folding-doors,\* joined in the middle,

\* So an ancient painting at Durham.



each part consisting of six oak boards from ten to twelve inches wide, seven feet long, and one inch thick. These boards are glued together and *dowled* (fastened to each other by plugs, like the head of a cask), to prevent warping. That part of the picture which represents the New Jerusalem has Grecian columns, supporting circular arches, and surmounted with perforated battlements (*i.e.* the style which obtains in the cathedral of Pisa, and other mediæval buildings of Italy). Some of the angels are there represented singing from a score, and others are playing on different instruments, particularly viols and lutes. At the entrance, which is through a circular arch, is stationed St. Peter, with a couple of keys in his hand. In the upper part of the picture our Saviour is represented in a scarlet mantle, embroidered with gold, sitting on a rainbow, with his feet resting on the globe of the earth, and having an olive-branch (query, palm branch) in his right hand, and a two-edged sword in his left. Underneath him are two angels blowing trumpets, to which is attached a label with the following inscription in text letters, 'Aryse, ye deade, and come to judgement.'"<sup>a</sup>

[*Insert in p. 385, after Trinity Church paragraph.*]

An ancient painting was discovered in 1819 in the church of St. Thomas at Salisbury. Christ, in the centre above, is seated on a rainbow, the feet resting on a smaller one below. The Twelve Apostles stand in a row beneath the Judge; angels with the emblems of the Passion stand around. The heavenly Jerusalem appears on both sides of the composition. There is no gate with the blessed entering. The dead rise from square tombs in a garden-like burying-ground. The right-hand side is devoted to the Inferno. A large pointed arch breaks through the composition.<sup>b</sup>

The following interesting document relates to a painting that formerly existed in the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick:—

"*Agreement for PAINTING THE DOMES-DAYE on the west wall of the chapel.* A covenant (&c.) xij Feb. 28 Hen. 6, wherein John Brentwood, citizen and steynner of London, doth covenant to paint fine and curiously at Warwick, on the west wall of the new chapell there, the Dome of our Lord God Jesus, and all

<sup>a</sup> The Rev. T. D. Fosbroke's, *Original History of the City of Gloucester, including the Papers of Ralph Bigland.* 1819. 4to, p. 250.

<sup>b</sup> Engraving in Hatcher's *History of Salisbury*, in Sir R. C. Hoare's *History of Modern Wiltshire*, Lond. fol. 1843, p. 589.

manner of devises and imagery thereto belonging, of fair and sightly proportion, as the place shall serve for, with the finest colours, and fine gold; and the said Brentwood shall find all manner of stuffe thereto at his charge; the said executors paying thereof xiiij li. vj s. viij d."\*

[*Insert in p. 387.*]

I have recently visited Fairford for the express purpose of examining the painted glass in the church.

The composition of the west window is remarkably elaborate, and devoted exclusively to the Last Judgment; the central group of the lower lights very like that of the Dantzic altar-piece. The figures are remarkably small in proportion to the size of the composition. As an arrangement of colour, this Fairford window is perhaps one of the finest I have ever seen.

Christ sits upon a rainbow in the centre, with a bright red globe, encircled with zones, for a foot-stool. Around the figure of the Saviour is a bright yellow colour: the lily and the sword issuing from the cheeks. A broad circle of cherubim of intense red incloses the subject just described; and around this again appears a crowd of the blessed, disposed in such a manner as to recall the circle of the elect round the glory of the central figure in Michael Angelo's Sistine Last Judgment.

Around this again is a blue band, narrower than the red one, of seraphim; and beyond this also appear crowds of the heavenly host.

The forms of the figures are deficient, and each one seems intentionally separated from the rest.

Many parts of the window have been seriously misplaced.

The gate and steps of Paradise reach the bottom of the window on the left-hand side. The figure of St. Peter in a majestic crimson mantle is very fine; some of the angels with souls in the form of little children are very graceful and spirited; and one group in the air, to the right of St. Michael, repelling a demon and rescuing a soul, merits attention for the artistic vigour with which it is composed. The dead rising from their tombs, with the hood of the grave-clothes still on, have some affinity to the sculpture in Kingston church. Demons tormenting women form a prominent feature in the Inferno side of the composition. A woman carried off on a tormentor's back is only a repetition of the incidents in the Saxon MS. and the frescoes of Signorelli and Michael Angelo. But the female figures in a cart, dragged through flames, and a woman in a wheel-barrow, verge upon

\* Description of the Beauchamp Chapel, by J. G. Nichols, F.S.A. London, 4to. p. 30.

the ludicrous. The rich red and purple colour of the flames, with occasional touches of brown and green, remind me of the beautifully coloured window representing the Fall of Lucifer in the north side of the choir of King's College chapel at Cambridge. In the heading of the lights on each side of St. Michael, an angel holds a label, inscribed on the one "Misericordia," on the other "Judicium." The words certainly accord with the position of the lily and the sword, on the right and left of the judge.

The colours and draperies of several of the flying angels remind me of those in the upper lights of the chapel at Cambridge, especially in the window over the north porch at Cambridge.

There is a description of this west window by Thomas Hearne, in his edition of Roper's Life of Sir Thomas More, ed. Oxon. 1716, page 277; but it is not very accurate. The Saviour is described as sitting in a pillar of fire. Dives and Lazarus are also recognised. I have been thus far minute in describing the Fairford window, because it is in a part of the country not very generally visited.

[*Insert in page 390.*]

I find among the Tapisseries de l'Abbaye de la Chaise Dieu, published by Jubinal (plate xxxii.), a very clumsy and coarse representation of the Last Judgment.

Christ, clothed in a fluttering drapery, sits on a variegated rainbow. His feet dangle down without any support whatever. The rainbow extends *in front* of the Paradise and Inferno.

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